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Title.

Essays on Indian antiquities.

By Prinsep James.

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## NUMISMATIC ESSAYS.

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### XVII.—APPLICATION OF THE EARLY BHILSA ALPHABET TO THE BUDDHIST GROUP OF COINS.

[7TH JUNE, 1837.]

Having once become possessed of the master-key of this ancient alphabet, I naturally hastened to apply it to all the doors of knowledge hitherto closed to our access. Foremost among these was the series of coins conjecturally—and, as it now turns out, correctly—designated as the Buddhist series; and of these, the beautiful coin discovered by Lieut. Conolly, at Kanauj, attracted the earliest notice from the very perfect execution and preservation of the legend; [see pl. vii., fig. 1, vol. i., p. 115]. The reading of this coin was now evident at first sight, as *𑀧𑁆𑀭𑀸𑀓 Vipra-devasa*; which, converted into its Sanskrit equivalent, will be *विप्रदेवस्य Vipra-devasya*, '(the coin) of Vipra-deva.' On reference to the chronological tables, we find a Vipra in the Magadha line, the tenth in descent from Jarasandha, allotted to





xviii., vol. iii., and 3, 6, 9, of pl. [xix.] xxxiv., vol. iv.), though we have ten examples to compare, the context is not much improved by the acquisition of our new key : the letters are  $\square\text{AD}\perp+\perp\text{AD}\square$  *basa dhana kanaya dhaya* ; (the second letter is more like  $\text{†}$  *bhu.*)

Stacy's supposed Greek legends (figs. 2, 3, of pl. [vii.] xxv., vol. iii.), may be read (as I anticipated), [vol. i., p. 114], invertedly  $\perp\text{A}\overline{\text{D}}\text{E}\perp$   $\text{†}\text{A}$  *Yagá bijana puta (sa?)*

The larger copper coin, having a standing figure holding a trident (fig. 4, pl. [vii.] xxv., vol. iii.) has, very distinctly, the name of  $\text{†}\text{A}\text{B}\text{A}\text{A}$  . . . . *Bhagavata cha* (or *sa*). A *rāja* of the name of *Bhagavata* appears in the *Magadha* list, about the year 80 B.C.

On some of the circular copper coins, we have fragments of a legend  $\text{†}\text{A}\text{†}\dots\text{A}\text{A}\text{A}$  *Bhāmada* . . . . *vatapasa*, quasi *Bhīmadeva tūpasya*—but the last word is the only one that can be confided in.

On a similar coin, of which Stacy has a dozen specimens (fig. 47, pl. [xx.] xxxv., vol. iv.) the name of  $\text{†}\text{A}\text{†}\text{A}$  *Rāmadatasa*, 'of Rāmadatta,' is bounded by the 'lizard' emblem of Behat.

These are the only two in the precise form of the *Lāt* character—the others are more or less modified.

Another distinct group (that made known first by Mr. Spiers) from Allahábád (pl. [viii.] xxvi., figs. 12-15, vol. iii., p. 436, See Art. vi.), can be partially deciphered by the *Lāt* alphabet. Capt. Cunningham has a fine specimen with the letters  $\text{†E}\text{D}\perp\text{†}\text{A}\text{A}$  *Rāja Dhana-devasya*, 'of Rāja Dhana-deva,' a name not discoverable in the catalogue, though purely Sanskrit. On three more of the same family, we find  $\perp\text{A}\text{A}$  *Navasa*. On one it seems

rather 𑀮𑀸𑀓 *Narasa*, both Nava and Nara being known names. On another 𑀮𑀸𑀓𑀭 *Kunamasa*; and on another, probably, 𑀮𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀭 *mahāpati*, 'the great lord.'

The 'bull' coins of this last group are connected in type, and style of legend, with the 'cock and bull' series; on which we have lately read *Satya-mitasa*, *Saya-mitasa*, and *Bijaya-mitasa*; so that we have now a tolerably numerous descending series of coins to be classed together from the circumstance of their symbols, of their genitive termination, and their Pāli dialect and character, as a Buddhist series, when we come again to review what has been done within the last few years in the numismatology of India.

But the most interesting and striking application of the alphabets to coins is certainly that which has been already made (in anticipation, as it were, of my discovery, by Lassen, to the very curious Bactrian coins of Agathocles.

The first announcement of Lassen's reading of this legend was given [vol. i. p. 401]. He had adopted it on the analogies of the Tibetan and Pāli alphabets, both of which are connected with, or immediately derived from, the more ancient character of the Láts. The word read by him, 'rájá,' on some specimens seems to be spelt 𑀮𑀸𑀓𑀭, rather than 𑀮𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀭 *lāja*, a corruption equally probable, and accordant with the Pāli dialect, in which the *r* is frequently changed into *y*, or omitted altogether. I am, however, inclined to adopt another reading, by supposing the Greek genitive case to have been rendered as literally as possible into the Pāli character; thus 𑀮𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀭𑀭𑀭 *Agathuklayej* for *Αγαθοκλαεως*: this has the ad-



at Petersburg, published in the 'Journal des Savans,' 1834, p. 335 :

'In the imperfect accounts transmitted to us of the troubles occasioned to the Seleucidan kingdom from the invasion of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and of the loss of entire provinces after the reverses of Antiochus II. Theos ; the foundation of the Arsacidan kingdom by the defection of the brothers Arsaces and Tiridates is an established point, fixed to the year 256 B.C. But the details of this event, borrowed from Arrian's 'Parthics,' have not yet been determined with sufficient care, as to one important fact in the Bactrian history. From the extracts of various works preserved in Photius, the defection of the Parthians arose from an insult offered to the person of one of these brothers by the Macedonian chief placed by Antiochus II. in charge of the regions of High Asia, and named Phérécélès. The two princes, indignant at such an outrage, are supposed to have revenged themselves with the blood of the satrap, and, supported by the people, to have succeeded in shaking off the Macedonian yoke.

'This short notice from Photius has been corrupted by transcribers in the name of the chief Phérécélès, which modern critics have failed to correct by a passage in the 'Chronographia' of Syncellus, who had equally under his eyes the original of Arrian, and who declares expressly that 'Arsaces and Tiridates (brothers, issue of the ancient king of Persia, Artaxerxes), exercised the authority of satraps in Bactria at the time when Agathocles, the Macedonian, was governor of Persia ; the which Agathocles, having attempted to commit on the person of the young Tiridates the assault before alluded to, fell a victim to the vengeance of the brothers, whence resulted the defection of the country of the Parthians, and the birth of the Arsacidan kingdom.' Agathocles is called by Syncellus, *Ἐπαρχος τῆς Περσικῆς*, while Photius calls him (under an erroneous name) *Σατράπην αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας καταστάντα*, appointed by Antiochus Theos ; so that no doubt whatever could exist as to their identity, although, until the discovery of the coins, there was no third evidence whence the learned could decide between the two names. The presumption might have been in favor of Agathocles, because among the body-guard of Alexander was found an Antylocus, son of Agathocles, who, by the prevailing custom of his country, would have named his son Agathocles, after his own father.'

M. Raoul Rochette proceeds to identify the Eparch of Persia with Diodotus, or Theodotus, the founder of the

Bactrian independency ;—supposing him to have seized the opportunity of striking the blow during the confusion of Antiochus' war with Ptolemy, and while he was on deputation to the distant provinces of the Oxus,—that he was at first chary of placing his own head on his coin, contenting himself with a portrait of Bacchus, and his panther on the reverse, but afterwards emboldened to adopt the full insignia of royalty. Thus, according to our author, a singular shift of authorities took place : Arsaces, the satrap of Parthia, quits that place and sets up for himself in Persia, in consequence of the aggression of Diodotus (or Agathocles), king of Bactria, who had originally been Eparch of Persia,—both satraps becoming kings by this curious *bouleversement*. The non-discovery of Theodotus' medals is certainly in favor of M. Raoul Rochette's argument, but the present fact of a Hindí legend on his coin militates strongly against his kingdom being thrown exclusively to the northward. By allowing it to include Parthia proper, or Seistan, and the provinces of the Indus, this difficulty would be got rid of ; but still there will remain the anomaly of these Indian legends being found only on Agathocles, and Pantaleon's coins, while those of Menander, who is known to have possessed more of India proper, have only the Pehlvi reverse. Agathocles' rule must have included a sect of Buddhists somewhere, for, besides the letters, we find their peculiar symbol present on many of the 'panther' coins. At any rate, we have certainty of the existence of our alphabet in the third century before Christ, exactly as it exists on our Indian monuments, which is all that on the present occasion it is relevant to insist upon. . . .

[Prinsep then goes on to test the application of this alphabet to other classes of inscriptions, and terminates his remarks with—]

A few words in conclusion regarding the alphabet, of which I have had a fount prepared while this article was setting up for press.

There is a primitive simplicity in the form of every letter, which stamps it at once as the original type whereon the more complicated structure of the Sanskrit has been founded. If carefully analyzed, each member of the alphabet will be found to contain the element of the corresponding member, not only of the Devanāgarī, but of the Kanauj, the Pālī, the Tibetan, the Hala Kanara, and of all the derivatives from the Sanskrit stock.

But this is not all: simplification may be carried much farther by due attention to the structure of the alphabet, as it existed even at this early stage, and the genius of its construction, *ab initio*, may in some measure be recognized and appreciated.

First, the aspirated letters appear to have been formed in most cases by doubling the simple characters; thus, ॠ *chh* is the double of ॠ *ch*; ॡ *th* is the double of ॠ *t*; ॢ *dh* is the half of this; and ॣ *th* is the same character with a dot as a distinguishing mark: (this may account for the constant interchange of the ॠ, ॡ, ॢ, and ॣ, in the inscriptions). Again: । *dh* is only the letter ॠ produced from below—if doubled, it would have been confounded with another letter, the ॠ. The aspirated ॥ *p* is merely the ॠ *p* with a slight mark, sometimes put on the outside, either right or left,<sup>1</sup> but I cannot yet affirm

<sup>1</sup> [I have allowed Prinsep's original speculations on the structure of this alphabet to stand uncommented upon; and have reserved for rectification, under his own hand, in the succeeding article, whatever was left imperfect or incomplete in this.]



that this mark may not merely denote a duplication of the letter rather than an aspiration—if, indeed, the terms were not originally equivalent; for we have just seen the doubling of the letter made to denote its aspiration.

The *kh* seems formed from the *g* rather than the *k*: the *gh* and *jh* are missing as in Tibetan, and appear to be supplied by *g* and *chh* respectively: *bh* is anomalous, or it has been formed from the *q* by adding a downward stroke.

Again, there is a remarkable analogy of form in the semi-vowels *r*, *ṛ*, *l*, *y*, *ṛ*, *ṣ*, *ṣ*, *ṣ*, which tends to prove their having been framed on a consistent principle: the first *r* hardly ever occurs in the Dihlī inscription, but it is common in that from Girnār. The *h* *ṛ* is but the *ṣ* reversed: the *ri*, so peculiar to the Sanskrit alphabet, is formed by adding the vowel *i* to the *r*, thus, *r*.

As far as is yet known, there is only one *n*,<sup>1</sup> and one *s*: the nasals and sibilants had not therefore been yet separated into classes; for the written Pālī of 200 years later possesses at least the various *n*'s, though it has but one *s*.

The four vowels, initials, have been discovered, *ṛ*, *ṛ*, *ṛ*, *ṛ*; *ṛ*, *ṛ*; *ṛ*, *ṛ*, *ṛ*, *ṛ*. The second seems to be the skeleton of the third, as if denoting the smallest possible vocal sound. Of the medial vowels it is needless to speak, as their agreement in system with the old Nāgarī was long since pointed out. The two long vowels *ī* and *ū*, are produced by doubling the short symbols. The *visarga* is of doubtful occurrence, but the *anuswāra* is constantly employed;

<sup>1</sup> I think the Girnār and Ceylon inscriptions will be found to have the other nasals made by the modification of the primary *ṛ*. There are other letters in these texts not found in the Lāts of this side of India.

and when before *m*, as in ८४ *dhamma*, it is equivalent to the duplication employed in the more modern Pálí writing. The following, then, is our alphabet, arranged in the ordinary manner.

Gutturals	..... + १ ॡ	<i>k kh g gh ng</i>	क ख ग घ ङ
Palatals	..... ॠ ॡ ॢ	<i>ch chh j jh ny</i>	च छ ज झ ञ
Cerebrals	..... ॣ । ॥ ० १ ॢ	<i>t th d dh n</i>	ट ठ ड ढ ण
Dentals	..... ॡ ॣ । ॥ ० १ ॢ	<i>t th d dh n</i>	त थ द ध न
Labials	..... ॣ । ॥ ० १ ॢ	<i>p ph b bh m</i>	प फ व भ म
Semivowels, etc.	..... ॣ । ॥ ० १ ॢ	<i>y r l v s h</i>	य र ल व स ह
Vowels	..... ॡ ॣ । ॥ ० १ ॢ	<i>a i e u rĩ</i>	अ इ ए उ ऋ

We might, perhaps, on contemplation of these forms, go yet farther into speculation on their origin. Thus the *g* may be supposed to be formed of the two strokes of the *k*, differently disposed; the *j*, of the two half curves of the *ch* superposed; the two *d*'s<sup>1</sup> are the same letter turned right and left respectively; and this principle, it may be remarked, is to be met with in other scions of the Indian alphabet. Thus, in the Tibetan, the ॐ *z*, a sound unknown to the Sanskrit, is made by inverting the ॐ *j*; the cerebral *n*, by inverting the dental ॐ *n*; and the cerebral *t*, *th*, by inversion of the dental ॐ *t th*.

The analogy between the ॣ and ॡ is not so great in this alphabet as in what we have imagined to be its successor, in which the essential part of the (ॠ) *t* is the ॣ placed downwards (˘). In the same manner, the connection of the labials, *p* and *b*, is more visible in the old Ceylonese, the Kanauj, and even the Tibetan alphabets;

<sup>1</sup> It is worth observation that the dental *d* of the inscriptions corresponds in form to the modern cerebral, and *vice versa*.

the  $\text{ṛ}$   $\text{ḷ}$  being merely the  $\text{ṛ}$   $\text{ḷ}$  closed at the top; and in square Páli  $\text{ṛ}$  and  $\text{ḷ}$ .

Thus, when we come to examine the matter critically, we are insensibly led to the reduction of the written characters to a comparatively small number of elements, as  $\text{ṛ}$ ,  $\text{ḷ}$ ,  $\text{ḥ}$ ,  $\text{ḥ}$ ,  $\text{ḥ}$ ,  $\text{ḥ}$ ,  $\text{ḥ}$ ,  $\text{ḥ}$  and  $\text{ḥ}$ ; besides the vowels  $\text{ṛ}$ ,  $\text{ḷ}$ ,  $\text{ḥ}$ . Or, perhaps, in lieu of this arrangement, it may be preferable to adopt one element as representative of each of the seven classes of letters. We shall thus come to the very position long ago advanced by Iambulus the traveller.

Iambulus was antecedent, says Dr. Vincent, to Diodorus; and Diodorus was contemporary with Augustus. He made, or pretended to have made, a voyage to Ceylon, and to have lived there seven years. Nine facts mentioned by him as characteristic of the people of that country, though doubted much in former days, have been confirmed by later experience: a tenth fact the learned author of the 'Periplus' was obliged to leave to future inquiry,—namely, "whether the particulars of the alphabet of Ceylon may not have some allusion to truth: for, he says, 'the characters are originally only seven, but by four varying forms or combinations they become twenty-eight.'"<sup>1</sup>

It would be difficult to describe the conditions of the Indian alphabetical system more accurately than Iambulus has done in his short summary, which proves to be not only true in the general sense of the classification of the letters, but exact as to the origin and formation of the symbols. As regards the discussion of the edict of

<sup>1</sup> Vincent's 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea.'

Devánampiyatissa, the testimony of Iambulus is invaluable, because it proves that written characters—our written characters—were then in use (notwithstanding the Buddhist books were not made up till two centuries later :) and it establishes the credit of a much vituperated individual, who has been so lightly spoken of, that Wilford endeavours to identify him with Sindbad the Sailor, and other equally marvellous travellers !

[ Though not strictly susceptible of classification with numismatic developments, I am anxious to associate with James Prinsep's other contributions to the historical antiquities of India, his most interesting discovery of the names of the early successors of Alexander the Great, on the lapidary monuments of Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta.]

#### DISCOVERY OF THE NAME OF ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT, IN TWO OF THE EDICTS OF ASOKA, KING OF INDIA.

(Read at the Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the 7th March, 1838.)

As long as the study of Indian antiquities confines itself to the illustration of Indian history, it must be confessed that it possesses little attraction for the general student, who is apt to regard the labor expended on the disentanglement of perplexing and contradictory mazes of fiction, as leading only to the substitution of vague and dry probabilities for poetical, albeit extravagant, fable. But the moment any name or event turns up in the course of such speculations, offering a plausible point of connection between the legends of India and the rational histories of Greece or Rome,—a collision between the fortunes of an eastern and a western hero,—forthwith a speedy and spreading interest is excited, which cannot be satisfied until the subject is thoroughly sifted by the examination of all the ancient works, western and eastern, that can throw concurrent light on the matter at issue. Such was the engrossing interest which attended the identification of Sandracottus with Chandragupta, in the days of Sir Wm. Jones: such the ardour with which the Sanskrit was studied, and is still studied, by philologists at home, after it was discovered to bear an intimate relation to the classical languages of ancient Europe. Such, more recently, has

been the curiosity excited, on Turnour's throwing open the hitherto sealed page of the Buddhist historians to the development of Indian monuments and Paurānic records.

The discovery I was myself so fortunate as to make, last year, of the alphabet of the Dihlī Pillar Inscription, led immediately to results of hardly less consideration to the learned world. Dr. Mill regarded these inscriptions as all but certainly demonstrated relics of the classical periods of Indian literature. This slight remainder of doubt has been since removed by the identification of Piyadasi as Asoka, which we also owe to Turnour's successful researches; and, dating from an epoch thus happily achieved, we have since succeeded in tracing the name of the grandson of the same king, Dasaratha, at Gaya, in the same old character; and the names of Nanda and Ailas, and perhaps Vijaya, in the Kalinga caves: while on Bactrian coins we have been rewarded with finding the purely Greek names of Agathocles and Pantaleon, faithfully rendered in the same ancient alphabet of the Hindús.

I have now to bring to the notice of the Society another link of the same chain of discovery, which will, if I do not deceive myself, create a yet stronger degree of general interest in the labours, and of confidence in the deductions, of our antiquarian members than any that has preceded it. I feel it so impossible to keep this highly singular discovery to myself that I risk the imputation (which has been not unjustly cast upon me in the course of my late undigested disclosures), of bringing it forward in a very immature shape, and, perhaps, of hereafter being obliged to retract a portion of what I advance. Yet neither in this, nor in any former communication to the Society, have I to fear any material alteration in their general bearing, though improvements in reading and translation must of course be expected as I become more familiar with characters and dialects unknown for ages past even to the natives themselves, and entirely new to my own study.

A year ago, as the Society will remember, Mr. Wathen kindly sent me a reduced copy of the facsimiles of the inscriptions on a rock at Girmār (Giri-nagara) near Junágarh, in Gujarát, which had been taken on cloth by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, President of the Bombay Literary Society. He also sent a copy to M. Jacquet of Paris, which I dare say before this has been turned to good account.

After completing the reading of the Pillar Inscriptions, my attention was naturally turned to these in the same character from the west of India, but I soon found that the copy sent was not sufficiently well done to be thoroughly made out; and I accordingly requested Mr. Wilson to favour me with the facsimile itself, which, with the most liberal frankness, he immediately sent round under a careful hand by

sea. Meanwhile Lieut. Kittoe had, as you are also aware, made the important discovery of a long series of inscriptions in the same character at a place called Dhauli, in Katak. These were in so mutilated a state that I almost despaired of being able to sift their contents; and they were put aside, at any rate until a more promising portion of my labour should be accomplished.

I had just groped my way through the Girnár text, which proved to be, like that of the pillars, a series of edicts promulgated by Asoka, but essentially different both in language and in purport. When I took up the Katak inscriptions, of which Lieut. Kittoe had been engaged in making a lithographic copy for my journal, to my surprise and joy I discovered that the greater part of these inscriptions (all, indeed, save the first and last paragraphs, which were enclosed in distinguishing frames), was identical with the inscription at Girnár. And thus, as I had had five copies of the Pillar Inscription to collate together for a correct text, a most extraordinary chance had now thrown before me two copies of the rock edicts to aid me in a similar task! There was, however, one great variance in the parallel; for, while the pillars were almost identical letter for letter, the Girnár and Katak texts turned out to be only so in substance, the language and alphabet having both very notable and characteristic differences.

Having premised thus much in explanation of the manner of my discovery, I must now quit the general subject for a time, to single out the particular passage in the inscriptions which is to form the theme of my present communication.

The second tablet at Girnár is in very good preservation; every letter is legible, and but two or three are in any way dubious. The paragraph at Aswastuma, which I found to correspond therewith, is far from being in so good a state; nevertheless, when the extant letters are interlined with the more perfect Girnár text, they will be seen to confirm the most important passage, while they throw a corroborative evidence upon the remainder, and give a great deal of instruction on the respective idioms in which the two are couched.

The edict relates to the establishment of a system of medical administration throughout the dominions of the supreme sovereign of India, at one of which we may smile in the present day, for it includes both man and beast; but this we know to be in accordance with the fastidious humanity of the Buddhist creed, and we must therefore make due allowance for a state of society and of opinions altogether different from our own. . . .

#### TRANSLATION.

"Everywhere within the conquered provinces of Rája Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods, as well as in the parts occupied by the faithful, such as Chola, Pida, Satiyaputra,

and Ketalaputra, even as far as Tambapanni (Ceylon)—and moreover, within the dominions of Antiochus the Greek (of which Antiochus' generals are the rulers)—everywhere the heaven-beloved Rāja Piyadasi's double system of medical aid is established, both medical aid for men, and medical aid for animals: together with medicaments of all sorts, which are suitable for men, and suitable for animals. And wherever there is not (such provision), in all such places they are to be prepared, and to be planted: both root-drugs and herbs, wheresoever there is not (a provision of them) in all such places shall they be deposited and planted.

“And in the public highways wells are to be dug, and trees to be planted, for the accommodation of men and animals.”

Many things are deserving of comment in this short edict. . . . But the principal fact which arrests attention in this very curious proclamation, is its allusion to Antiochus the Yona (Sanskrit, *Yavana*) or ‘Greek’ king. The name occurs four times over, with only one variation in the spelling, where, in lieu of *Antiyako* we have *Antiyoko*, a still nearer approach to the Greek. The final *o* is the regular Pālī conversion of the Sanskrit nominative masculine termination *as*, or the Greek *os*. In the Pillar dialect the visarga of the Sanskrit is replaced by the vowel *e*, as we see in the interlined reading, *Antiyake*. Again, the interposition of the semivowel *y* between the two Greek vowels *i* and *o* is exactly what I had occasion to observe in the writing of the words *Agathuklayoj* and *Pantalawanta* for *Αγαθοκλεως* and *Πανταλεοντος* on the coins. All this evidence would of itself bias my choice towards the reading adopted, even were it possible to propose any other; but although I have placed the sentence, exactly transcribed in the Devanāgarī character, in the pandit's hand, he could not, without the alteration of very many letters, convert it to any other meaning, however strained. And were there still any doubt at all in my mind, it would be removed by the testimony of the Katak version, which introduces between *Antiyake* and *Yona* the word *nāma*,—making the precise sense ‘the Yona rāja, by name Antiochus.’

[I transcribe so much of the duplicate version of the original, since illustrated and confirmed by the decipherment of the Arian inscription at Kapur di Giri, as in any way affects the historical value of the document, together with Professor Wilson's commentary and revision of Prinsep's translation. The Professor's opening remarks explain the derivation and arrangement of the parallel texts, inserted *in extenso* in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.]

In order to exhibit with as much distinctness as possible the



language of the inscriptions . . . . I have placed the several inscriptions in parallel lines, in order to bring the words of each in juxta-position as far as was practicable. They accordingly form four lines. The upper line represents Mr. Prinsep's original readings, as published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. vi., p. 228, and above the line, in a smaller character, are inserted his subsequent corrections, as given in a copy of the Journal, corrected by himself, and placed at Mr. Norris's disposal, by his brother, Mr. H. T. Prinsep. Small numerals refer to the lines of our own lithographed copy. This line I have designated G *a*. The second line is the representation of the copy lithographed (in the 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 153), and which I have generally referred to as Mr. Westergaard's copy, as he has the larger share in it. This is marked G *b*. The third line marked D repeats the Dhauli inscription, as given by Mr. Prinsep. We have not yet been fortunate enough to have had a second and revised transcript, although it is very desirable. The lower line is marked K, as being rendered into Roman letters from the lithographed copy of the Kapur di Giri inscription. The small figures here also refer to the lines of the original. Where blanks occur in either of the inscriptions they are denoted by asterisks (dots are used in this work): where words are wanting for the collation, although there is no blank in the inscription, a line (of dots) supplies their place.

TABLET II.

G <i>a</i>	<sup>1</sup> Savata	vijitemhi	devānam	piyasa	Piyadasino	raño
G <i>b</i>	Savata	vijitamhi	devānam	piyasa	Piyadasino	raño
D	. avata	vimitamsi	devānam	piyasa	Piyadasine	. . .
K	Savatam	vijite	devanam	priyasa	Priyadaśisa	raja
G <i>a</i>	<sup>2</sup> evamapāpavantesu	yathā	Choḍa	<sup>ā</sup> Pāda	Satiyaputo	
G <i>b</i>	evamapipāvantesu	yathā	Choḍā	Pādā	Satiyaputo	
D	. . . . .	. . . . .	yi	<sup>ā</sup> Palaya	Satiya putra	
K	. . . . .	. . . . .				
G <i>a</i>	<sup>a</sup> Ketaleputo, <sup>a</sup> a	<sup>n</sup> Tamba <sup>3</sup> panni	Antiyako	yonā rāja ye		
G <i>b</i>	Ketalaputā, <sup>a</sup> a	Tambapani	Antiyako	yonā rāja ye		
D	. . . . .	. . . . .	tiyoke nāma	yonā lāja yā		
K	cha Keralamputra	Tambapani	Antiyoka ne	yonā raja ye		
G <i>a</i>	vā pi	— tasa	Antiyakasa	<sup>asan</sup> samino <sup>4</sup> rājāno		
G <i>b</i>	vā pi	— tasa	Antiyakasa	sāmipam rājāno		
D	va . .	— . . sa	Antiyokasa	sāmantā lajāne		
K	cha	araṇa tasa	Antiyokasa	samata rajaya		

The portion of the Kapur di Giri inscription, which corresponds with the second Tablet of Girnār and Dhauli, is less imperfect than that which answers to the first

Tablet, and in the few blanks which occur, it admits of being conjecturally completed without any great violence.

There are, however, several omissions as compared with the Girnár sculpture, which are apparently intentional, constituting a variety in the language, though not in the general purport of the inscriptions. The inscriptions correspond also in the chief point of interest, the mention of Antiochus, the Yona Rája.

The inscription commences with the phrase, *Savata vijite*, followed by a short blank, which may be filled up, without much risk of error, by the syllable *mhi*, of the Girnár Tablet—'everywhere in the conquered countries;'—which is followed by the usual designation 'of the beloved of the gods' Piyadasi, the genitive being as before, *Priyadaśisa*: the word 'countries,' it may be presumed, is understood in all the inscriptions.

We have no equivalent for what follows, which is read by Mr. Prinsep, *evamapdapavantesu*. In Westergaard's copy it might be read, *mahi pdehantesu*, but it is, perhaps, only *evam api pachantesu* (for *pratyanteshu*) 'also even in the bordering countries,' not as Prinsep proposes, 'as well as in the parts occupied by the faithful.' Nor have we any equivalent for *Choḍa*, conjectured by Prinsep to be that portion of the south of India which is known as Chola, or Cholamandala, whence our Coromandel.

Instead of *Piḍa*, which requires to be corrected to *Pāḍa*, we have *Palaya*, and then *Satiya putra cha Keralamputra Tambapani*, in near approach to *Satiya putu Ketalaputi and Tambapani*, words which have been thought intended to designate places in the south of India, but of which the two first, *Palaya* and *Satiya-putu*, are new and unknown. *Kerala* is no doubt a name of Malabar, as Chola is of the opposite coast; but we also find both words, in combination with others, designating countries or people in the north-west, as Kamboja, Yavana, Chola, Murala, Kerala, Śāka. (Gana-Pāthra, referring to a *sūtra* of Pānini, 4. 1. 175.) *Tambapani* it has been proposed to identify with *Tāmrāparmi*, or Ceylon, but further research may also remove that to the north. The same authority, giving the *Gaṇa*, or list of words indicated in the *sūtra*, 5. 1. 116, explains them to signify tribes of fighting men, and specifies among them *Savtri-putra*, which offers some analogy to the *Satiya-putra* of the inscription. It is much more likely that countries in the north-west, than in the extreme south, of India are intended.

We next come to the important passage in which a Greek name and designation occur. Both the Girnár copies read *Antiyako yona rāja*: the Kapur di Giri has *Antiyokane yona rāja*; but the two last letters, *ne*, are rather doubtful. It should perhaps be *Antiyoke nama*, as at Dhaulī, where we have *tiyoke nama yona lāja*. The use of the nominative case, however, offers a syntactical perplexity, for there is not any verb through which to connect Antiochus with the rest of the sentence; and it seems unusual to associate the name of an individual with those of places. Prinsep supplies the defect with 'the dominions of Antiochus the Greek;' but we have no term for 'the dominions,' nor is the noun in the genitive case, as it is in what follows. In this the Kapur di Giri inscription nearly agrees with that of Girnár, and it may be read *ye cha a raṇa tasa Antiyokasa samata rajaya sakato devanam priyasa*, etc., that of Girnár being *ye va pi tasa Antiyakasa sāmipam rājano savata*. Either may be rendered 'and those princes who are near to Antiochus everywhere;' although *rajaya* is an unusual form of the plural of *rāja*, being neither Sanskrit nor Pāli. The object of prefixing *a* to *rājna* in the word *araṇa*, being equivalent to 'no king,' is not very intelligible, and it can scarcely be doubted that *sukuto* should be *suṇutu*, as found both at Girnár and Dhaulī. It seems likely that there may be some inaccuracies in this

part, either in the original or the copy. But admitting a concurrent reading, we still want a connecting word, and it is not specified what these neighbours or dependants of Antiochus are to do. We may presume that they are expected to attend to the object of the edict, or they may be comprehended in the list of the *savata vijite*, 'the conquered.'

## PROPOSED TRANSLATION.

In all the subjugated (territories) of the King Priyadasi, the beloved of the gods, and also in the bordering countries, as (Choda), Palaya, (or Paraya), Satyaputra, Keralaputra, Tambapani (it is proclaimed), and Antiochus by name, the Yona (or Yavana) Raja, and those princes who are near to (or allied with) that monarch, universally (are apprised) that (two designs have been cherished by Priyadasi: one design) regarding men, and one relating to animals; and whatever herbs are useful to men or useful to animals.

## PRINSEP'S TRANSLATION.

'Everywhere within the conquered province of rāja Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods, as well as in the parts occupied by the faithful, such as Chola, Pīda, Satiyaputra, and Ketalaputra, even as far as Tambapānni (Ceylon); and moreover, within the dominions of Antiochus, the Greek (of which Antiochus' generals are the rulers)—everywhere the heaven-beloved rāja Piyadasi's double system of medical aid is established; both medical aid for men, and medical aid for animals; together with the medicaments of all sorts, which are suitable for men, and suitable for animals.'

CONTINUATION OF REMARKS ON THE EDICTS OF PIYADASI, OR ASOKA, THE BUDDHIST MONARCH OF INDIA, PRESERVED ON THE GIRNAR ROCK IN THE GUJARAT PENINSULA, AND ON THE DHAULI ROCK IN KATAK; WITH THE DISCOVERY OF PTOLEMY'S NAME THEREIN.

(Read at the meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the 4th April, 1838).

In continuation of the discovery I had the pleasure of bringing to the notice of the Society at its last meeting, I am now enabled to announce that the edicts in the ancient character from Gujarāt do not confine their mention of Greek sovereigns to Antiochus the ally of Asoka, but that they contain an allusion, equally authentic and distinct, to one of the Ptolemies of Egypt! The edict containing this highly curious passage is in a mutilated condition and at the very end of the inscription, which will account for its having hitherto escaped my attention. As I propose to lay before the Society a brief account of the whole of the Gīrnār inscription, I will do no more than mention the fact at present, reserving the particulars until I come to the actual position of the passage on the stone. . . .

I have already mentioned the fortunate discovery of a duplicate of the Gujarāt inscription, at Dhaulī, in Katak.

The divided sentences, or, as I shall for the present venture to call them, the edicts, which are common to Gīrnār and to Dhaulī, are eleven

in number. From the first to the tenth they keep pace together: the only difference being that while, at Girnár, each is surrounded by an engraved line as a frame; at Dhaulí, the beginning of each edict is marked by a short dash. The regular succession is then interrupted by three interpolations at Girnár; after which, the fourteenth edict of that series is found to correspond with the eleventh or concluding one of the same set at Dhaulí.

The three missing edicts are more than compensated at Dhaulí by the introduction of two others not found at Girnár, one at the end enclosed in a frame, and one on the left hand of the same rock on a larger scale of sculpture; but both of these being of a totally different purport, and being quite unconnected with the rest, I shall postpone for separate consideration.

That the edicts are of different dates is proved by the actual mention of the year of Piyadasi's reign, in which several of them were published. Two of them are dated in the tenth<sup>1</sup> and two in the twelfth year after his *abhiṣeka* or consecration, which we learn from Turnour's Páli history did not take place until the fourth year of his succession to the throne of his father, Bindusaro. Only one of the pillar edicts is dated in the twelfth year; the remainder, generally, bearing the date of the twenty-seventh year; and one containing both, as if contradicting, at the later epoch, what had been published fifteen years before. From this evidence we must conclude that the Gujarát and Katak inscriptions have slightly the advantage in antiquity over the Láts of Dihlí and Allah-ábád: but, again, in the order of sequence, we find edicts of the twelfth year preceding those of the tenth; and we learn expressly from the fourteenth edict that the whole were engraven at one time. Their preservation on rocks and pillars therefore must be regarded as resulting from an after order, when some re-arrangement was probably made according to the relative importance of the subjects.

The copy that emanated from the palace must, however, have been modified according to the vernacular idiom of the opposite parts of India to which it was transmitted, for there is a marked and peculiar difference, both in the grammar and in the alphabet of the two texts, which demands a more lengthened examination than I can afford to introduce in this place. I shall, however, presently recur to this subject, and, at least, give the explanation of those new characters which I have been obliged to cut in order to print the Girnár text, and which, in fact, render the alphabet as complete as that of the modern Páli,

<sup>1</sup> I use these terms as more consonant to our idiom: the correct translation is 'having been consecrated ten and twelve years,' so that the actual period is one year later in our mode of reckoning.



The sight of my former friend, the *yona rája* (whom, if he should not turn out to be Antiochus the ally, I shall shortly find another name for), drew my particular attention to what followed; and it was impossible, with this help, not to recognize the name of Ptolemy even in the disguise of Turamayo. The *r* is however doubtful; and I think, on second examination, it may turn out an *l*, which will make the orthography of the name complete. The word *rájano*, and its adjective *chaptáro*, being both in the plural, made it necessary that other names should follow, which was confirmed by the recurrence of the conjunction *cha*. The next name was evidently imperfect; the syllabic letter, read as *gon*, if turned on one side would be rather *an*, and the next, too short for a *g*, might, by restoring the lost part above, be made into *ti*: I therefore inclined to read this name 𑀅𑀲𑀓𑀭𑀮𑀺 *Antikono* for *Antigonus*; and, assuming that *chaptáro* was a corruption of *chatwáro*, 'four,' to understand the passage as alluding to a treaty with the four principal divisions of the Alexandrine monarchy, two of which in the time of Antiochus the Great were governed by princes of these names, viz.: Antigonus, in Macedonia, and Ptolemy Euergetes, in Egypt. The fourth name, however, thus remained inexplicable; while on the stone it was even more clear than the others, *Magá*. . . . It seems, therefore, more rational to refer the allusion in our edict to the former period [B.C. 260], and so far modify the theory I have lately adopted<sup>1</sup> on *prima facie* evidence of the treaty of Asoka with Antiochus the Great, as to transfer it to the original treaty with one of his predecessors, the first or second of the same name, Soter or Theos, of whom the former may have the preference, from his close family connexion with both Ptolemy and Magas. . . . I say nothing of the intermediate name, *Gongakena* or *Antigonus*, because I cannot be certain of its correct spelling. Antigonus Gonatus had much to do with the affairs of Egypt, but he could not well be set down among its kings.

[ I again take advantage of Prof. Wilson's most elaborate revision of Prinsep's original translation of this Tablet, prefixing the Romanized variants of the different texts. ]

K	sanyatam	Antiyoko	nama	yona	raja	parancha	tena
G a	ṣ . . . .	. . . .	. .	yona	rája	parancha	tena
G b	ṣ . . . .	. . . .	. .	yona	rája	parancha	tena
K	Antiyokena	chaturó		rajano	Turamara	nama	An-
G a	" "	chaptáro	" "	rájano	Turamáyo	cha	An-
G b	" "	chattáro	" "	rájano	Turamáyo	cha	An-

<sup>1</sup> [To the effect that Antiochus the Great was the monarch of the name referred to.]

K	tikona	nama	Mako	nama	Alikasunari	nama	likhichha
G a	<sup>igono</sup> takana	cha	<sup>o</sup> Magá	cha	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
G b	takana	cha	Magá	cha	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .

The division of the Girnár inscriptions, numbered by Prinsep as thirteen, finds a counterpart at Kapur di Giri; but, unfortunately, it is not of a nature to supply the defects and imperfections of the Girnár tablet. As mentioned by Prinsep, the rock at Girnár is at this part so much mutilated, that it is difficult to put together the context of the entire tablet: portions of the inscription are wanting at either end of each line, especially at the beginning, but the middle portions are tolerably perfect. The rock at Kapur di Giri has not apparently suffered much mutilation, and the inscription is consequently more complete, supplying the words effaced from that at Girnár; but it is not only in this respect that it exceeds in length the Girnár inscription. There are evidently additional passages which the latter does not contain, and which intervene between what are apparently intended for the same passages in both places; on the other hand, there are several obliterations or deficiencies in the Kapur di Giri inscription where that at Girnár is entire. In collating the two, therefore, wide gaps occur without a parallel, partly owing to these respective mutilations,—partly to the additional matter at Kapur di Giri. From place to place, however, concurrent passages do occur, which leave no doubt of the general identity of the inscriptions, as will appear from the collateral copy.

It happens, however, still unfortunately, that neither the additional, nor those which are evidently identical, passages in the Kapur di Giri inscription, are for the major part to be satisfactorily deciphered. The circumstances under which the characters were transcribed sufficiently account for the disappointment. Masson has explained the impossibility of taking a fac-simile of this part of the inscription, and he was obliged after many fruitless efforts to effect his purpose, to be content with carrying off a copy only. But the position of the stone, which prevented a fac-simile from being made, was also obviously unfavourable to the making of a faithful copy; and it is not at all therefore to be wondered at, that the forms of the letters should have assumed deceptive appearances, differing consequently in different parts of the inscription, in words which there is reason to believe the same; and varying from one another in words which from one or two distinct characters are known to be identical, as for instance in *Devanam prya*, in which the latter term is generally legible, and we may therefore infer that *devanam* precedes it; but, without such a guide, it would be impossible to read *devanam*, as it presents itself in a number of different and unusual forms. Masson's copy, however, is more legible than one made by a native employed by M. Court, the use of which has been kindly allowed to the Society by Lassen. In this, very few words can be made out, even by conjecture, and with the assistance of Masson's transcript. It has not, however, been wholly unserviceable.

Prinsep has ventured to propose a continuous translation of the Thirteenth Tablet, although he admits that insulated phrases alone are intelligible. Such is the case in the Kapur di Giri inscription; and it were very unsafe to propose anything like a connected rendering, even of what is perfect, although a few words and phrases are decipherable, and may be compared with similar words and phrases in the Girnár tablet. In most of these passages, however, the reading of the original itself is conjectural only, for it will follow from the sources of imperfection described, that although a transcript has been attempted as above in Roman characters, yet no great reliance is to be placed on the greater part of it, particularly where parallel passages are not found in the Girnár inscription. . . . .



Deficiencies at the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth line at Girnár, are rather more than adequately filled up at Kapur di Giri, and some of the additional matter is important. The name and designation, *Antiyoka nama yona Rdja*, are given distinctly: why he is introduced does not very well appear, but we might venture to connect it with what precedes, and to interpret and fill up the passages thus: 'He who had obtained the alliance of men—he has been received as the friend of (me) Devanampriya: we have for this conjectural rendering, *Devanam priyasa*; then some unreadable letters, *sampapi* (for *samaprápi*) *yo janasa (su) sanyatam*. At Girnár we have only *yona Rdja*, but no name, no Antiochus, nor any circumstance relating to him. Both inscriptions next read *parancha*, 'and afterwards,' the Girnár has then *tana*, 'by him,' which, as no name was specified, Prinsep necessarily interpreted, 'by whom' (rather 'by him,' the Greek king). In the Kapur di Giri tablet, *tana* refers of course to Antiochus; but, not to leave any doubt on this score, the inscription repeats the name, and gives us *tana Antiyokena*, 'by that Antiochus;' thus furnishing a very important illustration of the Girnár tablet. What then was done by him? by that Antiochus? this is not to be made out very distinctly; but, connected with what follows, it may be conjectured to imply that four other Greek princes were brought under subjection by him. There can be no doubt that the numeral which Prinsep read *chaptáro* is, properly, *chattáro*. There is no *p* in the Kapur di Giri inscription; it is, clearly, *chataro*, with the usual disregard of correct orthography and identification of long and short vowels. In the Girnár inscription the form is like *pt*, no doubt; but this combination, as already observed, treating of Tablet XII., is so utterly repugnant to the most characteristic feature of Páli, that it cannot be allowed; and in this case, if the original word intended to be the Sanskrit numeral *chatvára*, the *p* would be gratuitously inserted. The only admissible reading is *chattáro*, the regular Páli form of the Sanskrit *chatvára*: four indistinct marks follow the numeral in each inscription, being probably intended for figures equivalent to four. We then have the several names of the four princes remarkably distinct, and it luckily happens that M. Court's copy is also very legible in this passage, and entirely confirms Masson's readings. The passage runs thus: *Turamara nama, Antikona nama, Mako nama, Alikasunari nama*. At Girnár the last name is wanting, there being some letters obliterated. We have also some variation in the reading, but not material, the names being there, *Turamdyo cha, Antakana cha, Magd cha*. The two inscriptions give us, no doubt, the names of four Greek princes, of whom Ptolemy, Antigonus, and Magas may be readily recognised, although, how they come into juxtaposition with Antiochus on the one hand, or Alexander on the other, is only to be explained by the supposition that, although these names had from their celebrity reached the west of India, the history of the persons so named was vaguely and incorrectly known.

We shall, however, recur to the subject: at present we are only concerned with the purport of the inscription, which is unfortunately by no means distinct. We have the order, by that Antiochus four Yavana kings, were:—what? neither inscription enables us to answer: the Girnár inscription being in fact here mutilated. Prinsep, in his introductory remarks, supplying the connection conjecturally, fills up the blank by reading, 'And the Greek king besides, by whom the four kings have been induced to permit,' but there is nothing to warrant such a translation; and in the actual rendering of the passage the latter clause is omitted: we there have, 'and the Greek king, besides, by whom the kings of Egypt, Ptolemaios, Antigonos (?), and Magas, etc.', and then follows a blank. The Kapur di Giri inscription, although entire, presents characters of undetermined value, and probable inaccuracies. The

first term, *likhielha thana*, is very doubtful; the next appears to be *jayavata*, which might be rendered 'victorious,' in the instrumental case, agreeing with *Antiyokena*: *anansa* is doubtful, both as to reading and sense; *ye asa miti puna rajanti* might be rendered 'they who (the kings) become his friends, again shine (or enjoy dominion).' We may also render *eva hi yona kati yasha*, 'such, indeed, is the Yavaná become, of whom;' there then follow some indistinct characters, and the phrase seems to terminate with *miti hi kite*, 'friendship or alliance has been made.' This I admit is very conjectural, and a corrected copy or a better founded interpretation of the original may shew it to be wholly erroneous; but, in the present state of the inscriptions we may hazard the conjecture that the purport of the whole passage may be, that the four princes, after being overthrown by Antiochus, had been reconciled to him, and that an alliance had then been formed between him and the Indian prince Devapriya. There is nothing whatever to justify the supposition that Devapriya had attempted to make converts of the Greek princes, or to disseminate the doctrines and practices of Buddhism in their dominions.

The state of this transcript of the Kapur di Giri inscription is very far from satisfactory, while, from the names it records, it appears to be of great historical value. It would be very desirable to have a fac-simile carefully taken; and, as the part of the country in which it is situated is now within the reach of British influence, it might be possible, perhaps, without much difficulty, to have such a copy. In the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', Feb. 1848, Capt. Cunningham mentions, in his Diary, his having visited the spot, and taken a copy of the most legible portion of the inscription;<sup>1</sup> he adds, however, that a proper copy could only be made by levelling the ground and building up platforms, and by white-washing the surface of the rock to bring out the sunken letters, a work of time, but which would well repay the labour.

[Prof. Wilson, it will be seen, promised to recur to the subject of the identities of the kings named in the inscription; he does so—while contesting the identity of Piyadasi and Asoka—to the following effect] :—

So that neither of these epithets (*Priyadarsana*, or *Su-darsana*), is exclusively restricted to Asoka, even if they were ever applied to him.

That they were so applied is rendered doubtful by chronological difficulties, of which it is not easy to dispose: Piyadasi appears to have lived, either at the same time with, or subsequent to, Antiochus. Could this have been the case if he was Asoka? For the determination of this question, we must investigate the date at which the two princes flourished, as far as the materials which are available will permit.

The first point to be adjusted is, which Antiochus is referred to. There are several of the name amongst the kings of the Seleucidan dynasty, whose sway, commencing in Syria, extended at various times, in the early periods of their history, through Persia to the confines of India. Of these, the two first, Antiochus Soter and Antiochus Theos, were too much taken up with occurrences in Greece and in the

<sup>1</sup> [A lithograph, by T. Black, of Calcutta is now before me, which purports to give, under Mr. J. W. Laidlay's authority, the 'Inscription at Sháh-baz-garhi, copied by Captain A. Cunningham.' The facsimile is defective and erroneous to a marked degree. As it does not include the thirteenth tablet, it affords no aid in determining the probable orthography of the doubtful names. Major Cunningham's own version of the fifth name is quoted at the foot of p. 26.]

west of Asia, to maintain any intimate connexion with India, and it is not until the time of Antiochus the Great, the fifth Seleucid monarch, that we have any positive indication of an intercourse between India and Syria. It is recorded of this prince that he invaded India, and formed an alliance with its sovereign, named by the Greek writers, *Sophagasenas*, in the first member of which it requires the etymological courage of a Wilford to discover *Asoka*. The late Augustus Schlegel conjectured the Greek name to represent the Sanskrit, *Saubhāgya sena*, he whose army is attended by prosperity; but we have no such prince in Hindū tradition, and it could scarcely have been a synonyme of *Asoka*, the literal sense of which is, he who has no sorrow. Neither is *Sophagasenas* more like *Piyadasi*, and so far therefore we derive no assistance as to the identification of Antiochus. Still, with reference to the facts, and to the allusion to his victorious progress, which Tablet XIII. seems to contain, we can scarcely doubt that he was the person intended, and that the Antiochus of the inscription is Antiochus the Great, who ascended the throne, B.C. 223, and was killed, B.C. 187. The date of his eastern expedition is from B.C. 212 to B.C. 205.

There is, however, an obvious difficulty in the way of the identification from the names of the princes which are found in connexion with that of Antiochus, and which the thirteenth Tablet appears to recapitulate as those of contemporary princes,—subjugated, if the conjectural interpretation be correct, by Antiochus. With respect to one of them, Ptolemy, this is allowable, for Antiochus the Great engaged in war with Ptolemy Philopator, the fourth king of Egypt, with various success, and concluded peace with him before he undertook his expedition to Bactria and India. He therefore was contemporary with Antiochus the Great. It is, however, to be recollected that Ptolemy Philopator was preceded by three other princes of the same name, Ptolemy Soter, Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Ptolemy Euergetes,—extending through a period of rather more than a century, or from B.C. 323 to B.C. 221. These princes were frequently engaged in hostilities with the Seleucid kings of Syria, and we cannot therefore positively determine which of them is referred to in the inscription. The long continuance of the same name, however, among the kings of Egypt, as it was retained until the Roman conquest, no doubt made it familiar throughout the East, and we need not be surprised to find it at *Kapur di Giri* or *Girnar*.

The same circumstance will not account for the insertion of the name of *Mako*, probably *Magas*, for although there was such a prince, he was far removed from India, and of no particular celebrity. *Magas* was made ruler of Cyrene by his father-in-law, Ptolemy Soter, the first Greek king of Egypt, about B.C. 308. He had a long reign of fifty years, to B.C. 258. He was not, therefore, contemporary with Antiochus the Great, dying thirty-five years before that prince's accession. He was connected with Antiochus Soter, having married his daughter, and entered into an alliance with him against Ptolemy Philadelphus,—and this association with the names of Antiochus and Ptolemy, generally but not accurately known, may have led to his being enumerated with the two other princes of the same designation, Ptolemy Philopator, and Antiochus the Great. There was a *Magas* also, the brother of Philopator, but he is of no historical note, and was put to death by his brother in the beginning of his reign. The allusion is, therefore, no doubt to the *Magas* of Cyrene.

It is impossible to explain the juxta-position of the other two names, *Antigonus* and *Alexander*, upon any principle of chronological computation, although we can easily comprehend how the names were familiarly known. That of *Alexander* the Great must of course have left a durable impression, but he is antecedent to any of his generals who made themselves kings after his death. It is very unlikely that his

son Alexander, who was not born till after his death, and from the age of three years was brought up in Macedonia, where he was murdered when only twelve years old, should be the person intended, and a greater probability would attach to an Alexander who was Satrap of Persia in the beginning of the reign of Antiochus the Great, and rebelled against him. He was defeated and killed, B.C. 223. So far therefore we have an Alexander contemporary with Antiochus, if that be thought essential; but it seems more likely that here, as in the case of Magas, the concurrence of names is no evidence of synchronism, and arises from the name being familiarly known without any exact knowledge of the persons by whom they were borne.

Such seems to be the case also with respect to Antigonus. The most celebrated of the name, Alexander's general who succeeded to the sovereignty of Phrygia and Lycia, extended his authority to the East by the defeat and death of Eumenes, and his name may thus have become known in India, although the scene of his victories over his rival was somewhat remote from the frontier, or in Persia and Media. The latter portions of his career were confined to Asia Minor and Greece, and he was killed B.C. 301. He was contemporary with the first Ptolemy, but not with Antiochus, having been killed twenty years before the accession of Antiochus Soter. We have another Antigonus, the grandson of the preceding, who was contemporary with Antiochus Soter, but his life was spent in Macedonia and Greece, and it is not likely therefore that any thing should have been known of him in India. It can only be the first Antigonus whose designation reached an Indian prince, and the mention of him in conjunction with Ptolemy, Antiochus, Magas, and Alexander, shows clearly that the chronology of the inscription was utterly at fault, if it intended to assign a contemporary existence to princes who were scattered through, at least, an interval of a century. We must look, therefore, not to dates, but to the notoriety of the names, and the probability of their having become known in India, for the identification of the persons intended. Under this view, I should refer Alexander to Alexander the Great, Antigonus to his successor, Magas to the son-in-law of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Ptolemy to either or all of the four first princes of Egypt, and Antiochus to the only one of the number who we know from classical record did visit India, and who, from the purport of the inscriptions, we may infer was known there personally,—Antiochus the Great.<sup>1</sup> In this case we obtain for

<sup>1</sup> [I append Major Cunningham's criticism on these arguments.] 'The minor difficulties of chronology, which form Prof. Wilson's last objection ('*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*,' vol. xii., p. 244), are easily disposed of, for they seem to me to have arisen solely from the erroneous assumption that Priyadarsi must have been a contemporary of Antiochus the Great. In the Gîrnâr and Kapur di Giri rock inscriptions, King Priyadarsi mentions the names of five Greek princes who were contemporary with himself. Of these four have been read with certainty—Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus, and Magas; and the fifth has been conjectured to be Alexander. James Prinsep, who first read these names, assigned them to the following princes:—Antiochus II., Theos of Syria, B.C. 265—247; Ptolemy II., Philadelphus of Egypt, B.C. 285—246; Antigonus, Gonatus of Macedon, B.C. 276—243; Magas of Cyrene, B.C. 258; and with these identifications the learned of Europe have generally agreed. 'The fifth name has been read by Mr. Norris as Alexander; and if this reading is correct, we may identify this Prince with Alexander II. of Epeiros, who reigned from B.C. 272—254; but the two copies of this name, published by Mr. Norris, from facsimiles by Masson and Court, appear to me to read Ali bha Sunari, which may be intended for Ariobarzanes III., King of Pontus, who reigned from B.C. 266—240. But in either case the date of Priyadarsi inscription will be about B.C. 260—258, shortly preceding the death of Magas.'—'*Bhilsa Topes*,' p. 111. 'To some it may seem difficult to understand how any relations should exist between the Indian Asoka and the Greek princes of Europe and Africa; but to me it appears natural

the date of the inscription some period subsequent to B.C. 205, at which it seems very unlikely that Asoka was living.

To obviate the chronological difficulty it has been suggested that the Antiochus alluded to is not Antiochus Magnus, but Antiochus Theos, who reigned from B.C. 261 to B.C. 246, and who would therefore be contemporary with Asoka. This is no doubt true, but as intimated above, historical events are opposed to the maintenance of any friendly connexion between the princes of India and Syria during the reign of Antiochus Theos. At its very commencement he was involved in hostilities with the King of Egypt; the war continued during the greater portion of his reign, and amongst its results, were the neglect and loss of the Eastern provinces. Media and Bactria became independent principalities; and their geographical, as well as political position must have completely intercepted all communication between India and Western Asia. It is very unlikely that an Indian sovereign would have promulgated any alliance with the enemy of his immediate neighbours, and we should rather look for the names of Arsaces or Theodotus in his edicts, than that of Antiochus Theos. We cannot, therefore, upon historical grounds admit the identity of the Antiochus of the inscriptions with Antiochus Theos, any more than we can recognise an alliance between Asoka and Antiochus Magnus, as chronologically probable upon such premises as we derive from classical Pauranic, and partly Buddhist data.

If, indeed, we are guided solely by the latter, we shall render the synchronism of the two princes still more impossible. According to the Dipawanso and Mahāwanso, Dharmasoka was inaugurated two hundred and eighteen years after the death of Buddha; his inauguration took place four years after his accession, and we place the latter therefore two hundred and thirteen years after the Nirvān of Gautama. The date of this event was B.C. 543, and  $543 - 214 = \text{B.C. } 329$ ; and Asoka, therefore, ascended the throne, according to the Buddhists, before the invasion, not of Antiochus, but of Alexander the Great. This, however, must be wrong, and Mr. Turnour acknowledges that the chronology of the Buddhist chronicles is here at fault; he makes the error amount to about sixty years, and conceives that it was an intentional vitiation of the chronology: with what purpose he has not explained. It is enough for us to determine that Asoka cannot have been the cotemporary of Antiochus the Great, according to the chronology either of Brahman or Buddhist. That Piyadasi was the cotemporary of Antiochus, or even posterior to him, is evident from the inscription, and therefore Piyadasi and Asoka are not one and the same person. That Asoka became a convert to Buddhism after commencing his reign as a sanguinary tyrant, may or may not be true: we have only the assertions of the Buddhists for the fact. But allowing it to be true, if Asoka was not the author of the edicts in question, no inference of their Buddhist character can be drawn from his conversion to the faith of Buddha, and the uncertain evidence afforded by their language is not rendered less equivocal by any positive proof of their having been promulgated by a prince who was a zealous patron of the doctrines of Śākyasinha.

But who then was Piyadasi, the beloved of the gods? This is a question not easily answered. The term is evidently an epithet applied to more than one individual, and not the proper designation of any one person exclusively. We have

and obvious. Asoka's kingdom on the west was bounded by that of Antiochus; his father, Bindusāra, had received missions from Antiochus, Soter, and Ptolemy Philadelphus; and as Asoka was 45 years of age when he was inaugurated, in B.C. 259, he might have conversed with both of the Greek ambassadors, Daimachos and Dionysios.—112.

no such name in any of the Brahmanical traditions, and find it in the Buddhist, as indicating a sovereign prince, to whom it could not have been applied consistently with chronological data, upon the authority of a work of the fourth century of our era. That any uncertainty with regard to its appropriation should exist, seems very incompatible with the extent of the dominions ruled over by the prince of the inscriptions, as far as we are to infer, from the sites in which they are found, as Gujarát, Katak, Behar, Dihli, and the Panjab. A monarch, to whom all India, except the extreme south, was subject, must surely have left some more positive trace of his existence than a mere epithet, complimentary to his good looks, and shared with many others of equally pleasing appearance. That such almost universal sovereignty in India was ever exercised by a single prince is extremely improbable, and it is undeniable, from the evidence of the inscriptions themselves, that they have not been sculptured, in the situations in which they occur, coterminously with the year of any individual reign. Thus, in all the rock inscriptions, the third and fourth edicts are said to be issued in the twelfth year of Piyadasi's inauguration; the fifth and eighth, in the tenth year: the two later edicts, in point of time, taking precedence of the two earlier, in the order of inscription—an utter impossibility. We can only infer, therefore, that they were simultaneously inscribed. Mr. Prinsep states, that it is so specified in the Fourteenth Tablet, but I am unable to understand the passage in that sense. That it was the case, however, is obvious, from the inverted order of the dates, and from the uniform appearance of the inscriptions. The whole must have been cut, therefore, at some subsequent period to the latest of the dates. How long subsequent, is another question of impossible solution; but it is very improbable that the rocks of Gujarát, Dhaulí, and Kapur di Giri, were all engraved at the same time. The operation must have been spread over some years, and it is not likely that it was subsequent to the date of their reputed author, if he ever had a real existence. It seems, however, not improbable, that the rulers of the several countries, or influential religious persons, adopted the shadow of a name, to give authority to the promulgation of edicts intended to reform the immoral practices of the people, and for that purpose repeated documents which had acquired popular celebrity in some particular locality not yet ascertained.

From these [and other] considerations, I have been compelled to withhold my unqualified assent to the confident opinions that have been entertained respecting the object and origin of the inscriptions. Without denying the possibility of their being intended to disseminate Buddhism, and their emanating from the Maurya prince Asoka, there are difficulties in the way of both conclusions, which, to say the least, render such an attribution extremely uncertain.

[I have allowed Prof. Wilson to state his doubts and difficulties at greater length than I should have conceded to him, had I not been prepared to contest his leading inferences.

I do not, however, design to enter upon any critical examination of the minor evidences and coincidences the Professor has sought to reconcile; as, with a doubtful text, an avowedly imperfect interpretation, with one of the historical names only partially legible and dates conflicting *inter se*, the most elaborate solution could not but fail to prove unsatisfactory. And further,

I am disposed to accept, with added force, all that portion of the Professor's deductions which implies crass ignorance of Syrian and Grecian events on the part of the compilers of Piyadasi's Edicts. Still, there are some obvious facts upon which we may fairly speculate. It is clear that Antiochus, as spoken of in these inscriptions, was, at the moment of their composition, the most prominent personage of the western world within the ken of the Indian court. That Antiochus ~~was~~ is the sovereign alluded to many miscellaneous items of evidence, now available, tend to show. These points being admitted, it would seem to follow, from the expressions made use of in the second tablet, that the defection of the Bactrians under Diodotus—assigned to 250, B.C.—had not, up to this time, developed itself. The allusion to the four kings it is less easy to explain, nor is it obvious why that particular number should have been selected. As the text does not enable us to say what position these kings held in reference to the more influential Antiochus, speculations on this head must, of course, be next to futile. Certainly the satisfactory explanation of the coincidences of the given names, with any combination of the then-existing monarchical distributions, remains to be accomplished: whether the record aimed at a mere vague selection of the more generally known Greek names to complete the list, or whether, as is just possible, there was some indefinite remembrance of the quadruple alliance (311, B.C.), of which Seleucus was the subordinate confederate and local representative during his Indian expedition, and of the eastern rights and titles of which Antiochus became the apparent heritor, it would be rash to assert; but it is clear that the designations of two of the parties to this league open the list, and whether MAGAS represents the Cyrenian, or some other of the name, or stands as the curtailed corruption of that of Lysimachus, while *Ali Kasunari*<sup>1</sup> may

<sup>1</sup> Masson's eye-copy of the Kapur di Giri inscription may be variously read, Ali Kasanari, Ali Kasadari, or, doubtfully, Ali Kshasanari. The initial letter is very uncertain, and might almost be read as a *G*. The third letter differs materially from the ordinary *Bh*'s, and must either be the simple *K* of Court's copy or some compound of *Sh*, under Masson's representation.



chance to do duty for Alexander, Cassander, or some living potentate whose cognomen had but lately reached Indian ears, we need scarcely stop to inquire.

In his first paper<sup>1</sup> on the Girnár, Dhaulí, and Kapur di Giri edicts, Prof. Wilson expressed an opinion that, 'although the tenor of the inscriptions was not incompatible with a leaning to the religion of Buddha, yet the total absence of any reference to the peculiarities of the Buddhist system, left some uncertainty with regard to the actual creed of the rája, and his intimate connection with the followers of Buddha.'

In a subsequent article on the Bhabra inscription<sup>2</sup> the Professor frankly admits that, 'although the text is not without its difficulties, yet there is enough sufficiently indisputable to establish the fact, that Priyadasi, whoever he may have been, was a follower of Buddha.'<sup>3</sup> Our leading Orientalist, it will be seen, still hesitates, therefore, to admit the identity of Priyadasi and Asoka. With all possible deference to so high an authority, I am bound to avow that I see no difficulty whatever in the concession. We may stop

<sup>1</sup> 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. xii. (1849), cited nearly in extenso above.

<sup>2</sup> 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. xvii. (1856), p. 357. *Supra cit.*

<sup>3</sup> The inscription opens thus: 'Priyadasi, the king, to the venerable assembly of Mágadha, commands the infliction of little pain, and indulgence to animals. It is verily known, I proclaim, to what extent my respect and favor (are placed) in Buddha, in the law, and in the assembly. Whatsoever (words) have been spoken by the divine Buddha, they have been well said,' etc.—See also 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' 1840.—Lassen 'Indische Alt.' ii. 221. [I annex to these notes on the Bhabra inscriptions some interesting speculations of Bournouf's, as to the nature of the monument itself, and the probable purpose for which it was shaped.] 'C'est, ainsi que l'a bien vu M. Kittoe, une missive adressée par le roi Priyadasi à l'Assemblée des Religieux réunis à Pátaliputra, capitale du Mágadha, pour la suppression des schismes qui s'étaient élevés parmi les Religieux bouddhistes, assemblée qui, selon le Mahāvamsa, eut lieu la dix-septième année du règne d'Aśoka. La forme est en elle-même très-remarquable. L'inscription, en effet, n'est pas gravée comme les autres monuments de ce genre qui portent le nom de Priyadasi, soit sur une colonne monolithe, soit sur la surface d'un rocher adhérent aux flancs d'une montagne. Elle est écrite, et très-soigneusement, sur un bloc détaché de granit qui n'est ni d'un volume ni d'un poids considérable, n'ayant que deux pieds Anglais sur deux de ses dimensions, et un pied et demi sur la troisième. Ce bloc, de forme irrégulière, peut être aisément transporté. . . . C'est une lettre que le roi a fait graver sur la pierre avec l'intention avouée d'assurer la durée de cette expression si claire de son orthodoxie, peut-être aussi avec celle de faire transporter facilement et sûrement cette singulière missive dans les diverses parties de l'Inde où se trouvaient des Religieux . . . L'inscription est écrite dans l'ancien dialecte Mágadhí.—'Le Lotus de la bonne Loi,' p. 727, 728.

short of absolute and definite proof, that Asoka enunciated his edicts under the designation of Priyadasi, 'the beloved of the gods;' but all legitimate induction tends to justify the association, which is contested by no other inquirer.<sup>1</sup> To assert that the edicts themselves do not accord in spirit with the exclusive intolerance attributed to Asoka by his Buddhist successors, is merely to show that they misrepresented his aims and desires in this respect, as they palpably misinterpreted and altered many of the original tenets of the religion itself.

As a fitting conclusion to these commentaries, I append Prof. Wilson's remarks on the language of the edicts:—]

The language itself is a kind of Pāli, offering for the greater portion of the words forms analogous to those which are modelled by the rules of the Pāli grammar still in use. There are, however, many differences, some of which arise from a closer adherence to Sanskrit, others from possible local peculiarities, indicating a yet unsettled state of the language. It is observed by Mr. Prinsep, when speaking of the Lāt inscriptions, "The language differs from every existing written idiom, and is as it were intermediate between the Sanskrit and the Pāli." The nouns and particles in general follow the Pāli structure; the verbs are more frequently nearer to the Sanskrit forms; but in neither, any more than in grammatical Pāli, is there any great dissimilarity from Sanskrit. It is curious that the Kapur di Giri inscription departs less from the Sanskrit than the others, retaining some compound consonants, as *pr* in *priya* instead of *Piya*; and having the representatives of the three sibilants of the Devanāgarī alphabet, while the others, as in Pāli, have but one sibilant: on the other hand, the Kapur di Giri inscription omits the vowels to a much greater extent, and rarely distinguishes between the long and short vowels, peculiarities perhaps not unconnected with the Semitic character of its alphabet.

The exact determination of the differences and agreements of the inscriptions with Pāli on the one hand, and Sanskrit on the other, would require a laborious analysis of the whole, and would be scarcely worth the pains, as the differences from either would, no doubt, prove to be comparatively few and unimportant, and we may be content to consider the language as Pāli, not yet perfected in its grammatical structure, and deviating in no important respect from Sanskrit. Pāli is the language of the writings of the Buddhists of Ava, Siam, and Ceylon; therefore it is concluded it was the language of the Buddhists of Upper India, when the inscriptions were engraved, and consequently they are of Buddhist origin. This, however, admits of question; for although the Buddhist authorities assert that Sakya Sinha and his successors taught in Pāli, and that a Pāli grammar was compiled in his day; yet, on

<sup>1</sup> Turnour, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vi. 1050, and vii. 930; Lassen, ii. 271; Burnouf, i. 633, ii. 778; Cunningham, 'Bhilsa Topes,' 108; Sykes, 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vi. 460; Müller, 'Buddhism and Buddhist Pilgrims,' p. 23.

the other hand they affirm, that the doctrines of Buddha were long taught orally only, and were not committed to writing for four centuries after his death, or until B.C. 153, a date, no doubt, subsequent to that of the inscriptions. In fact, the principal authorities of the Cingalese Buddhists appear to have existed in Cingalese, and to have been translated into Pāli only in the fifth century after Christ.

According to M. Burnouf and Mr. Hodgson, the earliest Buddhist writings were not Pāli but Sanskrit, and they were translated by the Northern Buddhists into their own languages, Mongol and Tibetan. It does not appear that they have any Pāli books. The Chinese have obtained their writings from both quarters, and they probably have Pāli works brought from Ava or Ceylon. They have also, according to M. Burnouf, translations of the same Sanskrit works that are known in the North. It is by no means established, therefore, that Pāli was the sacred language of the Buddhists at the period of the inscriptions, and its use constitutes no conclusive proof of their Buddhist origin. It seems more likely that it was adopted as being the spoken language of that part of India where Piyadasi resided, and was selected for his edicts, that they might be intelligible to the people. Hence, also, the employment of different alphabets, that of Kapur di Giri being the alphabet current in Afghanistan and Bactria, as we know from the Græco-Bactrian coins. The use of the provincial or local alphabet was evidently designed for the convenience of those to whom it was familiar, while the ancient form of the Devanāgarī was that employed in Hindūstān as being there in general use. The popular currency of the language, admitting that it might have been the spoken dialect of the north-west of India, would be more likely to prevent, than to recommend its use as a 'sacred' language, and its being applied to such a purpose by the Southern Buddhists was in some degree probably owing to their being as a people ignorant of it, and it would then assume in their eyes a sanctity which as a spoken dialect it was not likely to possess. At the same time, we can scarcely suppose that the language of the inscriptions was understood in all the countries where they have been discovered, beyond the Indus, at Dihlī, in Behar, in Orissa, and Gujarāt, where we know that very different dialects, however largely borrowing from a common source, at present prevail. Neither is it likely that edicts intended to regulate the moral conduct of the people at large should have been intelligible only to Buddhist priests, or should have been perpetuated on pillars and rocks solely for their edification. We may therefore recognise it as an actually existent form of speech in some part of India, and might admit the testimony of its origin given by the Buddhists themselves—by whom it is always identified with the language of Magadha or Behar,<sup>1</sup> the scene of Sakya Sinha's first teaching—but that there are several differences between it and the Māgadhi, as laid down in Prakrit grammars, and as it occurs in Jain writings. It is, as Messrs. Burnouf and Lassen remark, still nearer to Sanskrit,<sup>2</sup> and may have prevailed more to the north than Behar, or in the upper part of the Doab, and in the Panjāb, being more analogous to the Sauraseni dialect, the language of Mathura and Dihlī, although not differing from the dialect of Behar to such an extent as not to be intelligible to those to whom Sakya and his successors addressed themselves. The language of the inscriptions, then, although necessarily that of their date, and probably that in which the first propagators of Buddhism expounded their doctrines, seems to have been rather the spoken language of the people in Upper India, than a form of speech peculiar to a

<sup>1</sup> Turnour's 'Introduction to the Mahawanso,' xxii., *Sā Māgadhi mula bhāsa.*

<sup>2</sup> *Essai sur le Pāli*, p. 187, 'La Palie était presque identique à l'idiome sacré des Brahmanes, parce qu'elle en dérivait immédiatement.'

class of religionists, or a sacred language, and its use in the edicts of Piyadasi, although not incompatible with their Buddhist origin, cannot be accepted as a conclusive proof that they originated from any peculiar form of religious belief.<sup>1</sup>

[In a subsequent paper 'on Buddha and Buddhism' (J.R.A.S., xvi. 229), Professor Wilson enters more comprehensively into the linguistic question touched upon in the above note: the following extracts will put the reader in possession of that author's present view in regard to the comparative antiquity of the use of Sanskrit and Pálí<sup>1</sup> in the Buddhist Scriptures:—

The great body of the Buddhist writings consists avowedly of translations; the Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese, Cingalese, Burman, and Siamese books, are all declaredly translations of works written in the language of India—that which is commonly called *Fan* or more correctly *Fan-lan-mo*, 'or the language of the Brahmans;' and then comes the question, to what language does that term apply? Does it mean Sanskrit, or does it mean Pálí, involving also the question of the priority and originality of the works written in those languages respectively; the Sanskrit works as they have come into our hands being found almost exclusively in Nepál, those in Pálí being obtained chiefly from Ceylon and Ava. Until very lately, the language designated by the Chinese *Fan* was enveloped in some uncertainty. . . . The mystery, however, is now cleared up. In the life and travels of Hwan Tsang, written by two of his scholars and translated from the Chinese by M. Julien, the matter is placed beyond all dispute by the description and by the examples which the Chinese traveller gives of the construction of the *Fan* language, in which he was himself a proficient. . . . We learn from him. . . . All this is Sanskrit, and what is more to the point, it is not Mágadhi, the proper designation of the dialect termed in the south, Pálí. . . . Hwan Tsang also correctly adds that the grammar in use in India, in his time, was the work of a Brahman of the north, a native of Tula or Sálátula, named *Po-ni-ni*, or Pánini, the well-known Sanskrit grammarian. . . . The Buddhist authorities of India proper, then, were undeniably Sanskrit; those of Ceylon might have been Pálí or Mágadhi; were they synchronous with the Sanskrit books, or were they older, or were they younger, more ancient, or more modern? . . . We may be satisfied, therefore, that the principal Sanskrit authorities which we still possess were composed by the beginning of the Christian era at least; how much earlier is less easily determined. . . .

We may consider it, then, established upon the most probable evidence, that the chief Sanskrit authorities of the Buddhists still in our possession were written, at the latest, from a century and a half before, to as much after, the era of Christianity.

Now what is the case with the Pálí authorities of the south? . . . The principal Pálí works of the south, are, therefore, of a period considerably subsequent to the Sanskrit Buddhistical writings of India proper, and date only from the fifth century after Christ.

<sup>1</sup> Pálí, means—original text, regularity.—Maha. Introd. xxii.

Professor Max Müller seems to concur in these deductions, judging from his remark :—

‘After Buddhism had been introduced into China, the first care of its teachers was to translate the sacred works from the Sanskrit, in which they were originally written, into Chinese.’—‘Buddhism and Buddhist Pilgrims,’ p. 24. London, 1857.

Col. Sykes, however, I observe, still considers that he has evidence to show that ‘the books taken from India to China by the Chinese travellers between the fourth and seventh centuries were equally in Páli’ (*Times*, May 21, 1857), basing his argument to that end upon M. Gutzlaff’s catalogue of ‘Chinese Buddhistical Works,’ published in vol. ix. of the ‘*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*’, p. 199 (1848).

## XVIII.—RÉSUMÉ OF INDIAN PÁLÍ ALPHABETS.

[In continuation of the subject treated of in the supplement to Art. XVII., p. 8, I extract the substance of Prinsep's 'Completion of the Páli Alphabet,' which the decipherment of the Girnár text of the edicts of Asoka enabled him to verify.]

First, however, I must take a review of the Girnár alphabet, for it is evident that it contains many additions to the more simple elements of the pillars. These additions, to which only I have time to allude, will be found to complete the alphabet to the existing standard of the Páli of Ceylon.

The most remarkable change observable in the alphabet has already been noticed in my paper of last June, namely, the substitution of the letter *l* for *r* in all words now written with an *r* in Sanskrit, but on the pillars spelt with an *l*, as *𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓*, etc., now corrected to *𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀺𑀢𑀺𑀓* *rāja*, *dasaratha*, etc. Although there are many words in the Sanskrit in which the use of the *l* and *r* is indifferent, still the invariable employment of the former liquid, does not appear to have been ascribed to any of the numerous Prákrits or even the Apabhraṅsas, by the Sanskrit grammarians.

Of other letters made known by the Girnár tablets, we may notice first in order the *ṭ* or *gh*, which can no longer be denied a place, or be confounded with any other letter, because it now occurs in the well known word *gharistāni* (S. *grihastāni*), and in *megha*, *ghara*, *ghāta*, etc., of the Kalinga and Sainhadri inscriptions. These words, it must be observed, occur only in those tablets of the Katak inscription wherein the letter *ṭ* is used, and which so far resemble in dialect those of Girnár. The orthography of *grihastāni* on the pillars is *girithāni*. It does not therefore follow necessarily, though there is every probability thereof, that the *g* is never used for *gh*; but when we find the aspirate

present in other words of the same monuments, such as *ghanti*, *sanghathasi*, etc., we are bound not unnecessarily to aspirate the simple *g*, where it can be read without doing so.

The nasal of the first class of consonants, or gutturals, has not been yet recovered, because its place is generally supplied by the *anuswara*; but in one or two places I think the 𑖅 may be traced in its primitive form of 𑖆: at any rate it may be safely *constructed* so, from the analogy of the form in No. 2 alphabet 𑖆 also found on the coins in the name *Simha vikrama* (written sometimes *singha*), and from the more modern form of the Tibetan 𑖆 *ng*.

The letter *jḥ* 𑖇, is of rare occurrence, even in the Sanskrit. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that we should be tardy of discovering it in the ancient alphabet. Yet in Pāli this letter takes the place of the Sanskrit 𑖇 in *madhya*, *madhyama*, 'middle,' and perhaps of *rj* in *nirjita* and of *rdy* and *ryy* and other similar compounds which in pronunciation assimilate to *jḥ*; and it is thus more likely to be found in a Pāli than a Sanskrit monument. On my first review of the pillar alphabet, I was inclined to look upon the letter 𑖇 as *jḥ*, from its occurrence in the word 𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇 *majhimā*, coupled with *ukasā* and *gevayā*, domestics and ascetics, but it seemed better explained by *ri* in other places. A similar expression in one of the Gīrnār tablets again leads me to consider it as *jḥ*, viz.: '*sankhītena, majhamena, vīsitena*,' where the central word is written 𑖇𑖇𑖇𑖇 both in the Gīrnār and in the Dhāuli versions of the concluding paragraph. Again, in the pillars it is generally inflected with the *i* or the *ā* vowel mark, which could not be the case with *ri*; and lastly, it bears considerable affinity to the Bengālī 𑖇 *jḥ* which also resembles the *rj* of the same alphabet; I therefore now pronounce 𑖇 without hesitation to be a *jḥ*; and I must modify former readings accordingly.<sup>1</sup>

The *n* of the second class, or palatials, is an acquisition upon which there is no room to doubt. It is a peculiarity in the Pāli language that this letter, which has the pronunciation of *ny*, both supplies the place of the Sanskrit compound letter *jñ* in such words as *rājñah* राज्ञः

<sup>1</sup> This it is not difficult to accomplish: ex. gr. in the western tablet of the Feroz lat, *ndsantan nijhāpayitā dānamdāhanti*, may be Sanskritized as follows: नाशतंनिर्धा पायित्वा दानं दास्यन्ति, 'expelling the murderer (from the town or community) they shall give him an alms.' And in the edict regarding animals,—*ta se sajiṇe nojhāpayitaviye*—'such while life remains shall not be abandoned,' उज्झापयितव्यः and, in the last tablet, for *dhamma niyame nijhāyitā bhūye*, read निर्जित्यभवेत् 'the rules of dharma shall be invincible.'

of a prince, and आज्ञा *djñā*, ‘order’—and of न्य, or न् in such words as अन्यतः *anyataḥ*, else, अन्यानि *anyāni*, others; and in मन्यते *manyate*, Pālī *manṇate*, deems. Now these and many other examples occur most opportunely in the Gīrnār inscriptions—the letter ण, with the necessary vowel inflections णे, णद्, or णो, being invariably employed in all such cases; as in the sixth tablet above quoted, अण्डा अणा अना *anata agena parākameṇa*: whereas in the Dīhlī pillars the word *anata*, for instance, is written अण्डा *aṇṇata*, with the dental *n*, the only one there made known to us, doubled by the *anuswara*.

The next form of *n*, belonging to the *cerebral* series, has already been made known to us from the Sainhadri cave inscriptions, **𑀭**; and the modern derivative forms were on that occasion described (see page 1045 of volume vi.) In the present inscription this *n* invariably follows the letter *r*, as in Sanskrit; ex. gr. 𑀓𑀭𑀭𑀭. *Dharmacharanam* 'the progress of religion.' The vowel affixes are united to the central perpendicular stroke as **𑀭𑀭𑀭** *ne, ná, no*. A few words written in Sanskrit with the dental *n*, are found in the inscription written with **𑀭**, as *janasa, dasanam* (7th and 8th tab.) and the same holds good of the grammatical Páli of books. It should be remembered that, in the regular Prákrit, this is the only *n* which ever stands singly in a word.

The only letter of the labial series which was yet wanting to us, the *ph*, is most fortunately recovered through the indubitable expression *māḷāni cha phālāni cha* in the second tablet of Girnār—"both roots and fruits"—written གཡུའི་ད བཡུའི་ད. In the letter ག we at once perceive the prototype of the *ph* of No. 2, and the ར of the Tibetan alphabet: and we see the reason why this was departed from in the Nāgari form, ག, by turning the stroke outward, lest by turning inwards it should be confounded with the ར or *sh*, a letter unknown in our old alphabet. With reference to my former remark on the duplication of alphabetic forms to produce the aspirates, it may be adduced as an additional argument for such an assumption that in the oldest of three plates from Kaira with copies of which I have been lately favoured by Dr. A. Burn, the *ph* of the word *phala* is twice written *pp* in lieu of *ph*, which is the augmented or aspirated form used in the other plates, and which is more consistent with the original type now disclosed to our knowledge.

Of the *bh* I would merely take this opportunity of noticing that I have discovered the period and cause of the two very opposite forms of this letter which are found in later alphabets, as for instance the Mah-ratta *bh* and the Tibetan *bh* (which agrees with the Devanāgarī or Kutila of the 10th century) and have proved them both to descend from the original *ṛ*; the Mahratta may be said to follow naturally



from the Sainhadri form; the other I have traced on the Saurashtra coins of Skanda and Kumara Gupta, where sometimes the one and sometimes the other form is employed, the latter being the natural course followed by the pen in imitating the sculptured letter ण, beginning at the top, viz. : ण, whence would gradually follow ण, and अ with the headstroke, common to all the modern characters.

The Páli contains but one *s*. We cannot, therefore, expect to find in our ancient alphabet the prototype of either the Sanskrit ण or ष. Of these letters I only notice the early forms, because I have inserted them in the accompanying lithographed plate. The modern form of ष would seem to be derived from the ण of the Samudragupta, or No. 2 alphabet, where again it might be presumed that it was introduced as a trifling modification of the letter ण, or *s*,—in fact, by closing the outer stroke or doing the same thing to this as was done to the *p*, to have the effect of duplication or aspiration. Or, it may be more proper to consider it a *written* modification of the more ancient form ण found on the copper-plate grants of the third century dug up in the Gujarát peninsula, whence the transition is more evident and palpable to the various Páli and Sinhalese forms, the Cashmere form and even the modern Nágari and Bengálí.

It is not so easy to trace the origin of the *tálíba sha*, ण, in the old alphabet, but there is plausible reason to suppose that this was originally merely the *murdina* or cerebral *s* ण, turned in an opposite direction, invented to denote another modification of the sibilant required in the refinement of the Sanskrit alphabet. In the oldest Gujarátí plates, these are written with simple linear marks in the middle, and exactly the same structure is retained in the square Páli alphabet or stone letter of Barma, except that the stroke in the centre is contracted into a dot; further, they are merely rounded in the modern Burmese for the facility of writing. In no other alphabets that I know of are the analogies to the original type so faithfully preserved as to shew that these two sibilants were originally the same letter reversed in position, a mode frequently adopted, as I have had occasion to notice before, in Indian alphabets, to represent slight modifications in sound (see vol. vi. p. 475-6.)

The most ancient Sanskrit form, however, of the *tálíba sh* is one I have just discovered on a genuine inscription of the time of Chandragupta [Sáh Inscription]. This type is evidently the original of the form so common on early Hindu coins and inscriptions, whence are directly descended the Tibetan ལ, the Bengálí ণ, and the modern Nágari ण, which heretofore presented a kind of anomaly in the derivation of our alphabetical symbols.

Having thus recovered the complete, and, as I consider it, the primeval alphabet of the Indian languages, I have arranged in the accompanying plate the changes each letter has undergone in successive centuries, as deduced from absolute records on copper or stone. The table furnishes a curious species of palæographic chronometer, by which any ancient monument may be assigned with considerable accuracy to the period at which it was written, even though it possess no actual date.

I begin with the sixth century before the Christian era, because I suppose that the alphabet which we possess, as used by the Buddhists of a couple of centuries later, was that in which their sacred works had been written by the contemporaries of Buddha himself, who died in the year 543 B.C.

What in some measure confirms this hypothesis is, that the Sanskrit character of the third century before Christ (of which I have introduced a specimen in the plate from the genuine document above alluded to), differs only so much from the original form as the habits of a class of writers distinct in religion and more refined in language might naturally introduce;—just as we afterwards find an equal degree of modification from the type of Asoka's time, in the Sanskrit alphabet of five centuries later, on the pillars.

The Asoka alphabet (the Sanskrit one) agrees very closely with that of our Sauráshtra coins, which may thence be pronounced to be anterior to the Gupta series. The Gujarát plates, dated in the third century of the Samvat era, differ but little from the Allahábád pillar or

Samudragupta inscription, but that little is all in favour of their superior antiquity.

Of the more recent alphabets it is unnecessary to say anything. The Tibetan is acknowledged to be of the seventh century. The Kutila alphabet is taken from the inscription sent down in facsimile by Col. Stacy from Bareli;—we learn thence that the artist was of Kanauj; and we see that the Bengálí, which was drawn from the same focus of learning nearly a century afterwards, does not differ more from it than the modifications it has undergone since it was domiciled in the lower provinces will explain;—indeed, all old Sanskrit inscriptions from Benáres to Katak differ only from the Kuṭila type in having the triangular loop ळ, instead of the round one ऴ.

A hundred other modifications of the primitive character might be easily introduced were I to travel southward or to cross to Ava or Ceylon; but I purposely avoid swelling the table, and include only those epochas of the Indian alphabet which can now be proved from undeniable monuments. On a former occasion,<sup>1</sup> the Amara-vati, Hala Canara, and Talinga alphabets were traced to the Gupta as their prototype, and thus might others be deduced; but another opportunity must be sought of placing the whole in a comprehensive table.

In conclusion, I may again regret that our printers did not take for their standard the form that would have served to blend the Bengálí and the Hindí into a common system!

[Prinsep's observations introductory to his Chronological

<sup>1</sup> 'Jour. As. Soc., Beng.', vol. vi., p. 219 (March, 1837).

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# MODIFICATIONS OF THE SANSKRIT ALPHABET.

VOWELS.

INITIALS

MEDIALS

a a i ē u á ú rē rē e ai o au am sh

ka kha gi ghā chu chhā krī

de dhāi mo man

shī

1. FIFTH CENT. B.C.

ममः लल

ॠ ॡ

.

+ +

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

2. CENT. B.C.?

ममः ल

ॠ ॡ

.

+ +

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

3. THIRD CENT. B.C.

ममः ल मु

ॠ ॡ

मं मं

+ +

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

4. SECOND CENT. A.D.

ममः ल मु

ॠ ॡ

मं मं

+ +

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

5. FIFTH CENT. A.D.

ममः ल मु

ॠ ॡ

मं मं

+ +

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

6. SEVENTH CENT. A.D.

ममः ल मु

ॠ ॡ

मं मं

+ +

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

7. NINTH CENT. A.D.

ममः ल मु

ॠ ॡ

मं मं

+ +

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

8. TENTH CENT. A.D.

ममः ल मु

ॠ ॡ

मं मं

+ +

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

9. MODERN

ममः ल मु

ॠ ॡ

मं मं

+ +

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

SQUARE PALI

उ उ

ॠ ॡ

मं मं

+ +

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

ॠ ॡ

after J. Prins.

Published by Stephen Austin, Hartford.

H. West. India.

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Table of Alphabets appear to have been designedly brief, as the several series had already been freely examined and descanted upon in the occasional Essays which had from time to time been devoted to the independent illustration of each. The definition of almost every letter was now an accepted fact, and under the treatment of Prinsep's practised eye and ready hand, each form might be compared in its multiple transitions and ramifications, by the veriest tyro in Indian Palæography. I have copied, *literatim*—in pl. xxxvii., xxxviii.—his original synopsis; but as his labours in elucidation of these, and other cognate alphabets, were detached and scattered over many volumes and numbers of the Journal he so long and efficiently edited, I have taken advantage of the facilities afforded by the imitative faculty of our German neighbours, who have reproduced, in movable types, these and some further varieties of the local characters first deciphered by my author,—to introduce into a printed table many of the older forms omitted in the lithograph; and I have further profited by the progress of type-founding, to add to the general series certain provincial alphabets, which illustrate the literal changes incident to independent naturalization, as well as those due to epochal departure from the parent stock.

It will be seen from this observation, that I have ventured to differ from my elsewhere usually accepted authority; but in this case, his unvarying frankness and candour have of themselves paved the way for my justification, and I doubt not that, had his intellect been spared to us, he would himself have been prompt to reduce to a more consistent and mature theory, the imperfect hypothesis somewhat hastily enunciated on the initiatory publication of these fac-similes.

The general subject of the rise and transitional development of Indian alphabets spreads itself over various sections of research, and requires to be considered from different points of view, the more prominent of which I will endeavour to recapitulate as concisely as possible.



I. Regarding the probable date of the earliest use of the type of character, of which Asoka's edicts present us with the first extant example, Prinsep hazarded an opinion that two centuries of anterior currency might fairly be assigned to that style of writing. This idea pre-supposed somewhat of an exclusively sacred character, as pertaining to the alphabet; but by no means implied that the literal series did not pre-exist in an earlier or less perfect form. A conjectural limit of this description may of course be indefinitely extended or contracted, but I myself should be disposed to enlarge considerably the period of the previous culture of so perfect and widely-spread a system of alphabetical expression.<sup>1</sup>

II. As respects the derivation of the literal series, Prinsep had clearly a leaning towards associating it with the Greek, grounded upon the similarity and almost identity of some of the forms of each, the phonetic values even of which fell into appropriate accord. That these similitudes exist there can be no doubt, but not in sufficient numbers or degree to authorize an inference that the one system borrowed directly from the other. Prof. Weber, following out Prinsep's idea in another direction, has sought to establish a Phœnician origin for the Indian alphabets.<sup>2</sup> This theory I regard as altogether untenable, for we not only have to get rid of the inversion of the direction of the writing—sufficiently intelligible in the case of the Greek derivative from that stock—but we have to concede a much larger amount of faith to fanciful identities of form; and lastly, we have to place this excellently contrived alphabet in juxtaposition

<sup>1</sup> Huen Thsang gives the following account of the origin and spread of the Indian alphabet:—"Les caractères de l'écriture ont été inventés par le dieu Fan (Brahmā) et, depuis l'origine, leur forme s'est transmise de siècle en siècle. Elle se compose de quarante-sept signes, qui s'assemblent et se combinent suivant l'objet ou la chose qu'on veut exprimer. Elle s'est répandue et s'est divisée en diverses branches. Sa source, s'étant élargie par degrés, elle s'est accommodée aux usages des pays et aux besoins des hommes, et n'a éprouvé que de légères modifications. En général, elle ne s'est pas sensiblement écartée de son origine. C'est surtout dans l'Inde centrale qu'elle est nette et correcte."—*Mémoires, etc.*, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> Ueber den Semitischen Ursprung des indischen Alphabetes.—*Zeitschrift*, 1856, p. 389.

and contrast with a system of writing manifestly claiming a quasi-Semitic parentage, but as imperfect and ill-adapted for the expression of Indian languages as it is possible to conceive, which we find in concurrent use in the contiguous provinces of Northern India. Certainly, to judge by internal evidence, the Pálí alphabet of Asoka's day bears every impress of indigenous organization and local maturation under the special needs and requirements of the speech it was designed to convey. Though, amid the marvels that are daily coming to light in regard to the march of languages and the varieties of the symbols employed to record the ancient tongues, it might be possible to concede so much of identity to the two sets of characters as a common but indefinitely remote starting point might be held to imply.<sup>1</sup>

III. Was the Pálí alphabet sacred or profane? classic or vernacular? monumental or popular? The answer to these queries must, I think, be decidedly against its exclusive devotion to the former, in any case; it will be safer to say that, up to a certain period, it was employed both for one and the other, and stood as the sole medium of graphic communication. This primitive character may well have proved sufficient for all purposes of record, so long as the language it was called upon to embody remained as simple as that for expression of which we may suppose it to have been originally designed

<sup>1</sup> [M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, in a review ('Journal des Savants,' January, 1857), of the valuable work of M. E. Renan, on the Semitic Languages (Paris, 1855), enters into an examination of the relative claims to priority of the Indian and Phœnician alphabets. His remarks on the remote antiquity and independent and spontaneous elaboration of the Indian alphabet are sound, but the general argument is marred by a want of due discrimination between the Pálí and Sanskrit influences, and is deficient in all reference to the co-existent Semitic system of writing of the northern provinces. Though I do not concur in any conclusion that one alphabet must necessarily have been derived from the other, I append M. St. Hilaire's opinion on the question as it stands between the two:—"Je ne vois pas qu'il repugne à la raison que le système le plus parfait de l'alphabet soit aussi le plus ancien. L'alphabet sémitique n'est pas précisément plus simple, quoique moitié plus court; il est, à vrai dire, moins complet. Pour ma part, je comprends mieux les Sémites recevant de troisième ou quatrième main l'alphabet indien, et l'adaptant à leur usage, en le réduisant de moitié et en le mutilant, que je ne comprends les Indiens recevant cet alphabet informe et confus et le portant à la perfection que nous savons."—p. 52.]

and adapted. On the introduction of the Sanskrit element, it was necessarily subjected to previously-needless combinations, and under this and other processes perhaps lost some of the stiffness of outline, which it may, nevertheless, have retained together with its original literal simplicity among the vulgar,<sup>1</sup> even in the presence of an improved style of writing, suited for more polished literature; as in the existing orthography of Hindī, contrasted with the elaboration of Sanskrit alphabetical definitions.<sup>2</sup> Prinsep

<sup>1</sup> Major Cunningham speaks of 'the extremely rare use of compound letters' in the Buddhist legends engraved on the Bhilsa Topes. He remarks, 'only three instances occur throughout all these inscriptions; and they are certainly exceptions to the common practice of Asoka's age, which adhered to the simplest Pāli forms.'—'Bhilsa Topes,' p. 268.

<sup>2</sup> [I have elsewhere noticed certain evidences bearing on this question, which I may append in further illustration of my present argument]: 'I imagine it must be conceded, whether on the indications afforded by inscriptions, coins, or Buddhist relics, that the ancient Pāli or Māgadhi alphabet had once a very extended currency, and likewise that for a lengthened period it retained its separate identity. It occurs in Asoka's edicts at Dihli,\* Allahābād, Matia, Bakra, Dhanli, and Girnār; its appearance in these several localities<sup>b</sup> would, *prima facie*, imply, either that it was intelligible to the people at large throughout the circle embraced within these geographical boundaries, or that it was the recognized sacred alphabet of Buddhism: opposed entirely to the latter supposition is the departure from its use in the Kapur di Giri text of the edict itself, and the modification the language is seen to have been subjected to in some of the Pāli transcripts, to meet apparently the local dialects of each site.' [I do not imply from this that the edicts were ordinarily designed to be within reach of the vision of the people, as was the case with the Greek tables, even if it was expected that the literary cultivation of the population at large was sufficient to create many readers.] "On coins, the characters can scarcely be thought to hold any religious signification, but the available medallion testimony contributes largely to the inference that these characters formed the ordinary medium of record in the majority of the states included within the limits above adverted to. In this alphabet exclusively are expressed the legends of numerous series of coins of purely local type,<sup>c</sup> its characters are found associated on the one part with the Greek of Agathocles and Pantalcon,<sup>d</sup> and its phonetic signs are conjoined with counterpart Arian legends on certain classes of the Behat coins." The Bud-

\* Of the two stone pillars at Dihli, one was moved down from near Khizrabād, at the foot of the Himalayas—the other was taken from Mirat—'Jour. Arch. Soc. Delhi,' p. 70, 1850 [vol. i., p. 324.]

<sup>b</sup> Other inscriptions in this character occur at—1. Sanchi—'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. vi., pl. xxvii., p. 461, and vol. vii. pl. lxxiii., p. 562; 2. Gya—Caves, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. vi., pl. xxxv., Nos. 2 and 3, p. 676; these are of the epoch of Dasaratha, who followed Suyasa, the immediate successor of Asoka! 3. Katak—Udayagiri Caves, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. vi., pl. liv., p. 1072; 4. Katak—Khandagiri Rock, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. vi., pl. lviii., p. 1080. And we may now add a but slightly modified form of writing as discovered in the Mehentélé inscription in Ceylon. 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. xiii., p. 175.

<sup>c</sup> 'Jour. As. Soc., Beng.', vol. iv., pl. x. and xxxv., and vol. vii., pl. lx. and lxi.

<sup>d</sup> 'Jour. As. Soc., Beng.', vol. v., pl. xxxv., p. 8 and 9; 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., pp. 7, 8, 9, and 11.

<sup>e</sup> 'Jour. As. Soc., Beng.', vol. vii., pl. xxxii. [i. 203.]

himself has originated the inquiry as to how much a change of alphabetical symbols might be incident to the use of a more perfect language as compared with the necessities of the local Pāli; and to this I am disposed to attach even more weight than he apparently contemplated; the leading conception was suggested to him by the advance displayed in this direction by the Sāh inscription at Gīrnār, which, because it contained the name of Asoka, he conceived should be attributed to the reign of that monarch. He was content, therefore, to accept this system of writing as absolutely contemporaneous with that employed in the public edicts of the early patron of Buddhism. However, we need not now claim so distinct a concession as this, as Asoka's name is only made use of in the subsequent monument, as a whilom benefactor in a similar cause, for which the Sāh king claims credit at a later day.

IV. Among other causes that are liable to have affected the march of alphabetical divergence from the one fixed model, may be noted the cursive departure from the older form, which though not exclusively monumental, was evidently better suited for lapidary purposes than for facility and rapidity of expression by the amanuensis;<sup>1</sup> and, under this aspect, there would arise

dhist relies do little towards elucidating the expansive spread of this style of writing; <sup>a</sup> but—if rightly interpreted—they illustrate in a striking manner the antiquity of its ordinary employment in its even then fixed form.' [This inference, however, does not necessarily militate against my conclusion that, at a subsequent period, and in exceptional localities, the Pāli language and the Pāli letters did not become the special sectarian vehicles of the Buddhist faith, as opposed to the Sanskrit tongue and its more copious alphabet, whose use was affected by the Brāhmins.] Dr. Stevenson remarks, in speaking of the Nasik cave inscriptions, 'On the whole, we find that Brāhmins and Buddhists, in these early days of our era, lived in peace with one another, and were both favoured and protected by the reigning sovereigns; and that, among the former, the Sanskrit language was used in writing, and the Prakṛit by the latter; the two languages, probably, holding the same place to one another that the Sanskrit and the vernaculars do at present.'—'Jour. Bomb. Br. Roy. As. Soc.', July, 1853, p. 41.]

<sup>1</sup> [In my last paper on this subject I remarked, 'We have evidence, in sufficient abundance, to prove that the eastern nations often availed themselves of a cursive hand, in common with the more formal character reserved for inscriptions. These would each be naturally affected, in the ultimate determination of forms—by the material which had to receive the writing.'

'Thus, the straight wedge-shaped elements of the cuneiform alphabet' were

<sup>a</sup> 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. xiii., p. 108; 'Bhilsa Topes,' p. 299, etc.

<sup>b</sup> Layard, 'Discoveries,' etc., 346 and 601, etc., 'Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.', vol. xvi. p. 215.

a still more obvious reason for the rounding off of angularities as the complex orthography of the Sanskrit gained head upon the simple letters of the local Palí.<sup>1</sup>

singularly well fitted for easy expression on tablets of Babylonian clay, and equally suited to rock inscriptions, while the written hand, executed only on a smooth surface, presented no difficulties to any series of curves or complicated lines. In addition to leather<sup>a</sup> and other materials, the ancient Persians, we also learn, wrote upon *Tûs*<sup>b</sup> (Birch-bark). The Indians, we know, adapted this substance to the same uses,<sup>c</sup> and possibly the Indian Vedas are indebted for their preservation to this very material; whether its employment was limited to the population whose dialects were expressed in the Arian character we have no means of saying, but in all probability, if the Northern Indian races knew of its use, the Mâgadhis would not have remained long deprived of it, or some suitable substitute; that they also wrote with ink is amply established by the discovery of letters so written on the relic caskets at Sanchi.<sup>d</sup>

Since the above was written, I have met with a most apposite illustration of the justice of my opening remark, in the shape of a Babylonian clay-tablet—now in the British Museum—of about 600 B.C., which is impressed with cuneiform characters on the one face, and inscribed with Phœnician letters on the other. The Babylonian character is not very perfect, but the Phœnician has evidently been difficult to execute, in comparison to the simple lines of the associate inscription; the curves of the letters, and the depth it was necessary to give the lines, to ensure permanence, have clearly puzzled the stile of the artist, whose knowledge of, and aptitude in, the formation of the letters, are otherwise sufficiently apparent. While adverting to these subjects, I would further draw attention to the double system of writing in use in ancient times, as exhibited in the concurrent record of spoils, etc., almost uniformly depicted in the Konyunjik marbles, where the one scribe uses a broad stile with a clay cylinder or book-tablet; and the other appears to be *writing* with a more pointed instrument, on some pliable material.—See Layard, ii. 184, 'Monuments of Nineveh,' pl. 58; as well as Nos. 59 and 15\* British Museum.

To revert, however, to the Indian question, I may remark, in conclusion, that the tradition in Huen Thsang's time, evidently went to the effect, that the early Buddhist scriptures of Kâsyapa's council were written 'sur des feuilles de *tâla* (palmier),' and that, in such form, (il) 'les répandit dans l'Inde entière.'—'Histoire,' p. 168. Albiruni, in speaking of his own experience in the eleventh century, notices the use of paper (پاپر), and the local employment, 'dans le midi de l'Inde,' of the leaves of the *Târi* (تاری); to which he adds, 'mais dans les provinces du centre et du nord de l'Inde, on emploie l'écorce intérieure d'un arbre appelé *touz* (توز). C'est avec l'écorce d'un arbre du même genre qu'on recouvre les arcs: celle-ci se nomme *blow*' (بلیوج).—'Reinaud Mémoire sur l'Inde,' p. 305. Further references are given to 'Arian,' l. viii., c. ix.; 'Foe-kou-ki,' p. 392, etc.]

<sup>1</sup> [Dr. Weber has instituted certain philological comparisons, in the hope of

<sup>a</sup> Assyria.—P. H. Gosse, London, 1832, p. 546.

<sup>b</sup> Hamzæ Ispahâni کتاب تاریخ الأمم, p. 961, and xxv. 'Libri inventi sunt, in quibus depositæ erant variæ eorum disciplinæ, omnes lingua Persica antiqua scripti in cortice tûz.'—See also 'Ayin-i Akbari,' vol. ii., 125.

<sup>c</sup> Masson in A. A. p. 60 and 84. See also fig. 11, pl. iii. *Ibid.* Masson continues his remarks on substances used to receive writing: 'In one or two instances I have met with inscriptions; one scratched with a styllet, or sharp-pointed implement around a steatite vase, extracted from a Tope at Darunta; another written in ink, around an earthen vessel, found in a Tope at Hidda; and a third dotted on a brass vessel.'—See also 'Reinaud Mémoire sur l'Inde,' p. 305.

<sup>d</sup> 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. xiii., p. 110; 'Bhilsa Topes,' 299; 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. xxiv., p. 394.

This Sanskrit action upon the indigenous form need not be limited to the date at which we are now able to cite extant examples of the Pálí letters; and, as I have claimed for the latter an antiquity very inadequately represented by their use under Asoka, so I may assume an independent process of maturation under the influence of the former language, in written documents, which is not necessarily restricted in its point of departure to the date of the lapidary models of which that monarch has left us examples. Indeed, these very monuments, in their bearing upon each other, already exhibit the early phase of an irregular advance beyond the limitation of the normal letters, in the greater amount of compound consonants to be found in use in the Girnár edict, as contrasted with the Dhaulí transcript, and the still more simple records of the Eastern pillars, which, in point of time, are absolutely subsequent to the two former inscriptions. And this alone is sufficient to form a justifiable basis for a line of argument I have elsewhere adopted in reply-

being able to determine the initial method of writing in India by the definition of the primary meaning of the words employed to describe the endorsement of the edicts of Asoka. Following out the Greek and Latin analogy of the derivation of the art of writing, implied in the *γράφω*, 'to grave,' and *scribo*, 'to scratch,' he contrasts the inflections from the roots लिप and लिख, which occur in the opening passage of these inscriptions; the one signifying 'to smear,' and also 'to write;' the other, he affirms, meaning primarily 'to scratch into,' and, secondarily, 'to write.' Any exclusive induction, however, from these materials is denied to us in the fact that the two words occur in absolute juxtaposition, and almost as if they were convertible terms; there can be no difficulty in admitting that the one root exists with almost a leading meaning for writing in the South (and in Bengal लिख); while in the north it has retained a nearly exclusive signification for smearing, plastering, etc. The लिख, on the other hand, whether its primary intention was to scratch into, or, more probably, to draw a line, holds its position to a much greater extent in the dialects of India as the special indication of writing. However, these comparisons, incomplete and unsatisfactory as they must needs be, are complicated by a doubt as to the original derivation of the word लिपि. In the Pálí transcripts of Asoka's edicts the orthography is assured; but in the Kapur di Giri text, in spite of Professor Wilson's most determined conversion of the initial letter, in the numerous instances in which it occurs, the word is palpably and uniformly लिपि (*lipitam*, *lipikittam*, etc.), which, as Mr. Norris has shewn, finds a counterpart in position and meaning in the Persian Cuneiform Inscription ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. x., p. 247, 250, lines 48, 55 of Tablet); and in the Scythic version it appears as लिपि, with the same signification (vol. xv., pp. 19, 24, 187). The legitimate Arian लिखिता, occurs in one passage as the correspondent of the Pálí लिखित्ति (Girnár, i. 10); but usually the लिपि of the northern alphabet answers to the लिख of the south (iv. 11, v. 9).

ing to those who follow too implicitly Prinsep's first idea of the progress of writing, and who seem

Disposed to admit of but one single element, as liable to affect the march of alphabetical development—that of time. To show how fallacious any notion of a *necessarily* progressive change would be, I may call attention to the very slight modification that is seen to have taken place in the local alphabets of Gujarāt, etc., during several centuries; and I would inquire, if this argument is to hold good, how much of difference ought we to be able to detect between the alphabet of the Vallabhi copper-plates, which they would date in the sixth century A.D.,<sup>1</sup> and the style of writing in use in the Western Caves, which is almost identical with the characters in prevalent use among the Buddhists in the 3rd century B.C. And yet, a reference to the facsimiles in pl. xxxvii. will demonstrate how essentially limited the alterations effected by this lapse of ages really were! Prinsep, as we have seen, was prepared—with his usual fairness—to concede that there were other causes likely to influence these alphabetical mutations, though his original idea had clearly been to assign all impulse in this direction to the effect of time. Had he lived to perfect his theory, I doubt not that he would have accepted other agencies as playing an important part in the results to be accounted for: prominent among these would, I think, have to be placed, the advance or retardation due to nationality or other local influences; otherwise it would be difficult indeed to account for the various separate alphabets that we find in all their independent diversity at a later period of Indian progress.<sup>2</sup>

Prinsep's own impression, above reprinted, will display how little reliance could

<sup>1</sup> 'Bhilsa Topes,' p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> As my readers may be glad to learn what Albiruni says on the state of the distributive varieties of writing current in his day, I append M. Reinaud's version of the entire passage:—'On compte plusieurs écritures dans l'Inde. La plus répandue est celle qui porte le nom de *siddha-matraca* (سد ماترك) ou substance parfaite; elle est usitée dans le Cachemire et à Benarès, qui sont maintenant les deux principaux foyers scientifiques du pays. On se sert également de cette écriture dans le Madhya-Deça, appelé aussi du nom d'Aryavartta. Dans le Malva, on fait usage d'une écriture appelée *nagara* (ناگر): celle-ci est disposée de la même manière que la première; mais les formes en sont différentes. Une troisième écriture, nommée *ardha-nagary* (ارد ناگرى), c'est-à-dire à moitié nagari, et qui participe des deux premières, est usitée dans le Bhatia (بهاتيه) et dans une partie du Sind. Parmi les autres écritures, on peut citer le *malcāry* (ملقارى), usité dans Malcascheva (ملقشوا) au midi du Sind, près de la côte; le *besandiba* (بسندب), employé à Bahmanava, ville appelée aussi Mansoura; le *karnāta* (كرنات), usité dans le Karnate, pays qui donne naissance aux personnes appelées, dans les armées, du nom de Kannara (كنرة); l'*andri*, employé dans l'Andra-Deça ou pays d'Andra (اندر ديش); le *dravidi*, usité dans le Dravida ou Dravira; le *lari*, dans le Lar-Deça ou pays de Lar; le *gaura* (گوري), dans le Purab-Deça (پورب ديش) ou région orientale (le Bengale); et le *bikchaka* (بيكشك) dans le Oudan-Pourahanāka (اود نيورهنكا). La dernière écriture est celle dont se servent les bouddhists (البد).—M. Reinaud, 'Mémoire sur l'Inde,' p. 298.

# Ancient Indian Numerals.

Pl. XL a

Nos.	Numerals	Prinsep.	Stevenson.			
			Fractions	Old Indian	Satrap	
1	-	१ <sup>a</sup>	-		५५	1
2	=	० <sup>b</sup> ० <sup>c</sup>	=		७? ०?	2
3	≡ ==	३ <sup>d</sup> २ <sup>e</sup>	≡	३३	५	3
4	५५५५	५ <sup>f</sup> ५ <sup>g</sup>		५५५५	५	4
5	५५५५५	५ <sup>h</sup> ५ <sup>i</sup>	+	५	+	5
6	५	५ <sup>j</sup>	< ?	< ?	५	6
7	५ ५	५ <sup>k</sup>		५	-	7
8	५	५ <sup>l</sup>		-	५	8
9	५ ५	५ <sup>m</sup> ५ <sup>n</sup>		५	-	9
10	५ ५ ५ ५	५ <sup>o</sup> ५ <sup>p</sup>		५ ५ ५ ५	५ ५ ५	10
20	० ०			० ०		20
30	५ ० ०			५		30
40	५	<div>Gupta Numerals</div> <div>Units - . . ५ ५ ५ ५ ५</div> <div>Tens - ० ५ ५ ५ ५</div> <div>Hundreds - ५</div>				40
50	५					50
60	५					60
70	५					70
80	५ ५ ०					80
90	५ ५ ५					90
100	५ ~ Gupta	५ Nasik		५ ५	५ ५ ५	100
200	५ ५					200
1000	५ ५				५ ५	1000





Modern. Hebrew	ALPHABET PHÉNICIEN (PHÉNICIE PROPRE)				DÉRIVATION DE L'ALPHABET PHÉNICIEN			
	Du temps d'Esarhaddon 1100 à 680 vers 680.	Du temps d'Achaéménide de 680 à 465	Du temps d'Alexandre de 333 à 324	Du temps d'Antiochus de 300 à 330	Du temps d'Antiochus de 300 à 330	Du temps d'Antiochus de 300 à 330	Du temps d'Antiochus de 300 à 330	Du temps d'Antiochus de 300 à 330
א	א	א	א	א	א	א	א	א
ב	ב	ב	ב	ב	ב	ב	ב	ב
ג	ג	ג	ג	ג	ג	ג	ג	ג
ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד	ד
ה	ה	ה	ה	ה	ה	ה	ה	ה
ו	ו	ו	ו	ו	ו	ו	ו	ו
ז	ז	ז	ז	ז	ז	ז	ז	ז
ח	ח	ח	ח	ח	ח	ח	ח	ח
ט	ט	ט	ט	ט	ט	ט	ט	ט
י	י	י	י	י	י	י	י	י
כ	כ	כ	כ	כ	כ	כ	כ	כ
ל	ל	ל	ל	ל	ל	ל	ל	ל
מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ	מ
נ	נ	נ	נ	נ	נ	נ	נ	נ
ס	ס	ס	ס	ס	ס	ס	ס	ס
ע	ע	ע	ע	ע	ע	ע	ע	ע
פ	פ	פ	פ	פ	פ	פ	פ	פ
צ	צ	צ	צ	צ	צ	צ	צ	צ
ק	ק	ק	ק	ק	ק	ק	ק	ק
ר	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר	ר
ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש	ש
ת	ת	ת	ת	ת	ת	ת	ת	ת



be placed on a judgment which did not take this element into consideration, for he assigns, on the mere ground of forms of letters, a higher antiquity to the Gujarát copper-plates, than he does to the Gupta inscriptions; whereas, we now know, that the Guptas preceded the Vallabhis!

Had he confined himself to tracing the alphabetical advances made by these different sections of Indian races, instead of comparing two series of literal signs that had been thus far matured by different hands, he would have worked upon surer ground. To support my assertion, I would direct attention to the varieties of types of letters to be found on the nearly contemporaneous inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty. If we examine the Allahábád writing,<sup>1</sup> and contrast it with that on the Bhitari Lát,<sup>2</sup> we discover considerable difference between the general configurations of the majority of the characters in each—varying from scarcely perceptible modifications to an absolute difference of form in others; for instance, the ख, ग, घ, प, and श are virtually the same characters in both inscriptions, but their outlines are by no means identical, while the signs ए, म, ह, and स are, so to speak, different letters. To carry out the contrast, let us refer to the Bhilsa<sup>3</sup> inscription. Here again we find a general change in the aspect of the letters and most distinct modification or absolute divergence from the Allahábád type in the following characters—ख, ऊ, ए, घ, प, म, न, र, ह, श, ष, and स.

V. As to the possible influence of the Semitic character of Northern India on the collateral Pálí; I should reduce this to the very minimum under its direct Palæographic aspect,<sup>4</sup> and should even prefer to advocate the converse proposition. There are here also some singular alphabetical coincidences which, however, had better be reserved for examination under the notes on the Arian character. A point which adds materially to the difficulty of instituting any useful comparisons in regard to this division of the subject is our ignorance of the date of the introduction of the Arian branch of the Semitic tree into the regions south of the Hindú Kush and its extension into the sub-Himalayan belt towards Hastinápúr. For, as in the case of the Southern alphabet, its

<sup>1</sup> 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 969.—See Translation, vol. i., p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 1.—English Version, vol. i., p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 455.—Noticed at p. 245.

<sup>4</sup> [I am not at all certain, however, that the Arian alphabet did not contribute the letter  $\Phi$ , the equivalent of  $\Psi$  in its own series, to serve in the Sáh inscription as श. The original character has, to my perception, more of mechanical coincidence with the general tendency of the Arian formation of letters, than of homogeneity with the alphabet of the South; and it is curious to observe how soon the perpendicular centre stroke of the original became horizontal under local treatment. The proper Indian  $\mathfrak{b}$  = ष, on the contrary, seems to have been of indigenous adaptation.]

earliest appearance, within our ken, is in the counterpart edict of Asoka at Kapur di Giri in the Pesháwur valley. Two items, however, suggest themselves as important in the general inquiry. (1) The greater amount of pure Sanskrit the Kapur di Giri inscription<sup>1</sup> carries in its text, as illustrating the descending course of that language<sup>2</sup>; and (2) the ultimate and not very long delayed extinction of all trace of the once extensively prevalent Arian character, and its supersession by the more exact and appropriate system of writing indigenous to the south!<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [‘Jour. Roy. As. Soc.’ vol. xii., p. 236.]

<sup>2</sup> [Prinsep had already noticed this fact in connexion with other data then at his command—‘The vernacular language of India at that period, then, varied in different provinces;—it approached more to the Sanskrit in the N.W.’ etc.—vol. vii., p. 280. The possession of several letters requisite for the due definition of Sanskrit orthography, but unneeded in Pālī writing, is also important.]

<sup>3</sup> [I have usually avoided complicating the simple Palæographic inquiry—on which alone my data entitle me to speak—with any reference to the important light philology must be expected to throw upon the general question. I depart from my rule in this instance, in citing the original and highly valuable remarks of the author of the ‘Drávidian Grammar,’<sup>a</sup> regarding the existing state and probable early course of certain Indian languages. Mr. Caldwell’s position may be stated in his own words:—‘That the Drávidian languages are to be affiliated, not with the Indo-European, but with the Scythian group of tongues; and that the Scythian family to which they appear to be most closely allied is the Finnish or Ugrian.’<sup>b</sup> [The scope of the term Drávidian is defined by the author as follows:] ‘The idioms which are included in this work under the general term ‘Drávidian’ constitute the vernacular speech of the great majority of the inhabitants of Southern India. With the exception of Orissa and those districts of Western India, and the Dekhan, in which the Gujaráthī and the Maráthī are spoken, the whole of the peninsular portion of India, from the Vindhya mountains and the river Nerbudda (Narmadá) to Cape Cormorin, is peopled, and from the earliest period appears to have been peopled, by different branches of one and the same race, speaking different dialects of one and the same language—the language to which the term ‘Drávidian’ is here applied; and scattered offshoots from the same stem may be traced still further north as far as the Rajmahal hills, and even as far as the mountain fastnesses of Beluchistán. The Gujaráthī, the Maráthī (with its offshoot the Konkani), and the Uriya, or the language of Orissa, idioms which are derived in the main from the decomposition of the Sanskrit, form the vernacular speech of the Hindú population within their respective limits: besides which, and besides the Drávidian languages, various idioms which cannot be termed indigenous or vernacular are spoken or occasionally used by particular classes resident in Peninsular India.’

‘The idioms which I designate as ‘Drávidian’ are nine in number, exclusive of the Rajmahal, the Uraón, and the Brahmī.’ They are as follows: 1, Tamil;

<sup>a</sup> ‘A comparative Grammar of the Drávidian or South Indian Family of Languages, by the Rev. R. Caldwell, B.A. London, Harrison, 1856.’

<sup>b</sup> Cf. also Norris’ Scythian text of the inscriptions at Behistun.—‘Jour. Roy. As. Soc.’ vol. xv.

‘The discovery of this Drávidian element in a language spoken beyond the Indus proves that the Drávidians, like the Aryans, the Græco-Scythians, and the Turco Mongolians, entered India by the North-Western route.—p. 23.

In this indeterminate state, I am content, for the present, to leave the general question of the progressive development of the writing of India proper; being convinced, that no uniform or absolute law can be enunciated applicable to the varied circumstances of the whole circle of the palæography of the

2, Telugu; 3, Canarese; 4, Malayalam; 5, Tulu—[the remaining four are] entirely uncultivated, destitute of written characters, and comparatively little known—6, Toda or Tudara; 7, Kota; 8, Gond or Goand; 9, Khond or Kund, or, more properly, the Ku. The proportionable numbers of the several races by whom the languages and dialects mentioned above are spoken appear to be as follows:

1 .....	10,000,000	} 32,150,000
2 .....	14,000,000	
3 .....	5,000,000	
4 .....	2,500,000	
5 .....	150,000	
6 to 9 .....	500,000	

‘Whilst I regard the grammatical structure and prevailing characteristics of the Dravidian idioms as Scythian, I claim for them a position in the Scythian group which is independent of its other members, as a distinct family or genus, or, at least, as a distinct subgenus of tongues. They belong not to the Turkish family, or to the Ugrian, or to the Mongolian, or to the Tungusian, . . . but to the group or class in which all these families are comprised. On the whole, the Dravidian languages may be regarded as most nearly allied to the Finnish or Ugrian family, with special affinities, as it appears, to the Ostiak.’—p. 46.

The conclusions arrived at with regard to the Northern Indian languages are summed up thus—‘It is admitted that before the arrival of the Aryans, or Sanskrit speaking colony of Brāhmins, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas, the greater part of Northern India was peopled by rude aboriginal tribes, called by Sanskrit writers Mlêchhas, Dasyus, Nishādas, etc.; and it is the received opinion that those aboriginal tribes were of Scythian, or, at least, of non-Aryan origin. On the irruption of the Aryans, it would naturally happen that the copious and expressive Sanskrit of the conquering race would almost overwhelm the vocabulary of the rude Scythian tongue which was spoken by the aboriginal tribes. Nevertheless, as the grammatical structure of the Scythian tongues possesses peculiar stability and persistency; and as the pre-Aryan tribes, who were probably more numerous than the Aryans, were not annihilated, but only reduced to a dependent position, and eventually, in most instances, incorporated in the Aryan community, the large Sanskrit addition which the Scythian vernaculars received would not necessarily alter their essential structure, or deprive them of the power of influencing and assimilating the speech of the conquering race. According to this theory, the grammatical structure of the spoken idioms of Northern India was from the first, and always continued to be, in the main, Scythian; and the change which took place when Sanskrit acquired the predominance, as the Aryans gradually extended their conquests and their colonies, was rather a change of vocabulary than of grammar,—a change not so much in the arrangement and vital spirit as in the *matériel* of the language. This hypothesis seems to have the merit of according better than any other with existing phenomena. Seeing that the Northern vernaculars possess, with the words of the Sanskrit, a grammatical structure which in the main appears to be Scythian, it seems more correct to represent those languages as having a Scythian basis, with a large and almost overwhelming Sanskrit addition, than as having a Sanskrit basis, with a small admixture of a Scythian element.’—p. 38. ‘The Scythian substratum of the North-Indian idioms presents a greater number of points of agreement with the Oriental Turkish, or with that Scythian tongue or family of tongues of which the new Persian has been modified, than with any of the Dravidian languages.’—p. 39.

multifarious languages and nationalities embraced amid the indigenous or intrusive races, who in succession may have peopled portions of that land.

I now insert the type Table of transitions of the Indian Alphabet referred to at page 41. This, like Prinsep's lithographed synopsis, requires but little introductory notice, as it should be sufficiently explanatory in itself, but it may be necessary to mention, that I have modified some of the headings of the earlier alphabets, which I have felt bound to retain unaltered in the artist's copy of Prinsep's original fac-similes.<sup>1</sup>

The derivations of the six leading or epochal series of the general table may ordinarily be gathered from the notices and translations of the original texts of each, inserted in various parts of this publication.<sup>2</sup>

The so-entitled Nerbudda character is taken from a set of copper-plate grants, of uncertain date, found at Seoní in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories;<sup>3</sup> and the Kistna alphabet,

<sup>1</sup> [As the accompanying Table of Alphabets has lately appeared, under a slightly varied form, in the work of another author, it is necessary for me to explain how it comes to be inserted in this place without the usual acknowledgment. My Publisher, in making his preparations for the present reprint, imported, at my request, from Germany, such of the Sanskrit types, based upon Prinsep's originals, as were deemed requisite for the illustration of the Palæographic history of Indian writings. As some difficulties presented themselves, on the arrival of this foreign type, in regard to its justification and assimilation with our own, it was determined to set up the entire table before it was required in the order of the consecutive articles. This was done, and the first rough proof had been submitted to me, when Mr. Austin's managing superintendent intimated that if I had no objection he intended to lend the table for publication in Mr. Monier Williams' Sanskrit Grammar. I of course assented willingly to this arrangement, merely stipulating, in the most distinct manner, for the due acknowledgment of the derivation. I heard nothing further on the subject till the work in question appeared, under the auspices of the Oxford University Press, when I naturally looked for the expected recognition of the use of my materials. However, to my surprise, I could discover no notice whatever of obligations to my publisher or myself. Upon making inquiries, I discovered that there had been some misapprehension as to the terms under which these materials had been permitted to be used; and Mr. Williams assures me that he was not in any way made aware of my interest or concern in the synopsis, and therefore necessarily failed to acknowledge the merely secondary title I claim in its reproduction.]

<sup>2</sup> [No. 1, vol. ii. p. 8, *et seq.* of this publication; No. 2, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. vi., p. 1042; see also Stevenson, 'Bombay Journal,' July, 1853, and January, 1854; No. 3, Art. xix. *infra*; No. 4, vol. i., p. 233; No. 5, vol. i., p. 252; No. 6, vol. i., p. 321.]

<sup>3</sup> [See p. 726 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' vol. v. (1836), and also Prof. Wilson on 'Chattisgarh Inscriptions,' 'Asiatic Researches, vol. xv., p. 507.]

which follows, was obtained from inscriptions at Amarávatí in Berár.<sup>1</sup>

For the more modern alphabets, which are arranged irrespective of their relative antiquity, I have had to rely upon such

<sup>1</sup> [Prinsep explains the source from whence he derived the materials for this alphabet in the following remarks:—‘In the library of the Asiatic Society are ten manuscript volumes of drawings of sculpture, images, architecture, and inscriptions, forming part of the celebrated collection of the late Colonel Mackenzie. The greater portion of these are as yet unknown and undescribed. None of the series, as far as we can ascertain, have been published, nor are we aware of any attempt having been made to decipher the inscriptions. It is greatly to be wished that the whole of these interesting documents could be digested in some convenient arrangement and made accessible to the learned world, especially now that the invention of lithography offers a cheap and expeditious means of effecting such an object. We were in hopes of combining their publication in the form of a volume or two of plates, with the digest of the Mackenzie manuscripts, which, at the recommendation of the Society, the Government has lately entrusted to the Rev. W. Taylor at Madras, the author of ‘Oriental Historical Manuscripts.’ As a specimen of the contents of these curious volumes, Captain Cunningham has kindly favored me with the two lithographs numbered as pls. x. and xi., vol. vi., ‘Jour. As. Soc. Beng.’ He has selected the two longest inscriptions from the volume, No. 18, entitled ‘Antiquities at Amarávatí,’ a town in the Berár province, situated on the Kistna river to the west of Nágpur.

‘The majority of the sculptures of Amarávatí seem to belong to a magnificent *dehgopa*, or Buddhist shrine; but there is an admixture towards the end of the volume of objects of the linga worship. An accurate map of the town is prefixed, whence it appears that the ruined *dehgopa*, whence the relics are taken, was on a mound of 150 feet diameter, now converted into a tank. It is called Dipaldinna (translated by Colonel Mackenzie ‘the mound of lights’), which so resembles the name of a similar place of Buddhist celebrity in Ceylon (Dambadinna), that we imagined, on seeing the inscription from the east side of the gateway, some mistake must have been committed; for on comparing the characters with pl. xxviii. of the ‘Jour. As. Soc. Beng.’, vol. v., p. 554, their perfect identity with the Ceylonese type of old Nágari was manifest: indeed the three initial letters appear to form the same word ‘*myūke*’ . . . and the same combination there recognized as ‘*Mahārāja*’ . . . drew Captain Cunningham’s attention while copying the penultimate line of the present inscription.

‘The second inscription, occupying the two sides of pl. xi., ‘Jour. As. Soc. Beng.’, vol. vi. [the Kistna alphabet], is altogether of a different class, although the book states it to have been procured from the same town, Amarávatí.

‘The character has much resemblance to that of some of the cave inscriptions at Mahābalipur and other places to the westward; the essential portion of each letter also assimilates very closely to the alphabets of the Chattisgarh and Seont inscriptions, and this has served as the key by which I have effected the transcription of the whole.

‘It is worthy of remark, that in this alphabet, which we may aptly denominate the Andhra character, from its locality, may be traced the gradual transition from the more simple Devanāgarī of Northern India (No. 2 of Allahābād, Gaya and Gujarāt) to the complicated or florid writing of the Southern Peninsula. On comparing it with the Hala Kanara, or ancient Karnatic, the letters *n*, *t*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *kh*, *th*, *dh*, *bh*, which may be regarded in some degree as test letters, because they have undergone more variation than others in the modern writing of different provinces, are nearly identical. There is also an incipient loop in the lower line of many of the letters which becomes afterwards more developed in the west and south. The Telinga or Telugu character is one step further removed, but it springs directly from the Hala Kanara, and retains many of the Andhra letters still unchanged, particularly the *dh*



type as chanced to be available, amid which may be found some isolated forms that might stand but indifferently the test of local criticism.—E.T.]

and *th*. In the accompanying plate ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi. pl. xii) we have thought it worth while to exhibit these resemblances, and point out the peculiarities noted, that no means may be neglected of facilitating the examination of other inscriptions that may link on naturally at either end of this fragment of the chain of our Indian palaeography.

## XIX.—EXAMINATION OF THE SÁH INSCRIPTION FROM GIRNÁR IN GUJARÁT.

SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION, No. 1, FROM JUNAGARH.

[ I insert Jas. Prinsep's translation of the Sáh inscription at Girnár as it originally appeared in the ' Jour. As. Soc. Bengal '—notwithstanding that it has to a certain extent been superseded in the acquisition of more perfect copies of the monumental writing than he was constrained to rely upon—in order both to complete the record of his contributions to an important section of Indian Numismatics, and to serve as a needful introduction to his notes in illustration of the subject, which retain, with but limited exceptions, their pristine value!—E. T.]

After the announcement made in the proceedings of the Society, that the Governor-General has acceded to my request, for the deputation of an officer to take exact facsimiles of the several inscriptions in Gujarát, which have turned out to be of so important a nature, it may seem premature or superfluous to continue the publication of the analysis of the less perfect document now in my hands. But it is only in a few uncertain passages that the expected corrections are desired. The body of the matter is sufficiently intelligible, both in the Páli edicts of Girnár, lately published, and in the Sanskrit inscription from Junagarh, which I have chosen for the subject of my present notice.

I should, indeed, be doing an injustice to Capt. Laing, who executed the cloth facsimile for the President of the Bombay Literary Society, and to Dr. Wilson himself, who so graciously placed it at my disposal, when, doubtless, he might with little trouble have succeeded himself in interpreting it much better than I can do, from his well-known proficiency in the Sanskrit language; it would, I say, be an injustice to them were I to withhold the publication of what is already prepared for the press, which may be looked upon as their property and their discovery, and to mix it with what may hereafter be obtained by a more accurate survey of the spot.

Before, however, proceeding to the inscription itself, I insert Dr. Wilson's account of the site.

'The rock containing the inscriptions, it should be observed, is about a mile to the eastward of Junâgadh, and about four miles from the base of Girnâr, which is in the same direction. It marks, I should think, the extremity of the Maryâdâ of the sacred mountain. The Jainas, as the successors of the Baudddhas, greatly honour it.'

The rock or large stone above alluded to, appears to contain all three inscriptions. On the eastern side facing the Girnâr hill are the edicts of Asoka in the old character; on the western side, the Sanskrit inscription which I have selected as my theme for the present occasion; and on the southern side a third inscription, longer even than either of the others, but somewhat more modern, and less distinct.

The western inscription, then, is near the top of the stone;—it covers a surface of ten feet and a half in breadth, by five feet in height. The stone is a good deal cut or worn away in two places, but it does not seem that anything has been lost on the outer edges, the

irregularities there visible proceeding from the contour of the stone. Capt. Laing's facsimile is lithographed on a very reduced scale in the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vii., pl. xv.

The character is only one remove from the Buddhist alphabet of Girnár. It has the same mode of applying the vowel marks *e*, *a*, and *o*, in particular to those excellent test letters, *n*, *ṇ*, and *m*. The vowel *i* is still formed of the three dots; but I need not more fully dilate upon its peculiarities, since I have already inserted the whole alphabet, as No. 3 of the comparative table [Pls. xxxviii., xxxix.] A few, also, of the principal passages are now subjoined on a larger scale in pl. xix., 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vii., as upon them rests the value with which this inscription will, doubtless, be regarded in Europe as well as in India, on account of the historical information it is calculated to afford.

Once transcribed into modern Nágari a Sanskrit inscription becomes easily intelligible through the aid of a skilful pandit. In the present instance, it has only been necessary to change two or three dubious letters to enable Kamalákánta to explain to me the contents of all the continuous passages which still exist on the stone, and it is fortunately not very difficult to imagine from the context what must have occupied most of the spaces now eroded or mutilated.

TRANSLATION OF THE GIRNÁR BRIDGE INSCRIPTION (APRIL, 1838).

(Be it) accomplished!<sup>1</sup> This very impassable bank at the foot of the hill city (Girinagara<sup>2</sup>). . . . . (15 syllables) with wide expansion and with great

<sup>1</sup> The same invocation, *siddham*, is used in the Skandagupta inscription, pl. i.

<sup>2</sup> The vowels of the word Girinagar are wanting, but the name cannot be mistaken, being modern Girnár.

depth of strong masonry,<sup>1</sup> carried all along the bottom of the said hill, filling up the interstices or irregularities in even layers, up to the height of the bank . . . . . (30) . . . . . by a chosen (architect?) the foundations of the bridge being completed most substantially, by embanking off in various ways the water . . . . . (50) . . . . . by workmen cheered on by kindnesses, and with a vast abundance of materials, was in progress. Then the work continued under favor of the Rájá Mahákshatrpa (the great patron of the warrior class), who was named Swámi Chastána . . . . . (and was completed) in the seventy-second year of his son, the Kshatrpa, mindful of the lessons of his instructors, the rájá named Aridámá,<sup>2</sup> in the dark half of the month of Mārgaśīrsha . . . . . (afterwards) by an immense inundation, brought on by heavy rains, converting the whole surface of the earth into an ocean, and making a mass of mud of the hill of Urjayata (?)— . . . . by the tempestuous waves of the Palesinī river, and its several tributaries, the bridge . . . . . (was carried away. Subsequently) . . . . . in conformity with the original design, (it was) repaired with blocks of stone from the hill, remedying the difficulties of the passage way with numerous long beams and trees laid across,—and skilfully uniting them . . . . . (A second time) by the force of the waves, in a fierce hurricane and flood, (it was) broken down and much damaged, . . . . . (after which), with stones and trees and piles,<sup>3</sup> and massive beams<sup>4</sup> stretched across, it was again put into complete repair, with an indestructible embankment, having a length of 400 cubits, and in like manner having a breadth of 75 cubits, in a wonderful manner taking out all the water, and laying dry the bed of the river<sup>5</sup> . . . . . by Pūpya Gupta, the territorial treasurer of Rájá Chandragupta Maurya, (this) was caused to be done: and by the Yavana rájá of Asoka Maurya, (named) Tushaspa, it was ornamented with cornice and parapet, and with an artificial canal visible there, over which the bridge also extended, in a manner worthy of the approval of the rájá. . . . . (Afterwards) by him, who, being predestined from the womb to the unceasing and increasing possession of the fortunes of royalty, was invited by all classes waiting upon him for the security of their property—to be their king:—who, from clear intelligence, has not suffered the sacrifice of animal life;—who is faithful to his promises—who is courteous in speech—who in battle, opposed face to face with an equal antagonist, and threatening to discharge his weapons, compassionates his yielding foe . . . . . who gives hope to those of their own accord repairing to him to beseech for succour . . . . . preserving the ancient customs of the town unin-

<sup>1</sup> सन्धि बन्धि, the joining or cementation of masonry, is now called by a similar name *joirai*. I suppose the piers or foundations to be intended.

<sup>2</sup> नाम्नरिदाज्ञ (sic)—if this is correctly traced, it contains a grammatical error, in the substitution of र for : after ज. The name might be read *Atri*; or *Rudra*, were the preceding word *namno*. The date may be read either *varshe divisap-tatita (me)* followed by numerals,—or *Ari damni nashte divisap-tati vatsare*, in the 72nd year after the death of Aridámá. As there is a space after *dvi*, *sata* may be also supplied, making the date 270.

<sup>3</sup> अनुतल्पद्वारशरण, the introduction of *Dudra* here is hardly intelligible, perhaps we should read *anutalpdt vāri sarana ucchraya vidhamsini*—the remover of the impediments to the flow of the current from the beams and materials that had fallen into the river.

<sup>4</sup> गुल्ललता—the distinction of *golas* and *lattas* in the modern wood market is, that the former are unsquared, and the latter, squared timbers.

<sup>5</sup> I have given to this obscure passage the best sense in which I think it explicable, as the breadth, 75 cubits, could hardly have been that of the bridge itself.

fringed by the proud and insolent;—who is lord of the countries<sup>1</sup> of Avanti, Anupa (?) Vrija, Anartta, Surashtra . . . . . Savara, Kukāra, Kirāta, Tishat, and others, all conquered by his own might, and maintained in their former prosperity, and all their inhabitants, both high and low, converted into obedient subjects—all these countries, under his majesty (forming one empire), and furnishing every object of desire and gratification: who is the powerful leader of an army obeying him fondly as one born with the title of a renowned hero;—who, after more than one conquest of Sātkarni, the king of Dakshinapatha, by merely a threat (of attack), concluded a peace (with him) for the security and protection of his country . . . . . and again set up his royal banner;—who has a natural taste for exercising and improving the strength of his hand, according to the rules<sup>2</sup>;—who is renowned for his skill in the practice of all the celebrated sciences, of grammar, of polity, of singing, of expedients (mechanics?) and the rest, the theory of which he has gone through, and tolerably retained;—who, powerful in horses, elephants, chariots, oxen, weapons, and armour . . . . . exceedingly clever in breaking down the strongholds<sup>3</sup> of his enemies;—who is every day happy in the bestowal of alms and mercy;—who is affable in manners;—whose treasury is abundantly filled with gold, silver, tin, and the lapis lazuli jewel, brought as tokens of his greatness, offered to him as his just and proper measure of tribute; who (understands) the precise etiquette of (courtly terms), their sense, measure, sweetness, rarity . . . . . who is of correct bodily proportion, excellent in gait, color, vigour, and strength, &c.; in form and limb of most auspicious aspect;—who, of his own (merit?), has the title of 'patron of warriors and king of men;'—who is crowned with the garland<sup>4</sup> of flowers won in the Swayamvara ceremony (or tournament);—by this great patron of the warriors (or Satrap) Rudra Dāmā . . . . . zealous for the increase of his religious fame, and in kindness and compassion for females, and the lame and sick: and with a most liberal expenditure from his own treasury (for the people?);—consenting at once to the petition of the chief citizens;—the construction of this bridge with threefold strength, . . . . . after due inspection, was ordered to be done;—thus:

By the dignified in virtue, the chief minister of the great Satrap . . . . . the road was also lined with trees, conferring pleasure (on the passers by).

Further, by him who, out of favor to the inhabitants of town and country, restored with substantial repairs the excellent condition (of the bridge) to the good subjects of this metropolis,—who made it impregnable to the torrents of water . . . . . by the descendant of the Pahlavān tribe, Mavya, the contractor, who has finished his work precisely on the terms of his estimates and plans, so as to give

<sup>1</sup> Most of the countries enumerated here are to be found in the Purānas. Avanti is well known as Ōujein; Vrija is the country about Mathura; Anartta is mentioned with Comboja, Sindhu, and Yavana Mārgana ('As. Res.' viii. 339, 341), and is therefore probably in the Panjāb:—Kukura is enumerated in the same list with Benares; Savara is called a wild tribe in the south-east. There are three Kirātas named—two (Chandra and Rajya) in the north-east, and one in the south (pp. 339-41) Tishat may perhaps be read Toshali in Katak, of which more hereafter.

<sup>2</sup> By inadvertence, I have omitted the repetition of the word *arjita* अर्जितार्जित at the beginning of the 13th line in the lithograph.

<sup>3</sup> Reading **परवलाय**, but the text may be read **बललय** making it 'destroying his enemy's force,' or again it may be **परवलाघवसौष्टवक्रियेन**, well skilled in diminishing the power of his enemies. (The Nāgarī transcript has been altered thus.)

<sup>4</sup> In former times, Hindī maidens chose their favourite among a band of suitors by throwing a garland over his neck. A play on the name *Dāmā* is intended.

satisfaction,—the strong man and overcomer of difficulties, surrounded by his overseers (*pattis*),—by him, the establisher of religious fame, and the increaser of the glory of his master, was this work executed.”<sup>1</sup>

## OBSERVATIONS.

I have already remarked, that in this inscription, for the first time, we find the name of the great Chandra Gupta, the contemporary of Alexander, recorded on a genuine monument of antiquity. There can be no doubt of his identity, because his family name Maurya is added ; and further, the name of his grandson, the no less famous Asoka, immediately follows, designated also by the same family cognomen of Maurya.

On first discovering this important fact, and perusing the mutilated fragment with Kamalákánta pandit, as well as we could make it out, I thought myself in possession of a record of the time at least of Asoka, by whose deputy or viceroy the bridge seemed to have been completed. The long string of complimentary epithets which fill up the bulk of the inscription being in the instrumental case, and thus agreeing with the *Yavana rájena* of the upper sentence.

This turns out not to be precisely the case. A considerable period is embraced in the history of the Girnár bridge, partly anterior and partly subsequent to the time of Chandra Gupta ;—thus it seems originally to have been erected by a Prince named Swámi Chashtána, a name rather Persian than Indian ;—it was then either repaired

<sup>1</sup> *Anushtitam* अनुष्ठितं, accomplished. The same word is used at the foot of the Allahábád inscription—(vol. vi. 978). But I know not how it there eluded the apprehension of the pandit who made me write in lieu of it अवस्थितं ‘remaining firm or fixed.’

or more probably completed by his son Aridámá or Atri-dámá in the month of *Mārgasīrsha* or *Agrahayana*, in the year 72, but the letters which follow are unfortunately illegible, and we are left in the dark as to the era then in use for recording events.

The bridge was then totally destroyed by an inundation of the river Paleshini, a name I cannot discover in the map of Gujarát. Thus temporarily repaired, perhaps by the inhabitants, it was again carried away; and a more thorough reparation was commenced under orders from Chandra Gupta Maurya, by his prefect of the province, Pupya Gupta, and completed in the reign of Asoka, his grandson, thirty or forty years afterwards, by his Greek officer, for so I think we may understand *Yavana rája*. The brahmanical population of the distant province of Suráshtra probably had but little affection for the Buddhist monarch, who is not even honoured in the inscription with the title of *rája*, being simply styled Asoka the Maurya! The name of his Greek employè is not very plain on the cloth; it may be read तुषसेन—‘by *Tushaspa*,’ a name evidently of Persian termination, like *Gushtasp*, *Lohrasp*, etc., from *asp*, ‘a horse’ (Sans. *asva*). Were the name written *Tushasva*, we might have supposed it a translation of the Greek name Philippos, having precisely the same meaning; and we might have argued that some adventurer having, from his military prowess, obtained service under Asoka, had added those new provinces to his empire, which we find noticed in his religious edicts, and had at length usurped a considerable share of power to himself; being, in fact, the very *Yona rája* whom the Muhammadan historians state to have



dispossessed Sinsar Chand's grandson. But I am sensible that I have been frequently guilty of running ahead of prudence with my deductions, and I must consequently draw in a little; for it may be possible, after all, that the word *yavana* does not exist. It is preceded by the letter न, which I have rendered तु, 'further,' 'too;' but the expletive is somewhat out of place, and some may prefer the reading अशोकस्य तीयवनराजेन, 'by Asoka's rája (or lord) of the floods and forests.'

To continue my history of the bridge:—after the last repairs, although no accident is mentioned, we must conclude that such had occurred, and that the bridge was rebuilt by the prince upon whom the largest share of the eulogistic inscription is lavished. The opening passage may perhaps be recoverable on a careful re-examination of the stone. Towards the close, it does indeed mention that on the petition of the inhabitants (backed by female influence?) he strengthened the structure three-fold at his own expense. Now the name of this prince is Rudradámá, destined, it says, from his cradle to be elected to the throne,—his title is Rája Mahá Kshatrpa, the same as that of Aridámá and Swámi Chashtán. We may therefore view him as a scion of the old dynasty, replaced on the throne after a temporary subjugation of the province by the Maurya sovereigns of India proper.

It is curious, and most interesting to those whose attention is engaged in the subject, to observe how different ancient monuments throw light upon one another, and help to their mutual development. The name of Rudradámá recalls to our memory the series of Surashtra coins

described in my journal hardly a year ago. Among the eleven names there distinguished, Rudradámá was conspicuous as following just such a break in the line as would be made by the cause above alluded to. Again, the title then read as Mahá Kritrima, the elected king, on second examination agrees precisely with the present more palpably developed Mahá Kshatrapa. On referring to the plate of Mr. Steuart's coins, sent to me by Capt. Harkness, I find that I so read the word at first, and noted it in pencil, but gave it up on the pandit's ignorance of such having ever been a title in use. Had I possessed at that time a comparative alphabet to consult, I should immediately have perceived that the right hand twist at the foot of the *k* did not *then* denote as it does now the vowel *rĭ*, which was formerly turned in the contrary sense; but that it was the cerebral *sh* subjoined to the *k* (forming *ksh*), exactly as it occurs on the Junagarh<sup>1</sup> inscription. The *p* also deceived me, being more pointed than the same letter in the word *putra*; but on examination of the coins in my possession, I find it generally rounded off as U, and never crossed below as the *m*.

The word क्षत्रपः *kshatrapas*, although wholly unknown as a sovereign title to modern Hindús, and not to be found in their books, is familiar to the reader of the Grecian history of ancient Persia, with merely a softening of the initial letter, as ΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ, *Satrapa*, the prefect of a province under the Persian system of government. I do not believe that the etymology of this name has ever

<sup>1</sup> I have before remarked that this town seems called after the Greek prince, Yavanagada.

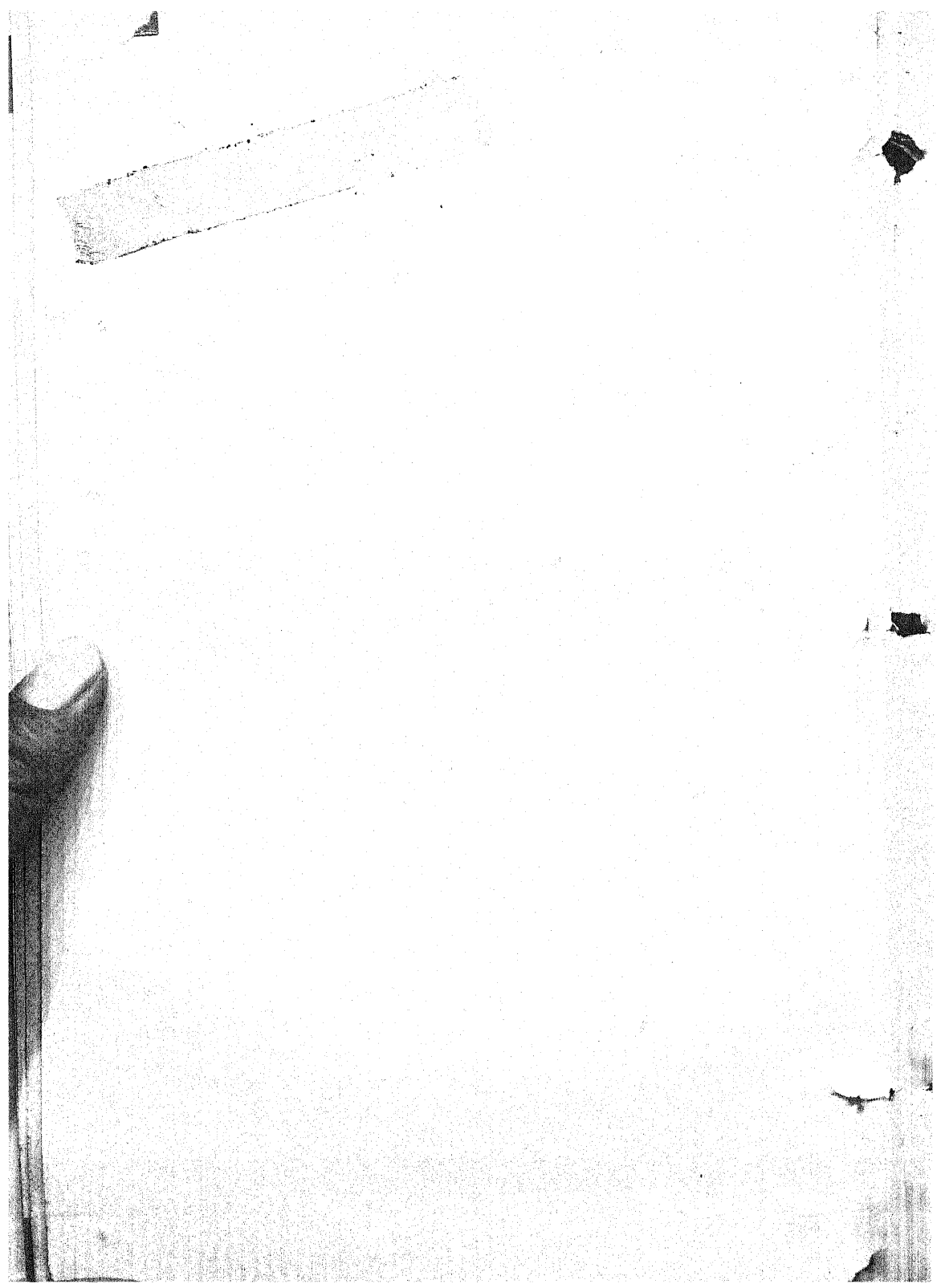
been traced. It is called a Persian title, but the Persian dictionaries only contain ستراب *Satrab*, as an obsolete term for the governor of a province, without explanation of its origin. In Sanskrit it signifies the ruler, feeder, or patron of the *kshatra* or military class; and now that we know the ancient language of Persia east of the Euphrates to have been a near dialect of the Sanskrit, we may conclude that Satrapa had the same signification in Ariana. It is not for me in this place to speculate on the purport of the term in the Persian polity, but it is a fact well known that the effeminate Persians at a very early period were in the habit of governing their numerous tributary provinces by mercenary troops. The same system, and the same denomination of Satrap, was adopted and retained by the Macedonian conqueror, both when Greek and native officers were employed: and instances are frequent enough of the Satraps assuming to themselves independence and a regal title.

The Satrapies of the ancient Persian monarchy are not supposed to have extended across the Indus. If, in Alexander's time, this limit was first transgressed, it was not long before the Bactrian Greeks, or the Parthians, made themselves masters of Sindh, Katch, and Gujarát.<sup>1</sup> The present inscription may incline the learned to conclude that Suráshtra was before then one of the Satrapies of the empire, from the name of Chastan, the Satrap, who is stated to have first erected the bridge, and who must have preceded Chandragupta. Rudra, Viswa, and others of the list are more Indian in sound. It is remarkable

<sup>1</sup> See 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 385, for Vincent's authority on this subject.

Existing Coins of India.





that in the long string of epithets applied even to Rudradámá, the chosen Satrap, there is none which bears the slightest allusion to Hindú mythology; while, on the other hand, the coins of the whole dynasty bear an emblem which we have hitherto considered either of \* Mithraic or of Buddhist import. The name Jinadámá (wearing Buddha as a necklace) is decidedly Buddhistic; and the epithet applied in the inscription to Rudradámá, —‘who, from right persuasion, never put any living creature to death,’—proves that Rudra’s opinions were at any rate influenced by the proximity of the important Buddhist establishment at Girnár.

The style of prose eulogy employed by the composer of the inscription puts us much in mind of our old friend, the Allahábád column. It has its corresponding list of countries conquered and equitably ruled; but few of the names are, as might be expected, the same in the two. Avanti or Ujjayani, and Vrija (if the latter name be correctly read) are of the most importance as implying that the elected kings of the Sáh family, or the Satraps of Suráshtra, as we may now more properly call them, had acquired dominion over all the central portion of India, driving back the Magadha sovereigns (who had previously spread their hands to the farthest west), into their own Gangetic limits. The other places, Anartta, Kukura, etc., are probably provinces to the northwest, out of India proper. One other name, however, deserves our particular attention, the king of the Dakhan (Dakshinapatha), who was twice threatened with an invasion, and brought to sue for peace. His name is Sátakarni, the same which occurs several times in the lists of the

Andhra kings extracted by Wilford from the Bhágavat and other Puránas. It is a patronymic, from शतकर्णि, 'the hundred eared,' which was, doubtless, the name of the founder of the family; and Satakarni was probably the surname of all the line, though not repeated everywhere in the versified enumeration of the Puránas.

The locality of the Andhra dominion has hitherto been as uncertain as the period of its sway. Wilford says in one place that the Andhra princes 'made a most conspicuous figure on the banks of the Ganges for above 800 years;' <sup>1</sup> again, that Andhra and Koshala (near Kalinga) are used synonymously by some Hindú authors: again, that Sri Carna-deva took the title of king of Tri-kalinga, or of the three shores, to the east and west and south of India.<sup>2</sup> From our inscription we perceive that the general term of Dakshinapatha agrees well with the latter definition, and we may rest content with denoting the Satakarnis as kings of the Peninsula.

Further, as to their age, we find one of the name contemporary with Rudradámá who followed Asoka (we cannot say at what precise distance). Wilford brings them much lower down, from the third to the sixth century after Christ, in order to square the last of their name, Pulomarchi, or Puliman, with the Pulomien<sup>3</sup> of the Chinese.

He is forced to confess, however, that there were Andhras at the beginning of the Christian era, when, says Pliny, 'the Andaræ kings were very powerful in

<sup>1</sup> 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. ix. p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Quere. Is not Brahman written with this orthography in Chinese?

India, having no less than thirty fortified cities, an army of 100,000 men and 1000 elephants.<sup>1</sup>

We must, therefore, consent to throw back the Andhras; and, instead of requiring them to fall into a general and single line of paramount Indian kings, as Wilford would insist, let them run in a parallel line, along with the lines of Suráshtra, Ujjain, Magadha, and others, individuals of each line in turn obtaining by their talent, prowess, or good fortune, a temporary ascendancy over their neighbours: thus at length we may hope to fulfil Capt. Tod's prophecy,—‘let us master the characters on the columns of Indrapreshta, Prayag, and Mewar, on the rocks of Junagarh, at Bijollie on the Aravulli, and in the Jain temples scattered over India, and then we shall be able to arrive at just and satisfactory conclusions (in regard to Indian history).’<sup>2</sup>

[Prof. H. H. Wilson has most obligingly favored me with the subjoined revised translation of the interesting monumental record which forms the subject of the preceding remarks. The text upon which the interpretation is based is derived from an independent Devanágari transcript of the original, I had prepared with much care from the improved fac-simile of Messrs. Westergaard and Jacob, published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch Roy. As. Soc. for April, 1842. Prof. Wilson has of course referred to the amended lithographed transcript of this

<sup>1</sup> The name Sáragan, given in the Periplus as of a sovereign that had *formerly* reigned at Kalliena (near Bombay), has some resemblance to Satakarni; but I will not build upon such uncertain ground.

<sup>2</sup> Tod's ‘Rájasthán,’ i. 45: he gives a curious derivation, by the way, of the name of Junagarh:—“The ‘ancient city,’ *par éminence*, is the only name this old capital, at the foot of, and guarding, the sacred mount Gírnár, is known by. Abul Fazl says it had long remained desolate and unknown, and was discovered by mere accident. Tradition even being silent, they give it the emphatic name of *Juna*, ‘old,’ *gurh*, ‘fortress.’ I have little doubt that it is the Asildurga or Asilgurh of the Grahilote annals, where it is said that prince Asil raised a fortress, called after him, near to Gírnár, by the consent of the Dabi prince, his uncle.”



writing, and verified my doubtful readings. His Sanskrit text and commentaries will be reserved for separate publication, in the 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.' The matured result is all that I need desire to present to my readers.—E. T.]

REVISED TRANSLATION OF THE SĀH INSCRIPTION ON THE GIRNĀR ROCK.

(1). This perfect, delightful, beautiful (causeway<sup>1</sup>) from Girinagar to the foot of . . . . . (was constructed) of . . . . . stone (and in) breadth, length, and height, was firmly built as a public road . . . . . along the skirt of the mountain . . . . . Emulous<sup>1</sup> . . . . . formed . . . . .

(2). . . . . by that artificial causeway, and still renowned.

(3 and 4). . . . . remains in a great heap . . . then this . . . in the year two (and) seventy (?) of the royal Mahahshatraps<sup>2</sup> Rudra Daman, whose name is repeated by the venerable, the son of the royal Mahahshatraps, of well selected name, Swami Chandana.<sup>3</sup>

(5). In the dark half of Marga Sirsha, the earth was converted as it were into a sea, by heavily raining Panjanya, so that the golden sand of the mountain (was washed away?).

(6). And by the exceeding violent currents of the Palesini, and other rivers, destroying, as if at the end of the world, all that sought an asylum, even on the highest parts of the hill, as well as along the skirt, and bringing down the trees from the peak, the causeway (was broken down?).

(7). And this being accompanied by a terrible strong wind, the water rushed down like a cataract, sweeping away the stones, trees, shrubs, creepers, along the river, by (whose joint efforts) four hundred cubits (were thrown down). . . . .

(8). And seventy cubits (more) broken by the torrent . . . . . was caused to be made by Pushpagupta, the chief artificer<sup>4</sup> of the Maurya King Chandragupta, by Tushasyenu, the Yavana rāja . . . . . of Asoka, the Maurya, through good fortune was adorned<sup>5</sup> . . . . . through that restoration, the rāja (announced) to all castes having come to see the causeway, for their security, that by him discontinuance was made of putting men to death, by expelling the breath of life.

(10). By observing this engagement, he (overcame all enemies, and extended his rule) over many well affected countries, conquered by his prowess.

(11). Both in the east and west, as . . . . . avanti . . . . . anartha Surashtra . . . . . Kukkura Aparāṭā, and all the nishadas.

(12). Having repeatedly overcome Sātakarni, the lord of the South, he concluded an alliance (with him?).

<sup>1</sup> Apparently alluding to the Selubandha of Rama, to which that of Girinagar is compared.

<sup>2</sup> Rājno Mahahshatraps may also mean 'the great Satrap of the King.'

<sup>3</sup> But there is room left, by defects in the inscription, for one or more names between Rudra Daman and Swami Chandana.

<sup>4</sup> The words are Sashti Yagusyena, possibly for Sreshtiya Gusyena, or the last may be intended for Guptena, as if there was a Sashtigupta after Chandragupta.

<sup>5</sup> The inscription records the repair of the causeway by Rudra Dama. Here, apparently, it relates its having been built by some officer, or by the successor of Chandragupta; and repaired or beautified by the Yavana rāja (?) in the time of Asoka.

As an atonement for leading my readers into this long digression, I now present them with an engraved plate of all the varieties of the Suráshtra group of coins yet found. There is one new name added through the diligence of Lieut. E. Conolly. The rest are already known; but I subjoin their corrected readings for the satisfaction of my numismatical friends. The fact of their having a Grecian legend and head on the obverse is now explained, and the date of their fabrication is determined so far that we may place some of the early reigns in the second and third centuries before Christ: to what later period they descend we may also hope to ascertain through the means of other coins which will come to be described along with the third inscription from Junagarh, as soon as we obtain a correct facsimile of it. I may here so far satisfy curiosity, as to state that this third inscription,—the longest, and in some respects the best preserved, though from the smallness and rudeness of the letters it is very difficult to decipher,—is in a more modern character, that allotted to the third century after Christ, or the Gupta alphabet; and that in the opening lines I find an allusion to Skanda Gupta, one of the Gupta family, whose name has also been found upon a new series of the Suráshtra coins. The words are ... कीर्त्ति विगुण नृपतिः स्कन्दगुप्तः पृथुश्रीः चतुर..... (Vide 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vii., pl. xix., and vol. i. *ante*, p. 247).

We shall thus be able to string together by means of the inscriptions and coins of ancient Suráshtra a continued series of names and *dates* from the time of the Maurya dynasty to that of the Gupta dynasty of Kanauj, which terminates the catalogues of the Puránas.

*Dates*, too, did I say? Yes, I am in hopes of adding even actual dates to the series, for I have been fortunate enough to light upon a clue to the ancient forms of the Sanskrit numerals, and to discover their presence on the very series of Suráshtrian coins to which I have been just alluding. But here again I must solicit a little patience while I describe the grounds of this new assertion.

#### ON THE ANCIENT SANSKRIT NUMERALS.

The most ancient mode of denoting number in the Sanskrit languages, as in the Greek and Latin, was by the use of letters in alphabetical order. This system we find prevalent in all ancient Sanskrit works, as well as in the Páli, the Tibetan, and other derivate systems. There do not, indeed, appear to be any numerals peculiar to the Páli. In their sacred records the words are always written at length; they have also the symbolical words of the Sanskrit astronomical works, and what is called the *Varna sankhya*, or numeral classification of the alphabet. The numerals now employed in Ceylon, Ava, Cambodia, Siam, have hardly the slightest affinity to one another.

When this system was exchanged for that of the decimal or cipher notation does not appear to be known, or to have been investigated by the learned. Up to the ninth or tenth century of our era, the Nágari numerals extant on numerous monuments do not differ materially from those now in use.

In the Gupta class of inscriptions, as far as I know, no numerals had as yet been found until I noticed

some doubtful and unknown symbols on the Bhilsa monument. In the Buddhist pillar inscriptions the dates where they occurred were uniformly expressed at full length.

A few months ago I was engaged in transcribing and reading with my pandit some copper-plate grants supposed to be of the third century, found in Gujarát by Dr. Burn, whose beautiful copies of them I hope shortly to make public. In one of these, the date was entered at full in the words संवत्सरे शतत्रयेचतुर्नवत्यधिके 'in the *samvat* year three hundred and ninety-four.' A few lines below this the word ॥ संवत्सर ॥ again occurred, followed by three symbols,<sup>1</sup> *d*, *m*, *f*, which must, of course, be numerals: they are more exactly copied in pl. xl., and, according to the preceding statement, should be 394.

On a second plate in the same manner, the date in words was संवत्सरे शतत्रयेशित्यधिके कार्तिक शुद्धपञ्चदश्या, 'in the 15th of Kartik, *samvat* 380,' and in figures सं, *d*, *l*, कार्तिक शु

On a third plate the date in words was शतत्रयपञ्चाशित्यधिके कार्तिक पौर्णमास्ये, 'Kartik full moon, *samvat* 385,' and in figures *d*, *l*, *i*, and *o*, *i*, as before: in both of which the same symbols occur for 1, 3, 8, and 5; and the latter figure, much resembling the ancient letter *na*, but slightly altered, was again observed on a fourth plate sent me by Dr. Burn, from Gujarát, which did not contain the date in words, thus, सं, *d*, *k*, *h*.

<sup>1</sup> [In the original text of the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' fac-similes of these numerals are inserted in each place; as these are repeated in full in Prinsep's own Plates No. xl. of the present series, and are re-copied and classified in my supplemental Lithograph, pl. xl. *a*, I have not thought it necessary to have these types re-cut, but have supplied their places by italic letters, whose several correspondents are duly defined in the new transcript of pl. xl. *a*.]

Much pleased with this new train of discovery, I turned to Mr. Wathen's paper in the fourth volume of the Journal, in which I remembered his interpretation of the date on a similar grant by Śrī Dhara Sena, as being in the ninth year of the *Valabhi Samvat* of Tod, corresponding with A.D. 328. Here the translator had no written entry to guide him, nor had he any clue whereby to recognize the numerals which followed the abbreviated *Samvat*, thus, *d, c*, which we now perceive to be 300, + some unknown unit. I immediately wrote to Mr. Wathen and to Dr. Burn, requesting them to examine carefully the dates of all other plates in their possession, and from them in return I received all the examples which are inserted in plate xl. From the whole series combined, we may venture to assign a certain value to the 1, the 3, the 4, the 5, the 8, and the 9.

The last of these, I could not but remember as the symbol on one of the Bhilsa inscriptions, which led to so many conjectures a year ago. In the form of  $\oplus$  we have evidently our *m*, or the year 9, but the three strokes at the side would appear to modify its value, or to be themselves a numeral, perhaps the *o*. Then, as we find the preceding *k* has not a dot above it, we may use that also as a numeral, and understand the whole *k, m, =* as 2 or 6, or 790 according to the value to be hereafter assigned to *k*.

Again, in the second Bhilsa inscription ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 458, pl. xxvi.), the fig. 3, with another, is perceived following the word सम्वत्, and the last letter may possibly be a numeral also. In Mr. Ommanney's Multai inscription, two numerals of the

# Sanskrit Numerals.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Modern Devanāgarī	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	०
Devanāgarī of 10 <sup>th</sup> century	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	०
Bengali, modern	১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭	৮	৯	০
Assamese coins 17 <sup>th</sup> cent.	১	২	৩	৪	৫	৬	৭	৮	৯	০
Nepalese coins ditto.	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	०
Kashmirian, from an ancient Manuscript.	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	०
Tibetan	༡	༢	༣	༤	༥	༦	༧	༨	༩	༠
Burmese	၁	၂	၃	၄	၅	၆	၇	၈	၉	၀
Ceylonese	෧	෨	෩	෪	෫	෬	෭	෮	෯	෦
Karnāṭa and Telugu	౧	౨	౩	౪	౫	౬	౭	౮	౯	౦
Pāli letter numerals in the Burmese character.	၁	၂	၃	၄	၅	၆	၇	၈	၉	၀
Initial letters { ancient modern	က	ခ	ဂ	ဃ	င	စ	ဆ	ဇ	ည	တ

## Ancient Numerals on Copper-plate Grants.

N<sup>o</sup> 1. Kaira, D. Burn. in words, *संवत् ३९४* (samvat 394.)  
repeated in figures "३९४" *३९४*

N<sup>o</sup> 2. In words and figures *३८०* (380) - N<sup>o</sup> 3. *३८०* (385)

N<sup>o</sup> 4. D<sup>o</sup> only in figures *३८०*. N<sup>o</sup> 5, d<sup>o</sup> J.A.S. IV. 477. *३८०*

N<sup>o</sup> 6. D<sup>o</sup> *३८०* Samvat 375? or 30 ardha pausha

Bhilsa Inscription N<sup>o</sup> 7. J.A.S. VI. 454 or samh *३८०* 79? Bhādrapada di. 5?

D<sup>o</sup> N<sup>o</sup> 8, second, less perfect. *३८०*

## Numerals on the Satrap Coins of Surashtra.

Silver coins, 9 *३८०* 10 *३८०* 11 *३८०* 12 *३८०* 13 *३८०*

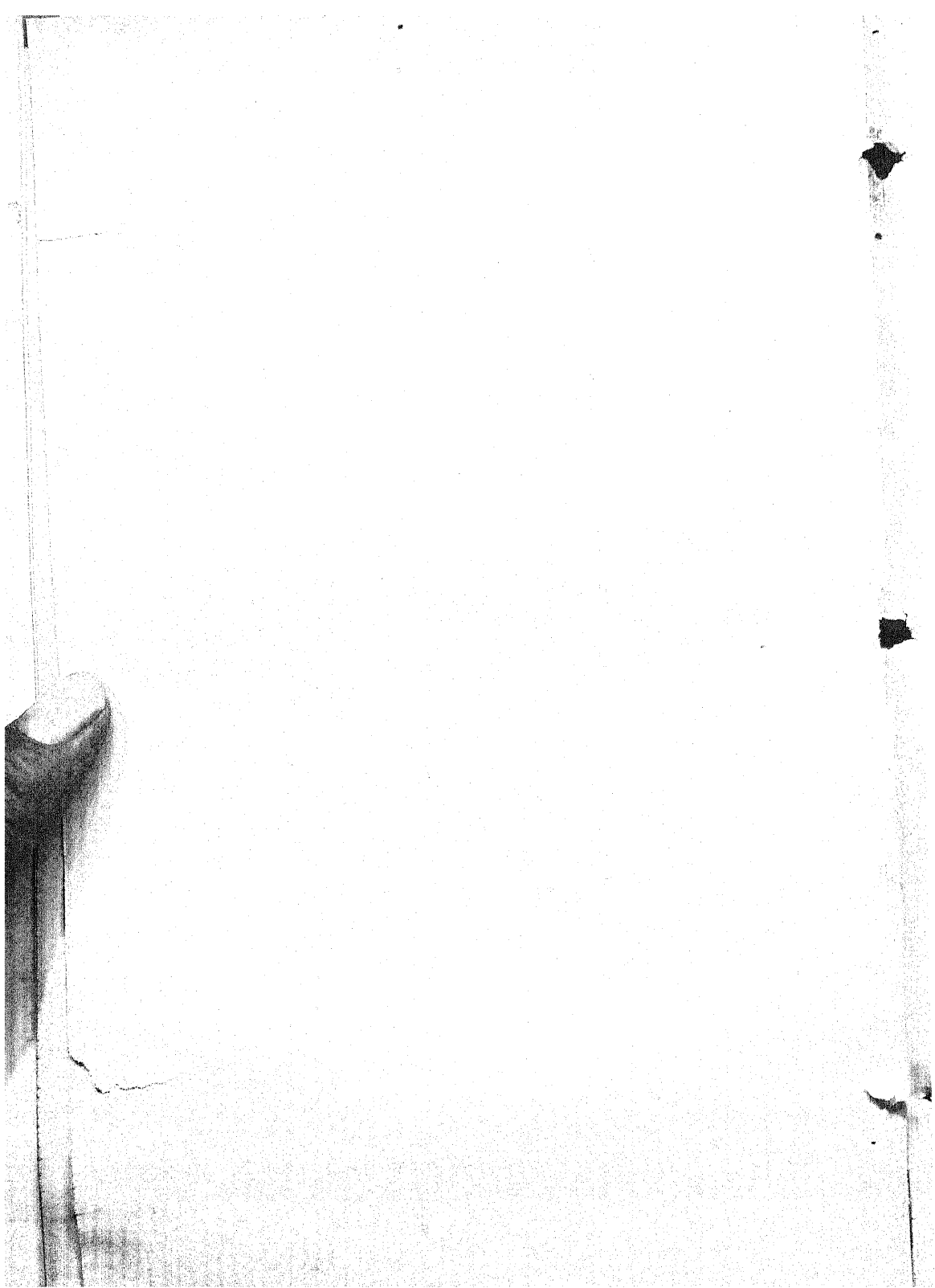
Copper do. 13 (Stacy) *३८०* 14 (Conolly) *३८०*

Lead do. *३८०* *३८०* many without date as



ANCIENT NUMERALS restored.

*१ ० २ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९ ०*



same class were observed ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 869.)

It may also be remembered that in my notice of the Suráshtra coins (vol. i, p. 433), I remarked behind the head on the obverse, besides a legend in corrupted Greek characters, a few strange marks, not at all like either Greek or Sanskrit alphabetical characters; to these I now re-directed my attention, and was happy to perceive that they too were in fact numerals of the same forms, and of equal variety with those on the copper-plate grants.

I have arranged at the foot of pl. xl. those specimens in my own cabinet, on which the figures are best developed.

Upon bringing the subject to the notice of Dr. Burn, at Kaira, he wrote me that he had already remarked these symbols on another very numerous class of old coins, found in the ruins of the Gujarát towns. They are made of lead or tin; and have on one side, in general, a bull, and, on the other, the triple pyramid which forms the central symbol of the silver hemi-drachmas of the Suráshtra satraps. I have not found space to introduce them into the present plate, but fig. 22, pl. xxxvii. will serve as a representative of the whole class. It is a finely preserved copper coin, most opportunely discovered and presented to me by Lieut. E. Conolly, from Ujein. It bears the numerical symbols *d*, *k*, very distinctly marked under the Chaitya symbol. Among the facsimiles of the leaden coins, I find *d*, *l*, :, and *d*, *m*, :, with barely room for a third figure, but in one the reading is *d*, *j*, *g*, so that we may venture to



place them all in the fourth century of some yet unknown era.

Among the silver coins the variety is greater : fig. 23, which I find by the reverses is a coin of Rudra Sáh, has the year  $\bar{d}$ ,  $\bar{l}$ ,  $\bar{h}$ .

Another, fig. 26, also of Rudra Sáh, has the third figure well developed  $\bar{d}$ ,  $\bar{l}$ ,  $\bar{a}$ .

Fig. 24, of the son of Rudra Dámá (the repairer of the Girnár bridge), has apparently the numbers,  $\bar{d}$ ,  $\bar{m}$ ,  $\bar{:}$ , or 390.

Fig. 12, from Ujein, Rudra Sáh II. has  $\bar{d}$ ,  $\bar{d}$ ,  $\bar{b}$ , the first three rather faint. In a coin of Viswa Sáh, given to me by Mr. Wathen, similar to fig. 9, of the plate, the date is  $\bar{d}$ ,  $\bar{b}$ ,  $\bar{g}$ .

Fig. 25, is a well brought out date  $\bar{d}$ ,  $\bar{j}$ ,  $\bar{:}$ , on a coin of Atri Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh, in my cabinet : the coins of the same prince in Mr. Steuart's plate, and one also of Aga Dámá shew traces of the same second figure.

Now, although the succession of the Satraps, or Sáh family, as given in volume i., p. 429, rests but on slender evidence in some points ; still, where the names of father and son are consecutive, we may rest with confidence on it in fixing the priority of such of our newly found numerals as occur on them respectively.

We must, for the sake of perspicuity, repeat the list, with the addition of the dates as far as we have traced them :

#### REGAL SATRAPS OF SURASHTRA.

- 1 K. Rudra Sáh, son of a private individual, Swámi Jina Dámá.
- 2 K. Aga Dámá, his son.  
(Here the connection is broken.)
- 3 MK. Dámá Sáh (no coins.)

- 4 MK. Vijaya Sáh, son of Dámá Sáh.  
 5 K. Vira Dámá, son of Dámá Sáh.  
 6 MK. Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dámá, *Samvat*, *b*, (*?*) *l*, *a*, and *d*, *a*, :.  
 7 K. Viswa Sáh, another son of Vira Dámá ditto *d*, *b*, *g*.  
 8 K. Rudra Sáh, son of M.K. Rudra Sáh, ditto *d*, *d*, *b*.  
 9 MK. Atri Dámá, son of M. K. Rudra Sáh ditto *d*, *j*, :.  
 10 MK. Viswa Sáh, son of Atri Dámá.  
 (Here the connection is broken.)  
 11 MK. Swámi Rudra Dámá (no coins.)  
 12 MK. Swámi Rudra Sáh, his son, *Samvat*, *d*, *l*, *h*, and *d*, *m*, : '.

The two last names being insulated from the rest, were on the former occasion placed by me before Dámá Sáh, because the form of the letter *j* seemed of the earlier type. Since, then, I have learnt that the turning up of the central stroke of the *j* constitutes a vowel inflection. I now, therefore, bring the two Swámis to the foot of the list, on the plea that all figures must have precedence of the 9 or *m*. In the same manner we may now argue that *b* precedes *d*, this figure *j*, and the latter again *l*.

To aid in prosecuting my inquiry, I begged Kamalákánta to point out any allusions to the forms of the ancient numerals he might have met with in grammars or other works; but he could produce but very few instances to the point. One of these is to be met with in the *Kātantra Vyākaraṇa*, a work of Belála Sena's time, where the conformation of the four is alluded to in these words,

स्तन युगाकृतिश्चतुरङ्गो विसर्गश्च

Like a woman's breast is the figure four, and like the visarga;

and the visarga is further explained by a passage in the *Tantrā-bhīḍhāna*, a more modern work still, dated in 1460 *Saka*.

द्विठः स्वाहानलप्रिया ठकारेणवर्णसाम्यात् विसर्ग

The name of visarga is 'two *ths*,' 'Swadhá,' *anala*priya,—because the visarga has the form of the letter *th* (O).

This merely alludes to the modern form of the 4, which exactly resembles the Bengálí visarga.

The oldest allusion he could furnish, was the following on the form of the 6, from Pingala's 'Prákrit Grammar.'

कृगुवङ्कदुमत्तो अखोलङ्गहोइ सुवृएक अलो

"The *guru* mark<sup>1</sup> is like the figure 6, crooked, and of two strokes; it is called also *lahu* (*laghu*), it is also denoted by one stroke or one minute."

This passage evidently alludes to a form of 6 more resembling the Bengálí than the present Nágari type.

Another channel through which I was in hopes of tracing the ancient cyphers, was the numerical system of those Indian alphabets which bear most resemblance to the forms of the earlier centuries, such as those of Kashmír, etc. In the specimens of these, which I have introduced into the plate for the purpose of comparison, it will be seen that the three has certainly considerable affinity to our *d*; while the one and five approach nearly to our *a* and *h*. There is a faint resemblance in others of the group; but some again are totally changed.

The Tibetan numerals (of the seventh century) do not yield much more insight into the matter. They are, we may say, one remove backwards from the Bengálí numbers—the 1, 2, 3, and 5, only agreeing better with the Nágari forms. The 1, however, agrees exactly with one of the ancient figures on the coins, and this has been my inducement to consider the latter as 1.

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* The mark used to denote a short quantity in prosody and in music, which is formed ॐ.

Upon regarding attentively the forms of many of the numerals, one cannot but be led to suppose that the initial letters of the written names were, many of them, adopted as their numerical symbols. Thus, in the Tibetan, 5 ཨ, we see the ཨ or *p* of the same alphabet, the initial of *pancha*. The same may be said of the Kashmírian, and the modern Hindí form ५, and indeed in some measure of the ancient forms *h* and *i*.

Again, the Tibetan 6 ས, resembles the *ch* ས of that alphabet: the Ceylonese form is exactly the *ch* of its alphabet, and there is an equally marked connection between the Nágari ६ and the ६ *chha*, which is the common name of this numeral.

On the same principle, in the absence of other argument, we may set down the *k* of our new series as 7, being identical with ७, the initial of *sapta*.

The modern 3 ३, has no small likeness to the *tr* of the older Nágari alphabets; nor does the 2 differ much from *d*; but these resemblances may be more ideal than real; for, by an equally facile process of comparison, they might be both derived from the Arabic figures, as might other members of the series, as 7 and 8, in the Nágari of the Nepalese coins particularly.

The 9 of the Tibetan, Bengálí, Nepalese, and Burmese numerals is precisely the *l* of the ancient alphabets. Now, in the allotment of the vowels numerically, the *li* represents 9; but it would appear far-fetched to adopt one insulated example of derivation from such a source.

The 9, however, of the Suráshtra grants and coins is of a totally different order. It resembles the four-petalled flower of the *bél*, or Indian jasmine; and in the copper

plates we find it absolutely represented with a stalk (see No. 1, of pl. xl). Seeking the name of this flower in Sanskrit, *mallika*, the pandit reminded me that one of its synonymes was *nava mallika*, which the dictionaries derive from *nava*, 'praised, excellent,' but which may now receive a much more natural definition as the 'jasmine flower resembling the figure 9.'<sup>1</sup>

It is further to be remarked that, in many of the ancient systems, separate symbols were used to denote ten, twenty, etc. in combination with the nine units severally. The curious compound figure seemingly used for the 1 of 15 in the two cases quoted above *o* may be of this sort: indeed it somewhat resembles the Ceylonese ten (see plate). On this point, however, I can offer no demonstration, nor any other argument, save that we have already more than nine symbols to find accommodation for as numerals.

With all these helps, and analogies, I have endeavoured to arrange the nine old numerical symbols in their proper order in the accompanying plate, so as also to meet the conditions of the succession of dates on the coins of the satraps of Suráshtra. In this I am far from being confident of having succeeded; but having once, as it were, broken the ice, we may soon hope for a more perfect solution of the curious problem, through the multitude of new, or rather old, monuments which seem to emerge from oblivion just at the time they are wanted, under the united efforts of the Society's associates in central India. Once having proved that it was customary to date the

<sup>1</sup> [Prinsep's usually quick perception seems to have failed him here, as the *Lantsa Numerals*, in vol. xvi., 'Asiatic Researches,' p. 420, give almost the exact normal forms of 80 and 90, as found in the inscriptions and coin legends.]

coin of that early period, we must direct attention again to the monograms on the Bactrian, Indo-Scythic, and Kanauj coins, which may turn out to be also used numerically.

The numbers, then, which, from comparison with foreign and modern native series, as well as the other considerations above given, I have finally adopted, are as follows :—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>o</i>	:
Varieties ? <i>c</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>i</i>					<i>n</i>	<i>p</i>	

Before concluding this division of my theme, I may be expected to explain in what era the dates of the Suráshtra coins can be expressed, so as to place Swámi Rudra Dámá, whom we perceive in the inscription to have followed at some reasonable distance Asoka himself, at the end of the fourth century, or about the year 390. If the Vikramáditya or Samvat be here intended, he will fall after the close even of the Arsakian dynasty of Persia, when the Greek was disused, and the arts had greatly deteriorated; when, moreover, the form of the Sanskrit character had undergone considerable change. If we take the Seleucidan epoch, which might have been introduced in the provinces tributary to Syria, Rudra will have reigned in A.D. 89. If, lastly, out of deference to Asoka's temporary supremacy in the Gujarát peninsula, we take the Buddhist era, then 543—390 will leave 153 B.C. about a century after Asoka, and in every respect the period I should like to adopt, were it possible to establish any more certain grounds for its preference. The most perplexing circumstance is that the grants of the

Balabhî dynasty are also dated in the third (or fourth) century, and that it is hardly possible to consider their dominion as contemporary with those of the satraps. For them, indeed, we must adopt the Vikramáditya era, whatever may be determined in regard to the one before us.

[Following out the view of the question suggested by Prinsep's remarks at p. 77, in 1848 I succeeded in demonstrating that these signs were uniformly independent symbolical numerals, each denoting in itself a given number, irrespective of any relative collocation;<sup>1</sup> and, therefore, that the *ḍ* was equivalent to 300, wherever it might be found; and likewise, that the *ḷ* and *m* stood for 80 and 90 respectively, whatever position they might chance to occupy. I then proceeded to distinguish those symbols of the Sâh coin dates that declared themselves severally units, tens, or hundreds, by their fixed place, in the order of value, which was always fitly maintained, notwithstanding that the figures themselves clearly could not change their signification by any relative re-arrangement. Beyond this, I cannot claim to have advanced the enquiry in any essential degree. The important aid that otherwise might have served me in the sequent classification of the numbers—the test of their recurrence on the coins of the Sâh kings—was altogether wanting, from the fact that the order of succession of those princes was in itself undetermined.

A re-examination of the entire subject was therefore sufficiently called for; and it is possible that the new data, which have lately become available, may contribute materially to solve the general problem of the system under which the ancient Indian scheme of notation was primarily conceived.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. xii., p. 33.]

<sup>2</sup> [M. Reinaud's 'Mémoire sur l'Inde' was published after the appearance of my Essay in 1838. I therefore transcribe the information contributed by that work towards the general subject. 'Albyrouny a consacré un passage de son Traité sur l'Inde aux chiffres employés de son temps, chez les Indiens, avec une valeur de posi-

The most important elucidation that this subject has received since Jas. Prinsep's original discovery, consists in the 'Observations on the dates found in the cave inscriptions at Nasik,' by the Rev. J. Stevenson.<sup>1</sup> Among these records are to be found no less than twenty-eight figures, or combinations of figures, usually appended to the written exposition of the given value defined at length in the body of the text;<sup>2</sup> the lower numbers are suffi-

tion. Ces chiffres sont appelés par nous *chiffres Arabes*, et les Arabes les nomment *chiffres indiens*. Albyrouny s'exprime ainsi : Les Indiens, à la différence de nous, ne se servent pas des lettres de leur alphabet pour indiquer des nombres. Mais, de même que l'alphabet varie suivant les provinces, les chiffres changent aussi ; les indigènes les nomment *anka* अङ्क. Les chiffres dont nous faisons usage sont empruntés à ce que l'on a trouvé de plus convenable chez eux. Du reste, les formes sont indifférentes, pourvu qu'on s'entende de part et d'autre. Dans le Cachemire, on ne se sert pas de traits particuliers pour exprimer les nombres ; on a adopté les signes employés par les Chinois. Mais un point sur lequel tous les Indiens sont d'accord, c'est de procéder d'après le système décimal.

M. Reinaud continue : 'Arrêtons nous un moment sur les paroles d'Albyrouny : Les Indiens, a-t-il dit, ne se servent pas des lettres de leur alphabet pour exprimer des nombres. Il existe un traité sanscrit, composé par Aryabhata, dans les premiers siècles de notre ère ; et dans ce traité, comme cela se pratiquait chez les Grecs, les Juifs, et plus tard chez les Arabes, les nombres sont exprimés par les lettres de l'alphabet ayant une valeur numérale.' Apparemment, le procédé employé par Aryabhata était tombé en désuétude au temps d'Albyrouny. Néanmoins, les traités scientifiques composés par Brahma-Gupta, au vii. siècle de notre ère, et par les écrivains postérieurs, ne supposent pas, en général, l'usage des chiffres ; les nombres sont exprimés par des mots susceptibles d'être rattachés à une quantité quelconque. Albyrouny ajoute qu'on ne pouvait se livrer à la lecture des traités consacrés à l'astronomie, si l'on ne s'était d'abord rendu un compte exacte de cette manière de compter.' . . . M. Reinaud sums up his inferences to the following effect, 'Il semblerait résulter de l'emploi des lettres, de l'alphabet par Aryabhata, pour exprimer les nombres, que dans les premiers siècles de notre ère, les Indiens mêmes, en employant ces lettres avec une valeur de position, n'avaient pas encore eu l'idée de recourir à des signes particuliers. A l'égard de la méthode mise en usage par Brahma-Gupta, elle s'explique suffisamment, d'un côté par l'habitude ou les indigènes ont été de tout temps de faire mystère de leur savoir ; de l'autre, parce que des mots significatifs s'incorporent mieux dans un vers que des chiffres.'

<sup>1</sup> 'Jour. Bombay branch, Roy. As. Soc.', July, 1853, p. 35. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' 1854, Note, p. 407.

<sup>2</sup> I could have desired that the facsimiles of these inscriptions should have been more calculated to command our faith in their exact rendering of the originals, but I observe that Dr. Stevenson himself does not place any great reliance upon the transcripts, as he remarks, 'I trust also to be able to compare all the published copies of the facsimiles with the inscriptions themselves, which, in respect to those at Nasik, I have been unable as yet to do, so as at least to get as perfect a copy of them as can be obtained in the present state of the rocks. As the facsimiles are the property of Government, and executed by another gentleman (Lieut. P. F. Brett), I have done nothing more than, to the best of my ability, see that the lithographer executed his task faithfully.'—Bombay Journal, 1853, p. 57. And again, p. 50, Dr. S. observes,

\* Voy. un mémoire de feu M. Wish, intitulé, On the alphabetical notation of the Hindus ('Transactions of the Literary Society of Madras,' London, 1827).



ciently simple and obvious, and are only perplexing in the multiplicity of forms some of their exponents are seen to take; the larger sums on the other hand, are expressed by a crude and uncertain method, under which the amount has often to be read backwards in the current line of writing; thus, the generic symbol for *thousands* is ordinarily entered first, that for *hundreds* second, while the specific decimal, or unit cipher, which has to determine the value of the whole, is placed last in the order of alignment, followed by the rest of the inscription. At times again, the mark for *hundreds* is indifferently inserted before or after the figure which indicates the total.<sup>1</sup> If, by any possibility, further argument were required to that end—this double system of arranging the ciphers would alone establish that they were incapable of having their value enhanced or diminished by change of place.

Dr. Stevenson's point of departure, like my own on a previous occasion, was from Jas. Prinsep's investigations of April, 1838 (here reprinted); he does not seem to have seen my paper of 1848, and therefore expresses no opinion either for or against my position, but continues to follow Prinsep in reading '7 as *three*, in preference to *three hundred*; at the same time that he admits that the triple horizontal lines of the normal 3 fully suffice to express the lower number—for which indeed he has a second variant—and notwithstanding that his own materials contribute separate and independent signs for *ten*, *twenty*, *thirty*, and *one hundred*: the latter being specifically distinguished from the various generic signs for *hundreds*.

The next item I have to advert to, is the idea advanced that the Satrap numerals owe their forms to the Bactrian alphabet.<sup>2</sup> This supposition I can scarcely bring myself to entertain.

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult for me at present to say whether the frequent omissions of the point for ५ and other anomalies, belong to the original, or are the faults of the facsimile.

<sup>2</sup> Nasik Inscription, No. 2, plate 7.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Stevenson remarks, 'In the Satrap inscriptions, the numerals used to express the different sums of money there mentioned are peculiar. At first I could determine nothing about their origin, but on a careful examination I found a strik-

The assumption is chiefly based upon the similarity traced in certain forms of the figures to the original letters of the Arian writing; in order to carry out the comparison however, very great liberties have to be taken with the normal forms of the characters themselves—still very incompletely ascertained—and even these, rather forced identifications, are confined to a very limited proportion of the entire suite of the numbers; while on the other hand many of the figures are clearly and indubitably composed of letters of the identical alphabet in which the inscriptions at large are expressed. That these ciphers in their original constitution actually were indigenous letter symbols seems to be further established by other more recent inscriptions, where such forms are frequently seen to follow the progressive modification of the associate alphabet. I omit the dry details incident to the verification of each symbol, referring my readers to the 'Journal of the As. Soc. Beng.,' in which the original paper is to be found.<sup>1</sup>

ing resemblance between the character denoting a thousand (*Sahasra*) and the Bactrian S reversed. This induced me to examine the rest of them, and I think it exceedingly probable that they are all derived from that source. The Bactrian Tz, pronounced in Sanskrit J or *Dsch*, will represent well the figure, which is first in 5 or 10 (*Dasha*). The sign for 5 (*Pancha*) is the P, or the old Indian प inverted. The Bactrian double T also approaches very nearly to the 8 of our inscriptions, as if to denote अठ. It would appear, then, that the Bactrian letters had been introduced into the Satrap Indian inscriptions as numerical ciphers. The system, also, is the ancient Roman and Greek one, that in which there are different signs for the 1 in tens, hundreds, and thousands; our present decimal notation being, as I have noticed elsewhere, a comparatively modern invention of the Scindian merchants of the middle ages ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc. Bombay,' vol. iv.) Further research will probably show, as Mr. Prinsep has done with a few of them already, that the old Indian numerals are also ancient letters.—Jour. Roy. As. Soc. Bombay, vol. v., p. 39.

<sup>1</sup> The Gupta units vary somewhat from the Sâh exemplars, and hence demand a passing notice. As yet I have only been able to discover three definite and complete forms,—the one, which is shaped as an ordinary hyphen, the प = four, and the curious figure that occurs on coin No. 57, pl. ii., 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.' vol. xii., which in its outline follows the design of an alphabetical न. But, in treating of Gupta numbers, I must fairly warn my readers of a preliminary difficulty that I have experienced in regard to the correct point from whence their exponents should be viewed. The Nasik inscriptions display the symbol for one hundred written perpendicularly; and if that be the correct direction of the cipher in the general alignment, the Gupta dates running in front of the profile of the King ought to be read Mongol fashion, like the parallel names of the monarchs of the Gupta race, as usually expressed on the field of their gold currency. On the silver pieces of the Kumâra Gupta, however, whether the sign for 100 may be reversed or not, the arrangement of the tens and units clearly demonstrates that the whole must be read as consecutive rather than as superposed figures, while, strange to say, the dates on the Skanda Gupta

In conclusion, I sum up the results of the present state of the enquiry by the exhibition of the lithographed plate of figures [xl. a] regarding which I have merely to add, that the second compartment includes all such symbols, whether lapidary, numismatic or graven on metal, that I am generally prepared to recognise. The third column reproduces Prinsep's primary conjectural arrangement of the ciphers and their supposed variants. The remaining spaces are filled in with the products of Dr. Stevenson's investigations, but I must warn my readers, that I have taken a double liberty with that author's materials; on the one hand, I have copied my examples of each cipher from the transcripts of the original facsimiles of Lieut. Brett, which are lithographed at large in the Bombay Journal, in preference to following the outlines entered in the companion table of numbers given in that Journal, and supposed to be compiled from the same sources.

On the other hand I have ventured to insert, subject to correction, two signs for 2, which Dr. Stevenson does not definitively acknowledge in his list; but which I obtain from his rendering of inscription No. vi.<sup>1</sup> The third figure for *hundreds*, under the Satrap heading, is also of my introduction, under similar authority.—E.T.]

#### EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII.

Fig. 1, (from Steuart's plates), a silver hemidrachma.

Fig. 11, a coin belonging to Mulla Feroz of Bombay.

Fig. 13, a coin found by Capt. Prescott at Palhanpur in Gujarát, presented to me by Mr. Wathen.

These three coins have all the same legend, but No. 11 exhibits the application of the vowel *i* in two places, which the others want: the legend thus completed is,

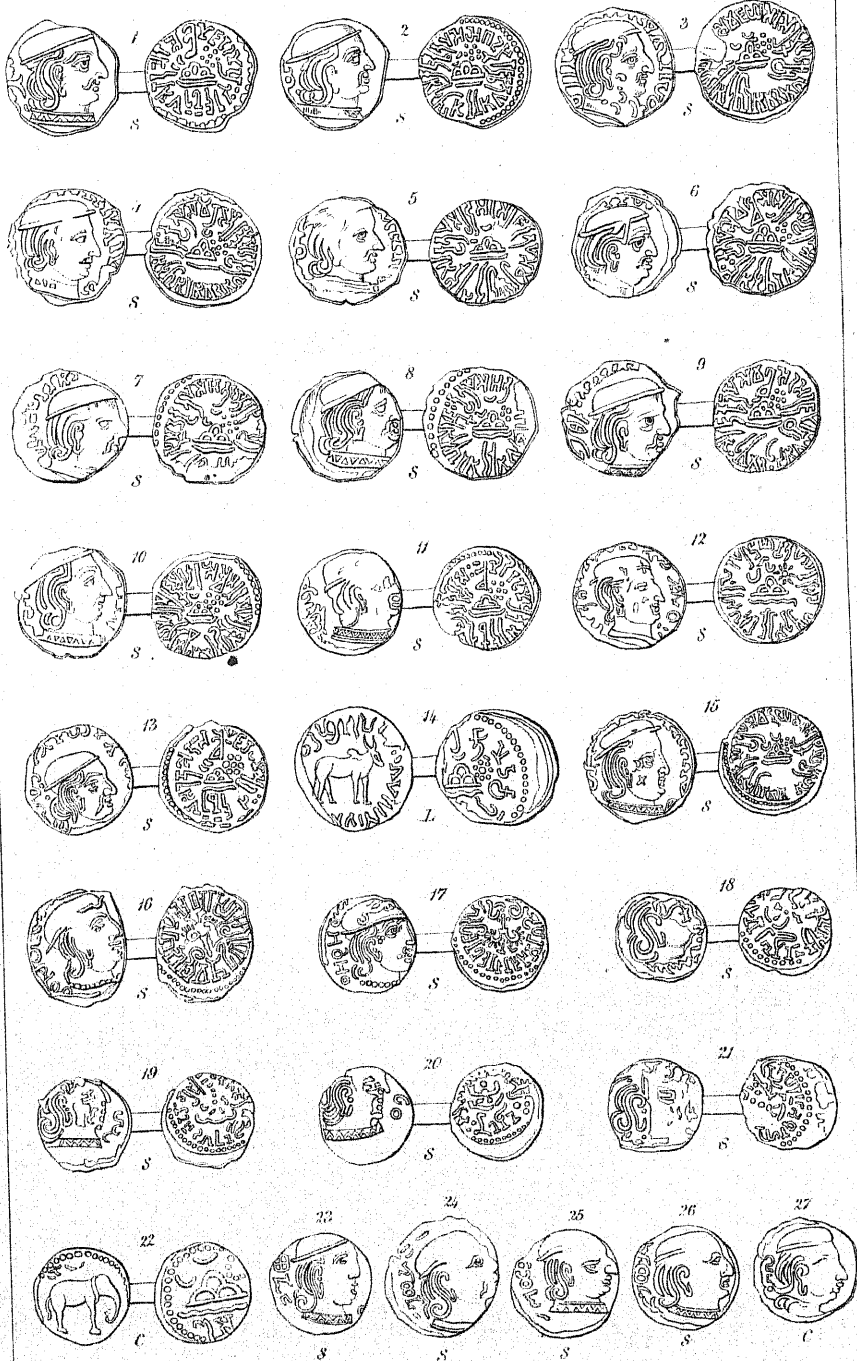
*Rājña Kshatrapasa Rudra Sāhasa, Svāmī Jina Dāmdputrasa,*

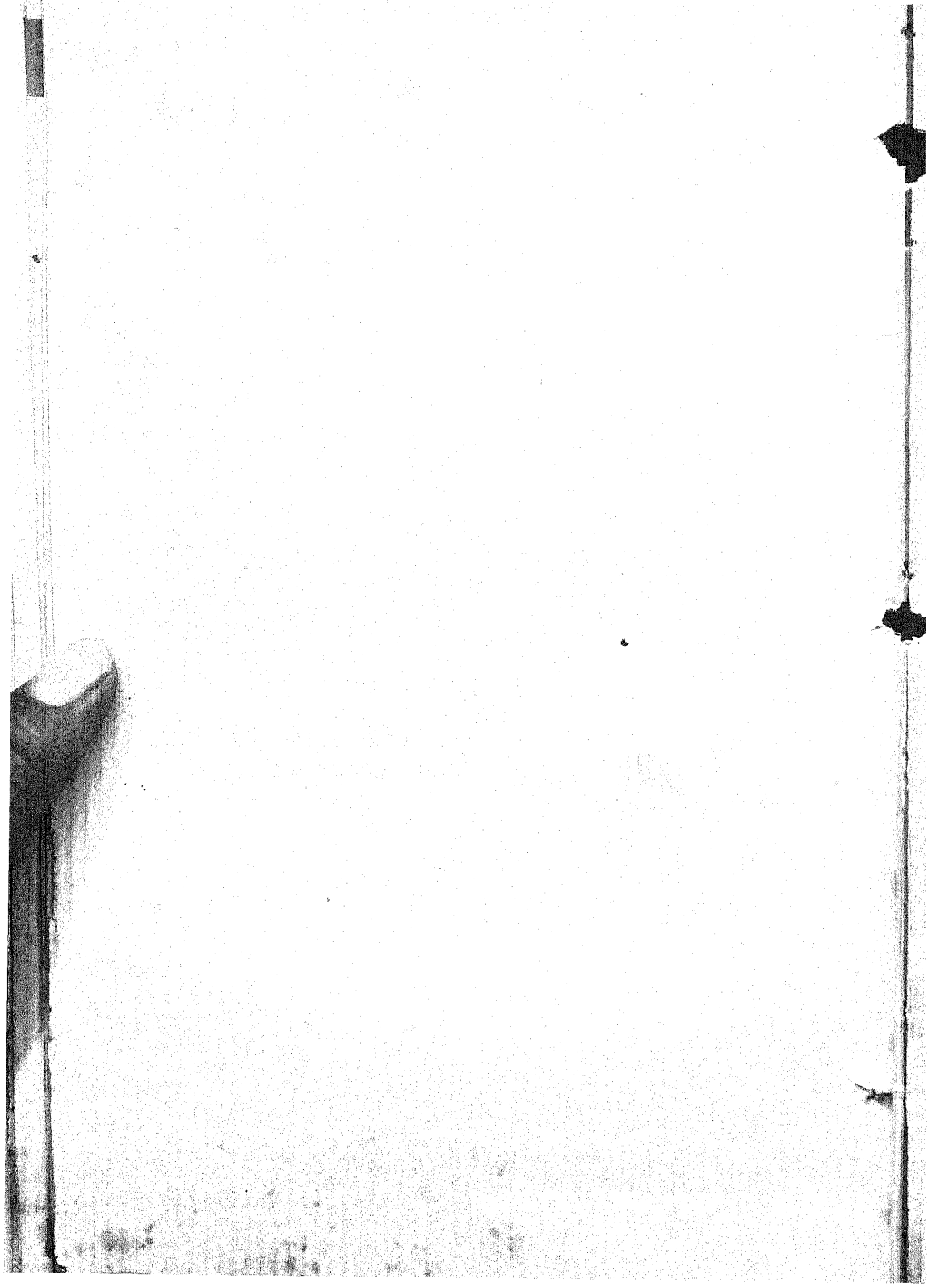
'Of the Royal Satrap, Rudra Sāh, the son of the lord Jina Dāmā.

and Buddha Gupta coins seem to necessitate a supposition of a contrary mode of distribution. I have entered the outlines of the Gupta numerals, both tens and units, in accordance with this somewhat arbitrary arrangement, leaving the point fairly open to correction, when more numerous and more perfect specimens of this coinage may decisively instruct us on the general question.

<sup>1</sup> 'Jeur. Roy. As. Soc. of Bombay,' vol. v. p. 53.

Saurashtra Coins.





The title of Jina Dámá, 'votary of Buddha,' is a better reading than Jina Dámá, 'subduer of that sect, formerly adopted. [My No. 11].

Fig. 2, (from Steuart's plates), a coin of Aga Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh. [No. 10].

*Rájna Kshatrapasa Aga Dámna, rájna Kshatrapasa Rudra Sáh putrasa.*

Fig 3, (ditto), a coin of Vijaya Sáh, son of Dámá Sáh. [No. 9].

*Rájna Kshatrapasa Vijaya Sáhasa, rájno mahá Kshatrapasa Dámá Sáh putrasa.*

Fig. 4, (ditto), a coin of Vira Dámá, son of Dámá Sáh. [No. 7].

*Rájna Kshatrapasa Virádámna, rájno mahá Kshatrapasa Dámá Sáh putrasa.*

Fig. 5, (ditto), a coin of Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dámá. [No. 13].

*Rájno mahá Kshatrapasa Rudra Sáhasa, rájno Kshatrapasa Virádámá putrasa.*

Another coin, apparently of this Rudra, in my possession, fig. 26, has a date which may be read 283; I find I have two coins of this prince (one given me by Mr. F. Stainforth). Colonel Stacy has also two of the same; they may be known by the epithet *mahá*.

Fig. 6, (ditto), a coin of Viswa Sáh, son of Rudra Sáh. [No. 4].

*Rájna Kshatrapasa Viswa Sáhasa, rájno mahá Kshatrapasa Rudra Sáh putrasa.*

Fig. 7, (ditto), a coin of Atri Dámá, another son of Rudra Sáh; behind the head, but more distinctly in my own coin (fig. 25), is the date 360? [No. 2].

*Rájno mahá Kshatrapasa Atri dámna, rájno mahá Kshatrapasa Rudra Sáh putrasa.*

This name is the nearest approach to the Ari Dámá of the inscription, who, however, was the son of Swámí Chastána. Colonel Stacy has also a coin of Atri Dámá.

Fig. 8, (ditto), of the same prince, introduced as shewing more clearly the name of his father.

*Rájna Kshatrapasa Atri . . . . . trapasa Rudra Sáh putrasa.*

Fig. 9, a coin of Visva Sáh, son of Bhatri Dámá. [No. 3].

*Rájno Kshatrapasa Visva Sáhasa, rájno mahá Kshatrapasa Atri Dámá putrasa.*

This coin has a date, which may be read 323, in which case it must precede the last two: the father's name was before read as Atri Dámá, whence the misplacement.

Fig. 10, a coin of Swámí Rudra, son of Swámí Rudra Dámá, in the obverse, the figures 39 (perhaps 390). Another has 385. [No. 12].

*Rájna mahá Kshatrapasa Swámí Rudra Sáhasa, rájno mahá Kshatrapasa Swámí Rudra Dámá putrasa.*

Fig. 12, a new name, or new as to the second title; Rudra Sáh, son of the *great* Satrap Rudra Dámá, was presented to me by Lieut. E. Conolly, from Ujein.

*Rájna Kshatrapasa Rudra Sáhasa rájna mahá Kshatrapasa Rudra Dámá (?) Sáh putrasa.*

This is the only coin which bears the name of the repairer of the bridge, and that rather dubiously, as the father of the prince who

coined the piece. It has a date on the obverse, which I have interpreted 390, like the preceding.

Fig. 15, a silver coin belonging to Mulla Feroz of Bombay, similar to Mr. Steuart's coin, fig. 3. [No. 9].

*Rājna mahā Kshatrapasa Vijaya Sāhasa, rājna mahā Kshatrapasa Dāmd Sāha putrasa.*

fig. 14, a copper coin, unique, discovered by Lieut. Conolly at Ujein, and placed in my cabinet through his kindness. Obverse, a bull, with a marginal legend, apparently Greek, some of the letters seeming to form the word *Basileus*, etc.

*Rājna mahā Kshatra(pa)* . . . the remainder of the legend lost.

The letters are larger and better formed on this than on the silver coins. Most copper coins of the series exactly resemble the silver ones with a head on the obverse. Col. Stacy has a good specimen, of which the obverse (fig. 27) has apparently a date.

[It is now time that I should advert to the epoch of the Sāh kings and the position in which the somewhat difficult question involved at present stands. Prinsep's opinions are reproduced above in their entirety. In continuation of these researches, I myself attempted, some years ago,<sup>1</sup> to determine more precisely the period to which the rule of this dynasty should properly be ascribed; and I selected on that occasion, as the era best calculated, in general coincidences, for the due explanation of the figured dates extant on the coins, the cycle of Śrī Harsha; a system of computation at that time only recently made known to us under the authority of Albirúní, whose work has already been largely referred to in these pages. In arriving at this determination, I did not neglect to consider the claims of other eras whose initial dates promised in any way to accord with the requisitions of the various historical and numismatic evidences derivable from independent sources. Notwithstanding certain leading recommendations that offered themselves in favor of the Buddhist era, I saw cause to reject unconditionally all idea of its title to rule the recorded registers.<sup>2</sup> The Seleucidan era was also tested

<sup>1</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 1 (1848).]

<sup>2</sup> [My present conclusion is that the date of the death of Śākya was never generally used in ancient times either for civil or religious computations, otherwise it would be hard to account for the impossibility of fixing its correct epoch, even in the

in its more obvious applicability to the local or epochal demands; and though many arguments were seen to be suggested in support of its selection, which have since been even strengthened by fresh combinations,<sup>1</sup> I am constrained to declare—apart from the slightest desire to adhere to first impressions—that I still give the preference to the *Srī Harsha* era!

Albirúni's account of this cycle will be found quoted at large, p. 166, 'Useful Tables'; and though it will be seen that he himself confesses to doubts and difficulties in regard to its origin and true initial date, I am, for the moment, content to take the fact that some such scheme of chronological admeasurement, reckoning from an event proximate to 457 B.C. or 400 before Vikramaditya,<sup>2</sup> was actually once in use in India, and that the memory thereof, whether distinct and definite, or jumbled and perverted, remained current in the land till the 11th century A.D.

We are not yet in a condition to discuss exact annual or

days of Huen Tshang, who, in his own words, shows how important, and yet how difficult of determination, this point was held to be among the Buddhist communities of India when he sojourned amongst them.]

<sup>1</sup> [I allude prominently to the concession of Greek supremacy, which, it will be seen, I have admitted more definitely since I last wrote on the subject,—though the abnegation of the employment of dates on the Bactrian coins, from whose types the Śāh money was copied, detracts somewhat from the value of the inference. One of the previous obstacles to the admission of the dependence of the Śāh kings, was the doubt respecting the absolute import of the term *क्षत्रप*, suggested by Prof. Wilson, who remarked, 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 205, 'Kshatrapa admits etymologically of its being explained chief or protector of the Kshatriya, or martial race, and may possibly be the origin of the Persian title Satrap, as Prinsep supposes, although there is some incompatibility in the assignment of the titles of Rāja and Satrap to the same individual.' On reconsideration, I do not quite admit the force of the latter reason, and the identification of the *क्षत्रप*, as the titular equivalent of the Greek ΣΑΤΡΑΠΗΣ, seems now to be set at rest by the recurrence of the term in the Bactrian Pāli as *𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀯𑀭𑀮* (Inscriptions, vol. i., pp. 99-146, Bactrian coins *infra*); and in Indian Pāli as *𑀲𑀸𑀓𑀭𑀯𑀭𑀮*, pl. xlv., fig. 14.

<sup>2</sup> [Major Cunningham has originated a speculative date of 477 B.C. as 'the era of the Nirvāna of Sakya Sinha, not as established in 543 B.C., but as generally believed in by the early Buddhists for a period of several centuries.' This scheme is based on the fact of Asoka's conversion to Buddhism falling 218 years after the *Nirvāna*, the former being fixed from other sources at 259 B.C.; hence the Nirvāna itself is assigned to B.C. 477 (259 + 218). A subordinate section of the argument is grounded upon Kanishkas having 'flourished' an even 400 years after the Nirvāna, and yet Major Cunningham, in the same page, while objecting to my inferences, naively remarks—'The difference of exactly 400 years between the dates of Śrī Harsha and of Vikramaditya is, to say the least, very suspicious.'—'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. vii. of 1854, p. 704.]



monthly dates; an approach to the truth is all we need be concerned with for the time being; for, while the arguments *pro* and *con* extend to questions of centuries, we can afford to leave a very open margin for discretionary modifications among the units and tens. I do not propose to recapitulate at any length my original speculations in regard to the correct epochal position of the Sáh kings, but it is needful that I should notice any confirmation my opinions may since have received, as well as any flaws, real or imaginary, that may have been detected by others in my reasoning or inferences.

Amongst other questions that arose during the course of my examination of the materials then available for the illustration of the history of these administrators, was that of their partial or complete independence; and it will be seen that though the balance of evidence appeared to favor the latter supposition as regarded the later members of the dynasty, yet that I reserved a full option for the recognition of the subjection of the earlier rulers of the line to Greek supremacy.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to this, in the detail of the coins themselves, while speaking of the obverse legend on a coin of Rudra Sáh, son of Jiwa Dámá, as 'a possible corruption of ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ,' I added, 'there is a king of this name among the Bactrian Greeks, made known to us by his coins, which, in their types, seem to connect him with Apollodotus.'<sup>2</sup> This notion has been improved upon by Prof. Lassen to an extent that I am scarcely prepared to follow him in. His theory seems to be, that Íswara Datta was invested with the office of Satrap about the commencement of the 4th century of the era made use of on the coins (*i.e.* *circa* 157 B.C.), and that, about this time, Apollodotus must have been king; hence it is inferred that he was the Suzerain who raised Íswara to his local honours. It is further added, 'Dionysios, whose name appears sufficiently clear on

<sup>1</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pp. 29, 32, 45, 46.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 52. See also Catalogue *infra*; Dionysius Hemidrachma. No. 1.]

Rudra Sinha's money, reigned *circa* 113 B.C.<sup>1</sup> And, finally, the Professor imagines he detects the imperfect orthography of the name of Hippostratus on the obverse of the coins of Rudra Sinha III.<sup>2</sup> Suffice it to say, that the author, so far from contesting my dates or their attribution, introduces us unintentionally to a new feature regarding them, in a purpose their originators could but little have contemplated—a rectification, by their means, of the epoch of the Greek Suzerains, under whose auspices the coins are supposed to have been issued.

I next pass to Major Cunningham's review of the Sáh period; and, as he contests my inferences, I permit him to state his case, in some detail, in his own way:—

'3rd. The independence of the native princes of Gujrat between 157 and 57 B.C. is completely at variance with the Greek accounts of Menander's conquest of Sarioustos or Suráshtra, between 160 and 130 B.C., which is further authenticated by the long protracted currency of his coins at Barygáza or Baroch.

'4th. The alphabetical characters of the Suráshtran coins are so widely different from those of the Pillar and Rock Inscriptions, and, at the same time, are so much similar to those of the Guptas, that it is impossible not to conclude that there must have been a long interval between Asoka and the independent Sáh kings, and an almost immediate succession of the Sáh kings by the Guptas. . . .

'5th. The author of the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, who lived between 117 and 180 A.D., states that *ancient* drachmas of Apollodotus and of Menander were then current at Barygáza (Hudson, 'Geog. Min.', i. 87); this prolonged currency of the Greek drachmas points directly to the period of the Indo-Scythian rule; for though we have some hundreds of their gold coins, and many thousands of their copper coins, yet only one solitary specimen of their silver coinage has yet been discovered. [A mistake: the coin is copperplated over; see *infra*, Catalogue, under Kadphises]. The Indo-Grecian silver probably continued current until after 222 A.D. when the Indo-Scythian power began to decline. From this period, about 250 A.D., I would date the independence of the Sáh kings, and the issue of their silver coinage, which was a direct copy in weight, and partly in type, from the Philopater drachmas of Apollodotus.'—'Bhilsa Topes,' p. 149.

In regard to the criticism in paragraph 3, I have only to observe that, had I exclusively argued for the absolute and continuous independence of the Sáh kings of Gujarát, the objections therein advanced might be held to be fairly stated. But even Major Cunningham's own date of 160-130 B.C., if admitted, need not interfere with the concession of a subsequent assertion

<sup>1</sup> ['Indische Alterthumskunde,' vol. ii., p. 794.]

<sup>2</sup> [Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sáh. (My No. 5, p. 91, *infra*.)]

of independence on the part of the local governors; and the concluding argument, though the author seems indisposed to allow it, has been refuted in anticipation by Vincent's observations,<sup>1</sup> to which I had given every prominence in my paper which formed the subject of Major Cunningham's comment: had the author printed or even noticed the gist of my argument on the opposite side, and then replied to it, I should have been anxious to have treated his reasoning with more respect than I am able to accord to a mere reiteration of a fact which bears, at the best, an alternative interpretation.

With reference to the ratiocination embodied in the fourth paragraph, I may remark that I have already replied to the chief points involved;<sup>2</sup> but as Major Cunningham and myself differ so completely in our fundamental tests of the progress of writing, and as I am therefore equally unprepared to accept his estimates of similitudes, it would be a sheer waste of time my arguing up from minor details, or attempting to reconcile them, when I have other and less fallacious means of arriving at a judgment.

In respect to the data and inferences embodied in the fifth paragraph, I would simply quote Major Cunningham's own words in regard to the general question between us—'We agree as to the facts, but differ in our deductions.'<sup>3</sup>

My original proposition for the emplacement of the Sâhs contemplated the inclusion of all their dated coins within the fourth century of the Srî Harsha era, and inferentially confined the thirteen kings, whose numismatic testimonies had thus supplied us with epochal records, between B.C. 157 and 57. Among other pure and avowed speculations, which the open nature of

<sup>1</sup> ['That the coins of these princes should pass current at Barugâza is no more uncommon than that the Venetian sequin and the imperial dollar should be at this day current in Arabia, or that the Spanish piastre should pass in every part of India and the East; that is, round the world, from Mexico to Manilla, and in some instances, perhaps, from Manilla to Mexico again.'—Vincent, 'Commerce, etc.' ii. 204.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. xxiv. (1855), p. 90; also 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. xii., p. 25.]

<sup>3</sup> ['Bhilsa Topes,' p. 145.]

the question and the absence of positive information to a certain extent invited, I was led to remark, in referring to the well-ascertained average of the length of Indian reigns, that the thirteen accessions in question 'should, under ordinary circumstances, be represented by a sum of more than two centuries instead of being compressed into less than one ;'<sup>1</sup> and I further added, 'the almost unvarying similitude that pervades the entire suite of the Sáh coins, in its simple mechanical indication, implies a comparatively speedy sequence of fabrication.' In endeavouring to account for the brief duration of the sway of these potentates, I conjectured a possible republican form of government under which 'two or more rájas were simultaneously invested with a share in the conduct of the state, or, if elected as sole rulers for the time being, the periods of retention of authority were limited directly and definitively by law, or terminable at the will of the majority.'<sup>2</sup> However, these difficulties are certainly more simply and satisfactorily explained by the supposition of a nomination of another description originally emanating from some Suzerain authority to delegated Satraps or governors of provinces.

As regards the consecutive succession of these princes, we have hitherto been compelled to rely upon patronymics and other indeterminate vouchers; and, though it is a question whether our power of defining the values of the date ciphers is sufficiently advanced to authorise our following a serial arrangement based upon their interpretation, we may still profitably test the process with this reservation. The fairly deciphered and reasonably congruous dates determine the order of succession as follows :—

## LIST OF SÁH KINGS.

## DATES.

1. Íswara Datta, son of Varsha <sup>3</sup> .....	None.
2. Atri Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh .....	311, 312.
3. Viswa Sáh, son of Atri Dámá .....	320, 335.
4. Viswa Sinha, son of Rudra Sáh.....	323, 328, 335.
5. Rudra Sáh, son of Rudra Sáh.....	330.

<sup>1</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 37.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 40.]

<sup>3</sup> [A private individual.]

LIST OF SAH KINGS.	DATES.
6. Dámá Jata Sriyah, son of Dámá Sáh.....	344.
7. Vira Dámá, son of Dámá Sáh.....(no date deciphered).	
8. Dámá Sáh, son of Rudra Sáh.....	345.
9. Vijaya Sáh, son of Dámá Sáh.....	353, 354, 355.
10. Aṣa Dámá, son of Rudra Sáh.....	370.
11. Rudra Sinha, son of Swámí Jíwa Dámá <sup>1</sup>	374, 375.
12. Swámí Rudra Sáh, son of Swámí Rudra	
Dámá .....	384, 390.
13. Rudra Sáh, son of Vira Dámá .....	387.

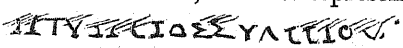
It results from these dates, however imperfect in their comprehensive series, that either there was a double appointment of simultaneous effect, or an indeterminate periodical supersession and interchange of office-bearers, obeying the fiat of the feudal lord, in the one case; or, following the constitutional order occasionally interrupted by the revolutionary convulsions of independent government, in the other. We are still unable to identify the Swámí Rudra Dámá, son of Swámí Chandana, of the Gírnár inscription, with any of those monarchs whose mints have supplied us with records of their rule; but looking to the delayed introduction of the extra title of Swámí—as now defined by the list adapted to the dates—we may, for the present, conjecture the individual to have been the father of Swámí Rudra Sáh; and may even, with but slight stretch of imagination, shadow forth an association of the dubious inscription date of \*72, with his fitting place in the order of succession and the independence then achieved, to which he lays claim in his monumental writing.

I next proceed to notice such numismatic novelties of this series as have come to light since Prinsep wrote.

Foremost and most important among these are the coins of Īswara Datta, the son of Varsha, the first Rája of my list.

The obverse legends of the three specimens I have had an opportunity of inspecting are, like the rest, couched in imper-

<sup>1</sup> [A private individual.]

fect Greek letters, the best representation of which is as follows :  
 The exergue is, however, remarkable in its contrast with the subsequent series, in having no cipher date, which would seem to indicate that the system of marking the year of issue was not as yet introduced.

The reverse bears the subjoined legend :

**रञ्जो मह चक्रपस ईश्वर दत्तस वर्ष पुत्र**<sup>1</sup>

*Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Isvara Dattasa Varsha putra—*

The coins of Dámá Jata Sriyah are also among our later discoveries. Dr. Stevenson first published a notice of a coin of this prince from the Junir hoard (August, 1846). I have since met with two or three further specimens of these rare coins.

The reverse legend runs—

**रञ्जो मह चक्रपस दमजट श्रीयः रञ्जो मह चक्रपस दम सह पुत्रस**

*Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Dāmājata Sriyah Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Dámá Sāha putrasa.*

The following readings of the coin legends of Dámá Sáh, the son of Rudra Sáh, are given on the authority of Dr. Bird, who transcribed them for me from the originals in his own possession in 1848.

**रञ्जो मह चक्रपस दम सहस रञ्जो मह चक्रपस रुद्र सहस पुत्रस**

*Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Dámá Sāhasa Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Rudra Sāhasa putrasa.*

Finally, I have to advert to the unpublished coins of another Swámí Rudra Sáh, whose patronymic is only imperfectly retained on the surfaces of the limited number of specimens that have come within my cognisance.<sup>2</sup>

**रञ्ज मह चक्रपस श्वम रुद्र सहस रञ्ज मह चक्रपस श्वम सत्य सह पुत्रस**

*Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Swámí Rudra Sāhasa Rājno mahā Kshatrapasa Swámí Satya Sāha putrasa.*

These coins are chiefly remarkable in their accordance, in the style and fashion of their Sanskrit legends, with the approximate specimens from the mint of Swámí Rudra Sáh, No. 12 ; and the more extensive debasement of the Greek exergue on the obverse.—E.T.]

<sup>1</sup> [The concluding letter is defective in all the three specimens, the lower portion only being visible in each. What remains seems to form a portion of an ordinary स, with a second line below the ordinary subjunctive sign of that letter.]

<sup>2</sup> [Lieut.-Colonel Bush, Bengal Army—one silver piece. G. H. Freeling, Esq., Bengal Civil Service—one silver and one plated coin.]

Fig. 16. In this silver coin found in Katch in 1837, and presented to me by Mr. Wathen, the central emblem of the reverse is changed to a kind of trident; the legend is also altered from that of a Satrap to one of a paramount sovereign :

परम भानुवीर राजाधिराज श्री कुमारगुप्त महेंद्रस्य

*Parama Bhānuvīra Rājādhirāja Śrī Kumara Gupta Mahendrasya.*

'Of the paramount sovereign the heroic king of kings Śrī Kumara Gupta Mahendra.'

Fig. 17, another of the same kind, having the same Sanskrit legend, but, behind the head, the Greek letters may be read ONONOT, or RAO NANO: it was presented to me with the last by Mr. Wathen.

Figs. 18, 19, 20, and 21, have the same symbol, but the workmanship is very much deteriorated. The legend on them all has at length been deciphered by the collation of several specimens presented to me by Mr. Wathen, and found in various parts of Katch, Kattywār, and Gujarāt, by Capt Prescott, Capt. Burnes, Dr. Burn; as well as the few inserted in the plates of Mr. Stuart's coins.<sup>1</sup>

परम भगदत्तम राजश्रीस्कन्दगुप्त क्रमादित्य

*Parama Bhagadatta ma (ha) Rāja Śrī Skanda Gupta (vi) kramaditya.*

But as I have a larger assortment of the coins of the same king to introduce into a future plate, I will postpone further mention of this series for the present.

[I append to this essay my latest classification of such silver coins of the Guptas as are associated with the types last adverted to by Prinsep.

ŚRĪ GUPTA.

CLASS A: Silver, weight 31 grains. Mr. G. H. Freeling, Bengal Civil Service. Unique.

OBVERSE:—Device, the original type of the Śāh head, apparently unchanged in outline or details.

LEGEND, as usual, in imperfect Greek characters, the concluding six letters of which alone are visible, thus—ΑΧΙΟΙΟ

REVERSE:—Device, a singular figure that may possibly represent the early design of the Gupta peacock as rendered by the local artists, beneath which is a linear scroll of three semi-circles similar to that

<sup>1</sup> By a letter from Prof. Wilson I learn that Mr. Stuart's plate is to appear in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal; but that it had time to journey to India and back before the outcoming number went to press! I regret I am thus deprived of the power of adding to this note the observations of the learned in England on the Surāshtra coins.—J.P.

seen in continued use on certain silver coins of Skanda Gupta;<sup>1</sup> above the main device are retained the Sáh cluster of stars and a minute half-moon seemingly borrowed from the same source.

LEGEND—

श्रीनन्दगुप्तविक्रमेन्द्रज श्रीगुप्तकीलालेन्द्र

श्रीनन्दगुप्तविक्रमेन्द्रज श्रीगुप्तकीलालेन्द्र — — —

Prof. Fitz Edward Hall proposes to amend my transcript, thus—

श्रीनन्दगुप्त विक्रमेन्द्रज श्रीगुप्त कीलालेन्द्र — — —

To this he assigns the following translation: "The auspicious, Kílálendra Srí Gupta, son of the auspicious Nanda Gupta, an Indra in prowess."

If this should eventually prove to be a piece of the Srí Gupta, the founder of the dynasty known by his name, it will establish a claim on our attention, altogether apart from its novelty as the unique representative of the money of that king—in the evidence of the close and direct imitation of the technic art of the Sáh coinages, which it develops in so much more distinct a degree than the local issues of the Gupta family of a later date. Indeed, this association is so striking that I was, at first sight, almost inclined to modify my original impression of a deferred revival of the Sáh coinage by the Guptas, on their possessing themselves of the province of Sauráhstra, and to doubt whether it would not be necessary to approximate the two races more closely in point of time, in order to explain with any plausibility the mechanical coincidences of the coinage; but, though these will be seen to be strongly marked in the case of the obverse, or conventional portion of the die, the reverse, or dynastic stamp, is materially changed, both in the leading device and, more important still, in the shape of the letters—so that, in this respect, all my early arguments still hold good;<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ['Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. iv., pl. xlix., figs. 4, 5; vol. vii., pl. xii., fig. 19; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. ii., figs. 43, 44; 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xv., fig. 20. Prof. Wilson, in speaking of the reverse device of this particular coin, describes it as 'an ornament like a disintegrated Chaitya.'

<sup>2</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pp. 16, 17.]



and, in regard to the barbarized Greek, the inheritance of Sáh imperfections, there need be no difficulty in recognising thus much of the power of imitation of its letters, when we know that on other mintages the Gupta artists were able to achieve fully intelligible Greek adaptations of Eastern names.

#### KUMÁRA GUPTA.

CLASS B : Pl. xxxvii., figs. 16, 17 ; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. ii., figs. 39, 40, 41, 42 ; 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xv., figs. 17, 18.

OBVERSE :—Head of the king in profile : the outline and design are nearly identical with the Suráshtan prototype—the mintage of the Sáh kings—at the back of the head is ordinarily to be seen a mutilated portion of the Scythian title PAO NANO. This important legend affords another link in the direct association of the Guptas with the Indo-Scythians, which is here the more marked, in that, while the device itself is servilely copied from the Sáh's, their obverse Greek legends are superseded by this new title.

REVERSE :—It is difficult to determine satisfactorily what the emblem occupying the reverse field may be intended to typify, but the most plausible supposition seems to be that it displays an advance upon the conventional representation of the peacock under Western treatment, following out the artistic notion of that bird given in Sri Gupta's coin.

LEGEND :—

परम भगवत राजाधिराज श्रीकुमार गुप्त महेंद्रस्य

*Parama Bhagavata Rájádhirāja Śrī Kumāra Gupta Mahendrasya.*

The second word of this legend is the only portion of the whole that is at all open to question ; it has been read *Bhānuvira* by Prinsep,<sup>1</sup> but this is not by any means a satisfactory interpretation. The first and third letters are fixed and constant in the various examples, and are properly rendered in each case as म and व ; the second and fourth letters vary considerably in outline on the different specimens ; the second letter I have never yet met with in its perfect shape as ग when tried by the test of the ग in Gupta, indeed the majority of the coins display it more after the form of a न, as that consonant is found later in

<sup>1</sup> [Prof. Wilson ('Ariana Antiqua,') has suggested *Bhattaraku* (?) which the Udayagiri inscription ('Bhilsa Topes,' p. 151) rather recommends to our notice.]

the legend in Mahendrasya. The same remark also applies to the final त. I see that Prof. Mill has conjecturally supplied the word *Bhagavata* in the prefix to Kumára Gupta's titles on the Bhitári Lát ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 4), but Prinsep's facsimile of the inscription, though it accords the needful space for the exact number of letters, gives the final as a manifest न; in saying this, however, I must remind my readers, that in the alphabet in question, the slightest possible inflection and continuation of a line constitutes the essential difference between the two letters न and त, and on the other hand the local copper plates of the Valabhis render the न very much after the shape of the Eastern त, while the indigenous त is but little different from the न of the coins under reference. And finally as the words *Parama Bhagavata* appear in all their indubitable orthography on the succeeding coins of Skanda Gupta, we may fairly assume a mere imperfection in the expression of the individual letters and leave the word as it has been entered in the legend above.

The coins under notice are not always complete in the Sanskrit legends; for instance, an otherwise very perfect piece in the cabinet of the Royal Asiatic Society has the word राजाधिराज abbreviated into राजाध; and No. 39, pl. ii., 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., has the same word contracted to राजाधिर.

#### SKANDA GUPTA.

CLASS C: Pl. xxxvii., figs. 18, 19; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. ii., figs. 43, 44; 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xv., fig. 20.

OBVERSE, as in class B, Kumára Gupta, but the execution has greatly deteriorated; on some specimens traces of the word NANO are still to be seen.

REVERSE:—The device in this class of money, appears to offer a more direct imitation of that of the Sri Gupta pieces, than did the intermediate Kumára reverse types, these latter are seen to reject the foot scrolls and to vary the details of the centre figure to a considerable extent.

LEGEND:—परम भगवत श्री स्कन्द गुप्त क्रमादित्य

*Parama Bhagavata Sri Skanda Gupta Kramāditya.*

Prinsep, in his collated reading of the legends on these coins adopted the letter म (for महा) as occurring after the word भगवत् [or भगदत् as he made it], which he found to be followed by the title of राज, which precedes the name of the monarch. This rendering, he would seem to have drawn from fig. 29, pl. ii., Stuart ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' 1837); but as the like letters do not generally recur, I have marked this as the exception rather than the rule.

The weights of these coins vary from 23 to 29 grains.

CLASS D: 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. ii., figs. 45, 46; 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xv., fig. 19.

OBVERSE:—Crudely outlined head, with traces of the title NANO in front of the profile.

REVERSE:—Figure of Nandī identical in form and position with the emblem on the seal of the Valabhi family as found attached to their copper-plate grants. ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. iv., pl. xl., and p. 487).

LEGEND:—[Restored.]

परम भगवत् श्री स्कन्द गुप्त क्रमादित्य

*Parama Bhagavata Sri Skanda Gupta Kramāditya.*

These legends are frequently very incomplete, varying in the number of letters in each.

The standard of these coins is very uncertain, rising from a weight of 21 to 30 grains.

CLASSES E, F, G. [The references are prefixed to each variety.]

OBVERSE:—The usual head, generally ill-defined, but still identical in many respects with the original device on the obverse of the Sāh medals; it is occasionally also accompanied by distinct traces of the word NANO.

REVERSE:—Central symbol in the form of an altar, which is supposed to represent the common altar-shaped receptacle of the sacred Tūlsī tree of the Hindūs. Legends restored.

CLASS E: 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. ii., fig. 49.

परम भगवत् श्री स्कन्द गुप्त क्रमादित्य

*Parama Bhagavata Sri Skanda Gupta Kramāditya.*

CLASS F: 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. ii., fig. 50.

परम भगवत श्री स्कन्द गुप्त परमादित्य

*Parama Bhagavata Sri Skanda Gupta Paramaditya.*

CLASS G: 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. ii., fig. 51.

परम भगवत श्री विक्रमादित्य स्कन्द गुप्त

*Parama Bhagavata Sri Vikramaditya Skanda Gupta.*

The irregularity in the completion of the legend, noted as occurring on Skanda Gupta's coins with the bull reverse, appears in a still greater degree in those of the present class.

The weight of these coins is more than ordinarily unequal, rising from  $22\frac{1}{2}$  to 33 grains.

Though not properly susceptible of classification with any Gupta series of coins, it is as well to take this opportunity of noticing in connexion therewith a species of money which seems to constitute an independent derivative from the same Sauráshtran type that served as a model for the local currency of the Guptas in certain western provinces of their empire.

I advert to the pieces figured as Nos. 6 to 8 and 9, pl. xxvii.<sup>1</sup> Prinsep, at the moment of their publication (December, 1835), scarcely attempted any decipherment of the certainly very unpromising legends, and was equally at fault in regard to the reverse device which he described as 'a symbol in the form of a trident;' when, subsequently, he came to take up the general subject of the Sáh and Gupta silver coinage in full detail, he still essayed no advance upon the attribution of this offshoot of their common prototype. In my paper on the Sáh kings,<sup>2</sup> I made some slight progress towards the determination of the purport of the legends; and, apart from the typical coincidences, I was able to demonstrate more precisely the Sáh association in the decipherment of the words राक्षो महा चक्रपस on the margin of the best preserved specimen of the series.

<sup>1</sup> [Other examples of this currency will be found delineated in 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. iv., pl. ii., fig. 30; vol. xii., pl. ii., figs. 35 to 38.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 64, 15th April, 1848.]

A coin of Mr. Freeling's, of an early date in the serial issue, presenting a well defined and nearly complete legend, materially advances the inquiry, and furnishes a key to the strangely distorted letters stamped on the later emanations from the parent mint, though it leaves us still far from any conclusive assignment of the class of money to which it belongs. I proceed to describe the piece in the ordinary detail.

Silver, weight 27 grains.

OVERSE :—The usual Sáh head, apparently but little modified. This surface of the coin is damaged, but fully one-half the marginal space, around the profile, remains uninjured, and in the total absence of any sign of a letter confirms my previous supposition,<sup>1</sup> that the use of the Greek legend was not extended to this class of coin.

REVERSE :—Device, a barbarized imitation of the Minerva Promachos of the Bactrian coinage.

I was once disposed to look upon the singular figure on the reverse of these coins as the Buddhist device of a man : I was led to this conclusion by the similarity of the form of the figure sketched by Jas. Prinsep, in fig. 21, pl. iv., to that occurring on the Behat type of coins;<sup>2</sup> but I now observe that Prinsep, in his second engraving of the same coin (fig. 9, pl. xxvii.), omits the left arm, in its downward position, which constituted the most essential point of Behat identity.

LEGEND :—ग्रह भुनद्धरकसरच्च महच्चपरमद्वकक्षभसदमन

OPTIONAL  
READINGS

श्रीः ऋ डु

ह कृ

The configuration of certain letters in these legends demands a passing notice. The character which Prinsep took for *ṃ*, etc., is now satisfactorily proved to be an *म*: the form is peculiar, but still it bears sufficient affinity to the general idea of the Gupta *म*. In the later specimens of the coinage, its upper section is distinguished from the ordinary *प* by the rounding off of the lower portion of the first down-stroke, while the *प* itself is

<sup>1</sup> [ 'One item seems safely deducible from the unoccupied margin, to be found around the bust in the broader coins, viz., that the use of Greek or its attempted representation was here discontinued.'—'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.' vol. xii., p. 63.]

<sup>2</sup> [Pl. xix., fig. 16; pl. xx., figs. 45, 47, etc.]

squared at the base. The nearest approach to identity with this numismatic न is to be found in the outline of that character as expressed on the Udayagiri Inscription; but it must be remarked that this similitude affords but little aid towards determining geographical limitation, as the majority of the letters of the inscription itself are exceptional, and do not accord with the characters of the other writings of the same locality. The न of these coins takes the same shape as those on Kumāra's silver coins, Class B, above adverted to. The remaining letters, as far as they have been definitively identified, seem to follow the ordinary Sāh style.—E.T.]

## XX.—ON THE APPLICATION OF A NEW METHOD OF BLOCK-PRINTING, WITH NOTICES OF UNEDITED COINS.

MAY, 1838.

IN all Muhammadan countries it is the well-known custom of those who move in the rank of gentlemen to apply their seals in lieu of their written signatures to letters, bonds, and other written documents—not as we are accustomed to do it, by an impression on wax, but by smearing the flat surface of the seal with ink, and printing in the manner of type, so as to leave on the paper a white cipher upon a black field. It may be in consequence of this custom, as much as from religious prejudice, that Muhammadan seals are almost invariably confined to letter mottos; seldom ornamented, but, if so, merely with flowers, etc., done in outline; because such only can be faithfully portrayed in a type impression, which, of course, cannot at all represent a head or other relieve design.

The money of the Musalmáns was in the same manner generally impressed only with the signet or the titles of the sovereign, well adapted to a flat surface of thin metal.

Seeking an easy and expeditious mode of making public the collection of Muhammadan coins in my own and my friends' cabinets, it thus occurred to me that by forming from them in sealing-wax, or in type metal, an exact counterpart of the die which had been used in striking these pieces, I should be able to use it, in the native fashion, for producing ink impressions along with the ordinary letter type; while, as the coin itself would in every case furnish the mould, every chance of error in copying would be removed: and, though the elegance of a shaded engraving could not be attained, still this would be more than compensated by the scrupulous fidelity of the representation.

My first trial was so encouraging that I at once resolved on carrying

the plan into execution on an extensive scale, and I have now prepared for the press upwards of two hundred coins done in this novel and exceedingly simple manner.

As, however, it will be in every respect more convenient to present them in a continued series as an accompaniment to my tables of the value of Indian coins already published, I propose merely to introduce into the pages of the Journal a few examples of such coins as are new, rare, or, from other causes, worthy of particular description.

But first, in deference to the established custom in such cases, I must assign to this newly-invented art some Greek polysyllabic appellation; and (without intending the undignified lapsus of a pun) I cannot propose one more expressive of the process than *Rupography*—not from rupee, the common designation of our Indian money, nor yet from the Sanskrit word *rūpa*, 'form, likeness,' but in a genuine and orthodox manner from the Greek *ρῦτος*, *sigilaris cera*, or sealing-wax, the substance upon which the impression of the coin is first received, and which will itself serve as the printing material, if it be not desired to preserve the block in the more durable material of type metal, by a second transfer from the sealing-wax to a clay or gypsum mould, into which the latter substance can be cast in the usual manner. Some sharpness of outline is lost by this triple operation; and where a great many copies are not required, the *rupographical* process may be safely confined to the first stage, or simple impression on sealing-wax.

As a first specimen,<sup>1</sup> then, of the capabilities of this art of *rupography*, I select a coin, or rather medal, purchased by myself some years ago at Benáres. It is of Husain Sháh, generally accounted the last Súfí monarch of Persia; for, after his abdication in A.H. 1135, his son Tamásp held but a nominal sovereignty, the real power being usurped by Mahmúd the Afghán.

Marsden would designate this as one of the medals of the Persian kings properly so called, intended to be hung and worn on the neck. It had, when I bought it, a hasp for suspension; but still I do not imagine it to have been struck for that express purpose, but rather as a crown piece for distribution to courtiers on a birth-day, as is still the custom at Dihlí, at Lucknow, and other native courts. It is of nearly pure silver, and weighs 844.3 grains, a little short of five rupees, and somewhat above as much in value.

Marsden gives the drawing of another medal of the same monarch, which has merely the usual coin inscription.

<sup>1</sup> [I have not thought it necessary to reproduce these facsimiles, in illustration of the mechanical process. I have, however, retained the letter-press, as forming a portion of Prinsep's numismatic essays.]



The following is the numismatical description of my medal :—

SULTÁN HUSAIN SHÁH SAFFAVÍ,  
Reigned in Persia, A.H. 1106-1135, (A.D. 1694-1722).

SILVER.

LEGEND OF THE OBERSE.

السلطان العادل الهادي الكامل الولي ابو المظفر السلطان بن السلطان

Centre سلطان حسين شاه ١١١٨ بهادر خان  
الصفوي خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ضرب اصفهان

REVERSE.

Area. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله علي ولي الله

Margin. علي حسن حسين علي محمد جعفر موسي علي  
محمد علي حسن محمد

OVERSE :—The Sultan the just, the spiritual guide, the perfect, the ruler, *Abu'l Muzaffar ul Sultán bin ul Sultán*, Sultán Husain Sháh, Behádúr Khán, of the Safví race : may God perpetuate his kingdom and his dominion ! Struck at Isfahán, A.H. 1118 (A.D. 1694).

REVERSE :—There is no God but God ! Muhammad is the prophet of God ; Ali is the favorite of God.

Margin :—Ali, Hasan,—Hosain, Ali,—Muhammad, Ja'far,—Músa, Ali—Muhammad, Ali—Hasan, Muhammad.

(The twelve Imáms in the order of their succession).

#### SPECIMEN II.

Is a coin presented to me by General Ventura to complete my series of the Pathán sovereigns of Dihlí, being the only one of the founder of that dynasty which I had yet seen. Since then Capt. Burnes has favored me with the sight of a duplicate in less perfect preservation, procured by himself, I believe, at Kabúl. I give it as a specimen of what rupography can do under the most unfavourable conditions.

The form seems imitated from that of the Abbassite khálifs, having the legend in concentric circles written in the Kufic form of Arabic. The facsimile represents exactly by the dark parts where the surface is worn smooth ; however, by carefully comparing the two specimens, the whole has been made out satisfactorily with the aid of my brother, Mr. H. T. Prinsep.<sup>1</sup>

It is curious that the common title of *Shaháb ul dín*, by which Muhammad is generally known in Indian history, does not appear on this Ghaznah dirhem, which gives him the two-fold designation of *Ghids ul dín*, 'the supporter of the faith,' and *Moaz ul nāsir le dín*, 'the humbled of the defender to the faith'—(see. to the Kaliph of

<sup>1</sup> [ I have slightly modified Mr. Prinsep's reading.]

Baghdád). Probably the patent for the new title of *Shaháb ul dîn*, 'the flaming sword of faith,' given in honour of his brilliant and destructive expeditions into India, had not yet arrived from the court of the Kaliph.<sup>1</sup> If so, the word *tisain* (90) in the date may be read wrong.

SHAHÁB UL D'N, MUHAMMAD BIN SÁM,  
Founder of the Ghorí dynasty of Dihli. Reigned A.H. 588-602 (A.D. 1192-1206).  
SILVER. Weight, 73.4 to 92.6 grains.

LEGENDS ON THE CONCENTRIC CIRCLES OF THE OVERSE.

Line 1 هو الذي ارسل رسوله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره علي الدين  
كله ولو كره المشركون

2 لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله السلطان الاعظم

3 غياث الدنيا والدين ابوالفتح

4 محمد بن سام

DITTO OF THE REVERSE.

Line 1 ضرب هذا الدرهم في بلدة غزنة سنة ستة و تسعين و خمس  
ماية

2 الناصر لدين الله السلطان المعظم معز

3 الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر

4 محمد بن سام

[The inscriptions are copied at length in plate xli.]

OVERSE:—(From the Koran)—'It is he that sendeth his messenger for righteousness,' etc. [Surat, ix. 33, and lxi. 9.]

There is no God but God, Muhammad is the prophet of God!—The mighty sovereign *Ghids ul dunya va u'din*, *Abu'l fateh*, Muhammad bin Sám.

REVERSE:—This *dirhem* was struck in the city of Ghaznah, in the year five hundred and ninety-six.

*Al Ndsir le din illah* [the Khalif], the mighty sovereign, *Moaz ul din*, *abu'l Muza'far*, Muhammad bin Sám.

#### SPECIMEN III.

Among the coins discovered by General Ventura in the great tope at Manikyála, and described in vol. iii., pl. xxi. [v.] figs. 10 and 11, [Art. VI.], were two of the Sassanian type, having Sanskrit legends on the margin of the obverse. I did not then attempt to decipher them, nor am I aware that their explanation has been since effected elsewhere.

Captain Burnes has been so fortunate as to pick up three more of the same curious coins, in his present journey, which are now in my hands, with other rare antique produce of his successful research.

<sup>1</sup> [The history of this double nomenclature will be found in detail in my Essay on the Coins of the Pathán Kings of Dihli. London, 1847.]

They have every appearance of having been extracted from some similar ancient monument; which is by no means improbable, for we may be very sure that full half of the fruits of the late explorations of the various topes have evaded the hands of their explorers, and are scattered about the country to be hereafter picked up gradually from pilgrims or professed dealers; for a trade will soon be organized in such articles, if it be not already established. There is no harm in this, as it will tend to preserve such relics from destruction; but we must for the future be on our guard against spurious specimens, which will multiply daily.

Captain Burnes' discovery has been of the greatest service toward the deciphering of the Sanskrit legend: his coins have helped me to the general purport of the marginal writing, even if they have not wholly explained its contents. I found on collating the five legends now at my command, that three of them (*vide* pl. xli.) were short of the others by two letters, which in the most perfect of Captain Burnes' coins might be clearly read as *nita* नितः. Remembering an analogous omission on one of the Gupta coins of Kanauj, wherein some specimens had the epithet *vijayaja* and others *vijayajanita*—both of the same meaning, I concluded that the preceding anomalous letter on all the coins must be a न, and, indeed, it has no small affinity to the modern Nāgari and Bengālī ज. The two preceding syllables, again, there could be no doubt about; being in all five examples देव *deva*. Now, *devaja* and *devajanita*, 'offspring of the gods,' is the well-known epithet of the ancient Persian monarchs as well as of the Sassanian race. Thus, in the trilingual inscription on the Nakshi-rustam sculpture given in Ker Porter's travels in Persia, vol. i., 548, we have in the Greek character: ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΝ ΜΑΔΑΚΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΚΓΕΝΟΤΟ ΘΕΩΝ ΤΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, which is repeated below in two forms of Pehlvi.

The same title in Sanskrit, *devaputra shahān shāhi*, it may be remembered, is applied to the king of Persia in the Allahābād pillar inscription, as revised at p. 233, vol. i.

Again, on the Sassanian coins, read by the Baron de Sacy as far as they are published by Ker Porter (for I have not yet been able to obtain a copy of the Baron's work on the subject), the Pehlvi legend runs:

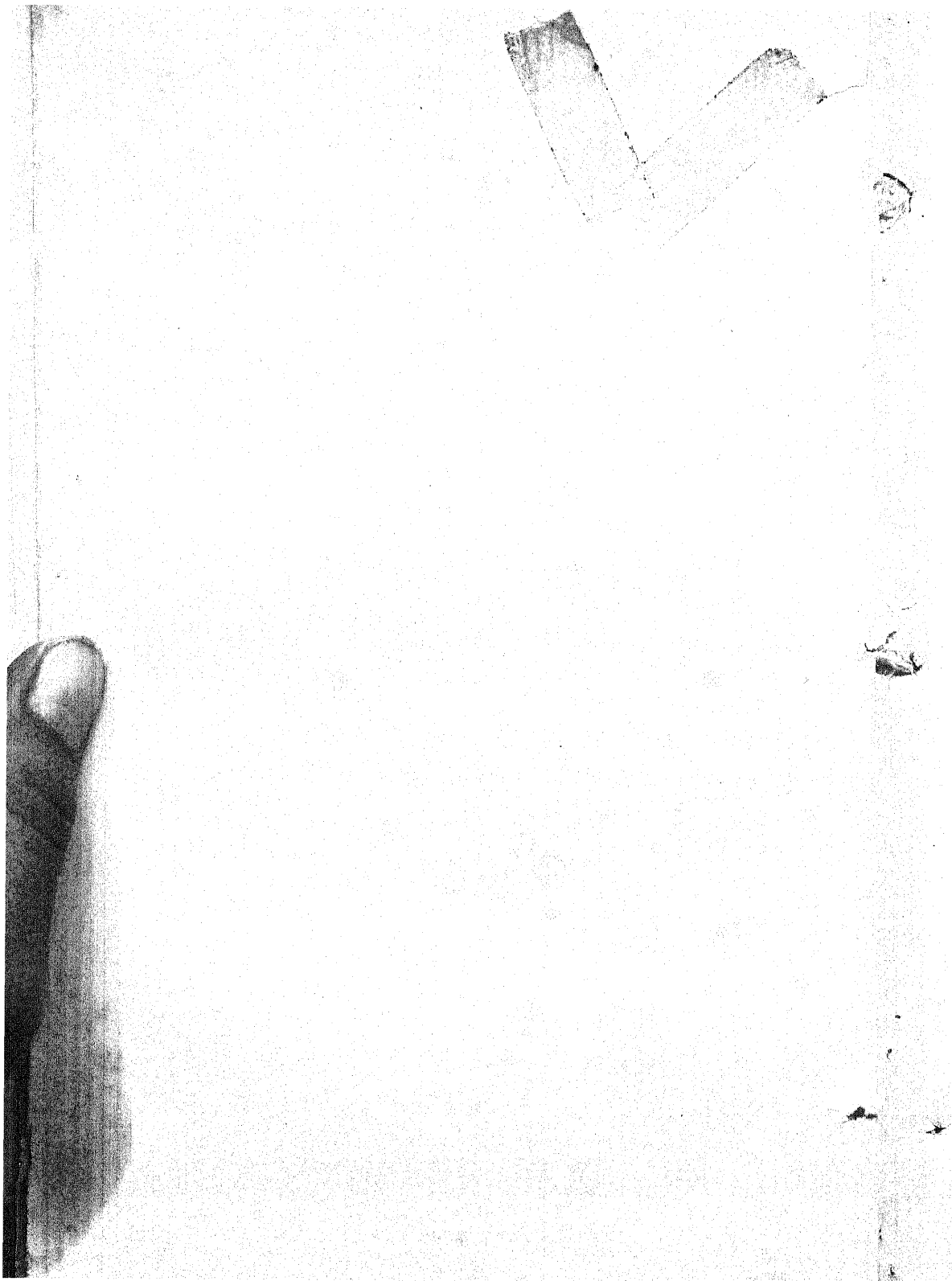
مزدن به شهپور ملکان ملکا منوچتری من یزدان

*Mazden beh Shahpura malakān malakā<sup>1</sup> minochatri men yezdan.*

'Adorer of Ormuzd, excellent Shahpur, king of kings, offspring of the divine race of the gods.'

<sup>1</sup> In the examples given, I should read this passage—*Malakān malak Airānan*, etc.; but the Sassanian coins require study ere they can be properly made out.





The natural deduction hence was that the rest of the Sanskrit legend would also turn out to be a translation, or an imitation of the Sassanian formula; and thus, in fact, it has proved to be.

INDO-SASSANIAN DIRHEM.

SILVER. Weight, 53 grains.

LEGEND.

OBVERSE:—Head of Mithra (Ormuzd); Pehlvi very distinct, but unread; see pl. xli.

REVERSE:—On the field, three letters of an unknown alphabet (like the Armenian?) or perhaps numerals?

Margin:—

श्री हितिविर ऐराणच परमेश्वर श्री फा हितिगान देवजनिता

*Sri hitivira Airāna cha parameswara Sri Vāhitigān devajanita.*

In this legend the only actual letters at all doubtful are the *p* and *me* of *parameswara*, and the first and last letters of the name. Indeed, the first letter is different in every example, as will be seen in the lithographed plate [xli.], as though they were all different names of the same family. Now to analyse the sentence:—

*Hitivira* I suppose to be a corrupt writing of हृदिवीर *hridivira*, ‘noble in heart,’ equivalent to the Pehlvi word *beh*, translated by ‘excellent.’ *Airāna cha parameswara*, and the supreme lord of Airān or Persia, may be read (perhaps better) *Airān va Pārseswara*, the lord of Iran and Fars. For the name, we have severally *pha*, *cha*, *va*, *gha*, or *hā*! followed by *hitigān* or *hitikhān*; and, lastly, *devajanita*, as before explained.

I am quite at a loss to find owners for such names; and although this is the third time I have alluded to this coin, gaining little by little each time, still I fear we have much to learn before we can unravel its entire history. For the present I leave unnoticed the Pehlvi legend, merely placing under view in the annexed plate corresponding passages from regular Sassanian coins, which, being titles, will soon lead to a knowledge of their alphabet and meaning.

[As intimated under Art. XV. (vol. i., p. 410), I have intentionally reserved all notice of the bilingual and trilingual emanations from Indo-Sassanian mints, and their subordinate illustrative varieties, until I could associate my latest tentative readings with Prinsep’s closing illustration of this interesting division of Oriental Numismatics.

I have elsewhere (vol. i., p. 65) adverted to the obstacles that present themselves to any precise definition of the permutable

letters of the Pehlvi alphabet, which may not chance to be supported by the context, or some leading indication calculated to assure its exactitude; but, in the present instance, we have to encounter dialectic modifications and transmutations from other tongues, in addition to the ignorant treatment of a language at the best but imperfectly known to us.<sup>1</sup> The legends I have ventured to designate as Scythic, in virtue of their seeming derivation and the assimilation of certain of their forms to the Tartar alphabets, are to this time simply unintelligible.

The classification of these complicated materials will be seen to present somewhat of a difficulty—even if the data permitted it, they could not well be adapted to any epochal order—nor do the medals sufficiently accord to follow suit under the simple typical arrangement. I am, therefore, reduced to group the different series by the linguistic test, as exemplified by the following outline :—

- A. Scythic (two varieties).
  - A a. Scythic and Sanskrit.
  - A b. Scythic, Sanskrit, and Pehlvi (two varieties).
  - A c. Scythic and Pehlvi.
- B. Pehlvi and Sanskrit (two varieties).
- C. Pehlvi, Scythic, and Kufic.
- D. Second variety of unidentified characters with Kufic.
- E. Kufic (alone).

CLASS A : Unidentified characters, supposed to be Scythic. Figs. 9 and 10, pl. xvi., 'Ariana Antiqua.'

I notice the class, represented by the above cited engravings,

<sup>1</sup> [For example, of all those who are learned in Zend and its cognate languages—of the various Professors who edit Pehlvi texts, or who put together Grammars of that tongue—no single individual has to this day been able to add one line of translation to the bilingual inscriptions of Hájí-ábád (Ker Porter, pl. xv., p. 513; Westergaard, 'Bundehesh,' p. 83; Spiegel, 'Grammatik,' p. 175, etc.), beyond what De Sacy had already taught us in 1793. In brief, our power of interpretation fails us exactly where the Sassanians have omitted to supply us with the Greek translations they appended to some of the parallel texts, which, however, unfortunately extend but little beyond the titular and dynastic præordium of the inscription more immediately in question. I may, however, notice favourably Dr. Haug's tentative interpretations, confessedly incomplete as they are.]

merely as introductory to the several ramifications of the unidentified alphabet on the coins of later date, which form the subject of my present synopsis. I have to refer, however, momentarily to a still earlier exhibition of the literal series in the degradation and gradual transmutation of the original Greek legends, on the lower Kanerki coins, into the conventional forms and symbols of this system of writing—so that the Greek epigraph of PAO NANO PAO OOHPI KOPANO degenerates into the, to us, confused jumble of signs, which the cognate characters on other medals alone teach us to look upon as real and *bonâ fide* vehicles of phonetic expression—now extant upon the pieces engraved as No. 17, pl. xiv., ‘Ariana Antiqua’; No. 6, pl. xxii., *suprà*; and No. 16, pl. xiv., ‘Ariana Antiqua.’

The Sassanian proper money, more especially under reference, exemplifies the free and independent use of the debateable character, as opposed to the possible mere mechanical barbarization of a foreign tongue in the other instance, and would seem to evidence the local currency of the speech it was calculated to embody in one section at least of the dominions acknowledging fealty to the successors of Ardeslîn Bálbiek.<sup>1</sup> Next in literal simplicity, though probably of a varied site and but little approximate period, must be quoted the series so peculiarly Indo-Sassanian in their identities, which still restrict themselves to this style of writing—Nos. 19, 20, ‘Ariana Antiqua,’ pl. xvi.

The Indo-Sassanian money with unmixed Sanskrit legends has already been adverted to, but further examples of the subordinate classes may be consulted under the following references:—‘Ariana Antiqua,’ pl. xvi., fig. 18 (𑀧𑀲𑀭𑀺); *ibid.*, pl. xvii., fig. 11, and pl. xxi., fig. 20; ‘*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*,’ vol. xii., pp. 341, 342, etc.; ‘Ariana Antiqua,’ pl. xvi., fig. 8.

CLASS A *a*: (Bilingual Scythic and Sanskrit). Type, fig. 6, pl. xvii., ‘Ariana Antiqua.’

<sup>1</sup> [Other specimens of money bearing these peculiar legends may be seen under ‘Ariana Antiqua,’ pl. xvii., Nos. 12 to 15.]



OBVERSE :—Head facing to the right.

LEGEND in unidentified characters. 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. iii., fig. 21.

REVERSE :—Fire altar and supporters about the pedestal of the altar  
श्रीरते | बहि श्री ?

CLASS A b: (Trilingual, Scythic, Sanskrit, and Pehlvi?). Pl. v., figs. 10, 11; and pl. xli., figs. 1 to 5.<sup>1</sup>

OBVERSE :—Device, as in the plate; the tiger-crest is less obscure on other coins.

Centre :—Unidentified characters.

Margin :—Legend also of doubtful import, but expressed in Sanskrit letters.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25  
श्रीहितिविरखरजाचपरमेश्वरश्रीषाहितिशतदेवनारित

The above transliteration, based upon mechanical configurations alone, gives the preferable reading of each character, deduced from a collation of the legends on the numerous coins extant. As the language this legend embodies is, up to this time, unknown to us, there are no precise means of selecting the intentional as opposed to the technically rendered letters. For instance, it is doubtful whether the 6th form should be taken to stand for ख, ऐ, or वै. The 9th letter may be only one of the frequently recurring व's; but I read it as च, in accord with Prinsep, on the authority of one of Sir A. Burnes's coins (now in the possession of General Fox), which gives the character with more than usual distinctness. In the letters 10 to 14, I again follow Prinsep, on the principle of the probability of the combination rather than upon the positive assurance of the imperfectly discriminated letters which compose the word. And, with some such similar tendency, I formerly proposed the substitution of ष as the modern representative of No. 16, in preference to the optional फ or व of my author's text, a conjectural emendation since amply confirmed by the configuration of the letter in question on one of Colonel Lafont's coins in the British Museum.

<sup>1</sup> [Also 'Journal Asiatique,' vol. vii. (1839), pl. xvii., p. 34; 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 22; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. iii., figs. 17 to 20.]



## REVERSE :—

To the left . . . افزو = ۱۱۵۶

To the right . . . پون شم دات = ۱۱۵۶

*Margin* :—Legend similar to that on the obverse exergue.

## CLASS A c: (Bilingual, Scythic and Pehlvi).

To complete the classification, I refer to two coins as yet incompletely deciphered in the Pehlvi, and altogether unintelligible in their Scythic legends, a description of which will be found at p. 332, 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii.

## VĀSU-DEVA.

## CLASS B: (Bilingual, Pehlvi and Sanskrit).

Prinsep's delineation, pl. vii., fig. 6,<sup>1</sup> sufficiently displays all the typical details of these pieces; I have merely to deal with the legends.

OBVERSE :—To the right of the figure is Pehlvi, but illegible in the specimen engraved.

(Increase) افزوت . . . = ۱۱۵۶

To the left . . . دند ولسو مدرن

سف ورسو تيف

Or *Siv Varsh tef* for *Sri Vāsu deva*.

*Margin* :

۱۱۵۶ دند ولسو مدرن ولسو مدرن دند ولسو مدرن  
پون شمي دات سف ورساو تيف ولمان اچ ملتان ملکا

'In nomine judicis,'<sup>2</sup> *Siv Varsáo tef, Brahmán, King of Multán.*

<sup>1</sup> [Other engravings and facsimiles may be consulted in 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xvii., fig. 9; 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., pl. iii., figs. 9 to 15.]

<sup>2</sup> [The usual formular opening, corresponding with the Arabic *بسم الله*.

See Anquetil 'Zend Avesta,' vol. ii., p. 341, correctly ۱۱۵۶ دند ولسو مدرن  
M. Spiegel does me but bare justice when he concludes that I was unaware of his previous decipherment of a portion of this marginal legend when I published my first paper on the subject in the pages of the 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 343. In truth, in those days, I was but as little in the way of seeing German books, as I have limited facility of reading them now; but I quoted, with full and deserved commendation, Prof. Olshausen's treatise, and noticed all other continental works, referring to the subject, of which I was able to obtain knowledge. In his 'Grammatik der Huzvāreschsprache' (Wien, 1856), M. Spiegel reclaims the title to priority of interpretation of the opening portion of this sentence, which it seems appeared in May, 1844 ('Jahrb. für wissenschaft.-Kritik,' Mai, 1844, p. 703). And, further, he desires to



pretation of the name of زاولستان *Zāwlistān* on the reverse;<sup>1</sup> but the word that precedes it still continues an enigma, and I hesitate to propose for acceptance either the geographical definition of پنجوای<sup>2</sup> the old capital of Arachotia, a religious association with the Sanskrit पूजा *worship*, or a temporal indication of ruler-ship, of which this may be the undeciphered exponent.

In typical design these coins are in a measure connected with an exceptional style of Sassanian money,<sup>3</sup> attributed to Khosrú II. (A.D. 591—628). The obverse head on these innovations has but little identity with that on the Indo-Sassanian pieces, and is only associated with the device of the latter in the novelty of the front face. The reverse figure, on the other hand, accords exactly with the bust on the eastern money. I have not myself had an opportunity of examining any one of the few extant pieces of the former class, and rather hesitate to propose decipherments on the strength of mere engravings; but as there is only one word about which there is any doubt, I may reproduce the legends as follows:—

OBVERSE:

To the left (with the usual monogram) سوسیام

To the right . . . سوسیام سوسیام

هوسروی ملکان ملکا

<sup>1</sup> [I would note *en passant* the entire absence of the Pehlvi ] = ب in these legends, the ] = و, the Sanskrit ञ uniformly supplying its place as in the Vendidad, Zend, *Vēkerēdānte*; Pehlvi, *Kawul*.—'Anquetil,' vol. i. 267.]

<sup>2</sup> [Rawlinson, 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xi., p. 126; 'Abulféda,' ۳۳۳. ۳۵۶; 'Journal Asiatique,' vol. x., p. 94; *Pangoui*; Reinaud, 'Fragments,' p. 114; 'Ayin-i Akbari,' vol. ii., p. 167.]

<sup>3</sup> [See Onseley, 'Medals and Gems' (London, 1801), No. 8; 'Jahrbücher' (1844), No. cvi., p. 29, pl. No. 7; Longperier, pl. xi., fig. 3; Olshausen, p. 65; 'Numismatische Chronicle,' vol. xi., p. 137; Mordtmann, 'Zeitschrift,' p. 138. Ker Porter gives an engraving of a coin with a similar obverse, pl. lviii. fig. 18. *Reverse*: 'A single upright figure, . . . executed in a very barbarous style, having a chump-headed, dwarfish effect.'—vol. i., p. 133. Longperier's No. 4, pl. x., from the cabinet of the Duc de Blacas, is identical in its types: the author assigns this piece to Khosrú I. Dr. Mordtmann follows this attribution, and interprets the legends—*Obverse*: הוסרוי אפיווד. *Reverse*: הוסרוי אפיווד (= 34) הוסרוי, with a conjectural addition of 'Iran afzud Kirman.'—p. 93. It is a question with me whether this coin is not due to Khosrú II. rather than Khosrú I.]

## REVERSE :

To the left . . . . هفت سیه = دود

(An: 37 of his reign.)

To the right . . . . سلسو سكرام

. . . . ايران افروتن

Dr. Mordtmann reads the final word, omitted in the above, as **اوشينا**, *Uzaina* Chuzistan. I certainly should not thus transcribe the letters as they appear on the *Jahrbücher* coin; and, possibly, if I did so, I might dissent from the present interpretation: however, as I am not prepared to set copies against originals, I abstain from further comment.

CLASS B: Variety. (Bilingual, Pehlvi, with Sanskrit mint-marks?). Plate xxxiii., fig. 3.<sup>1</sup>

## OBSERVE :

Pehlvi legend **نپکي ملکا و فکي ملکا = دود**

The initial letter is convertible as **و** or **ن**, and is frequently either omitted altogether or inserted in the field apart from its succeeding **ن**. The **ن** itself is often degraded into a double loop, which alters its character completely. The **دود**, or **k** with *E final*, there is no doubt about; and the strange combination that follows, which, in many instances, expresses nothing but **دود = مزد**, proves to be a mere bungling formation of the letters **دود = ملکت**, the **ل** being elongated by the addition of the tail stroke, which properly belongs to, and is the distinguishing mark of the **و** as opposed to the old Sassanian **ف**. The final **د** of **دود** usually appears on the left of the bust.<sup>2</sup>

CLASS C: (Trilingual, Pehlvi, Scythic, and Kufic).

I do not design to reproduce any detailed description of the

<sup>1</sup> ['Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xvii., figs. 5, 7, 10, etc.]

<sup>2</sup> [M. de Longperier attributed one of these coins to Hormusdas III., interpreting the Pehlvi as **دود سلسو = اوهريزد** (*Médailles de la Dynastie Sassanide*, Paris, 1840, pl. i., fig. 1, p. 56). Dr. Mordtmann, again, assigns a coin, similar in its typical style to No. 10, pl. xvii., 'Ariana Antiqua,' to Azermidukht, pl. ix., fig. 31, p. 194, *Zeitschrift*, etc.]

coins I would group under this heading; a delineated specimen of the class may be consulted in fig. 4, pl. xvii., 'Ariana Antiqua';<sup>1</sup> and my own attempts at their decipherment, together with fac-similes of the legends, are to be found at p. 329 *et seq.*, vol. xii., 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.'

I advert to them now merely to complete the reference to the several series connected by similarity of linguistic legends with classes B, and B variety, above noticed.

Silver: weight, 58.4 grains. British Museum.

OVERSE:—The usual linear imitation of the old Sassanian head, as adopted by the Arabs.

To the left: The standard monogram and **نکس**

To the right: Legend in unidentified characters, of the same style as in classes A, B.

Margin:—In Pehlvi letters **نکس**, and in Kufic letters the words **بسم الله**.

REVERSE:—The ordinary fire-altar and supporters.

To the left . . . **شست و سه** = **سد و سه** = *Sixty-three* A.H.

To the right . . . **خبس** = **سارو** *Khbus*.<sup>2</sup>

Margin:—

Upper compartments: unidentified characters as on obverse.

Lower compartments:

To the left . . . . The standard monogram.

To the right . . . . **نکس** = **افز**

Doubtful dates, 68 A.H. and 69 A.H.

CLASS D: (Bilingual, variety of unidentified character with Kufic).

To bring under one view the various transitional modifications of Sassanian money that may, by any possibility, bear upon the mixed series already noticed, I would advert to two subordinate classes, the first of which seems in its alphabetical devices to pertain to more westerly nations, though the sites of

<sup>1</sup> [See also Olshausen, German text, p. 56: 'Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. xi., p. 130.]

<sup>2</sup> [Khbus in Kermán, see Ouseley (خبس) 199; 'Abulféda,' p. 442; Marco Polo *Kobinam*, p. 107.]

discovery connect it with the Central Asian types above enumerated.

Facsimiles of four of these pieces are given in Fræhn's 'Die Münzen (1832) Nos. 434, 435, pl. xvi., figs. **8** and **9**; and 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' No. 101 (new series), pl. iii. figs. 6a, 7. Here again the epigraphs are bilingual; the legend on the right appears to read from the outside, commencing at the front point of the tiara, and the forms of the letters give it a decidedly Phœnician aspect, though for the present their elements defy decipherment. The short word on the left of the Sassanian crown is expressed in Kufic letters, its foot-lines being towards the centre of the piece. Professor Fræhn conjectured that the combination on fig. **8** might be resolved into the title of **المهدي** the Khalif (A.H. 158—169 A.D. 774—785), and this interpretation receives confirmation from a more legible specimen of the coinage lately acquired by the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> On fig. **9** and other coins the word appears to be composed of the letters **سلي** or **سعي**; but on an unpublished specimen of Colonel Anderson's the name is fairly legible as **محمد** which, it will be remembered, was Al Mahdi's proper designation.<sup>2</sup>

#### Class E: Kufic (alone).

I complete the series with a set of medals having many characteristics in common with the money classified under the heading D, though it is a question whether in point of antiquity they are not entitled to take precedence of their bilingual counterparts. The connexion and association between the two is marked both in the general design of the obverse device, and more distinctly in the distribution of the symbols on the reverse, where Ormazd's head, rising from the flames of the fire-altar, pronounces them either derivatives from a common stock, or imitations the one of the other. The peculiarity of the coins of Class E, however, consists in their having attained to the correct

<sup>1</sup> [Major Cunningham's collection.]

<sup>2</sup> [Price's 'Mahomedan Hist.,' ii. 23. Fræhn, 'Recensio,' p. 24, etc. 'Handbuch zur Morgenländischen Münzkunde,' Stickel Leipzig (1845), p. 50.]



exhibition of Kufic legends, pure and simple. The earliest published piece of this class is also to be found in Professor Fræhn's comprehensive works.<sup>1</sup> The exergue on the obverse was read by that accomplished scholar as

بسم الله محمد رسول الله الخاقان الاعظم جمال امير المؤمنين

To this I am able to add from coins in the possession of Col. Abbott (1), and Capt. Hay (3), the novel, though imperfectly deciphered, legends—

OBVERSE :—

بسم الله محمد رسول الله حمدله مامربه الامير علي سلمن الله

The concluding words on other specimens seem to read . . . سلمن الله ; and in one instance . . . سلمر الله .

On the reverse the pedestal of the altar is formed of the word على .

CLASS E : Variety.

TALHAH BIN TA'HIR, A.H. 209 to 213.

Copper : size,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ; weight, 30 (and 31) grains. A.H. 209.

Two specimens, British Museum (Cunningham collection).

OBVERSE :—

Centre : لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

Margin : بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلوس بمرسة تسع و مائتين

REVERSE :—Central device, a barbarized Sassanian head, to the right, with the usual flowing backhair, and traces of the conventional wings above the cap ; the border of the robe is bossed or beaded.

In front of the profile is the name الطلحة

Margin : محمد رسول الله مامربه الامير طلحة علي يدي عبدالله :

I have two difficulties in regard to the above transcript from the original Kufic. The one in respect to the name of the place of mintage, which is visible on only one of the two specimens quoted, and is there somewhat confused in the original definition of the several letters, and otherwise obscured by oxydation. The third and fourth upright lines are opened out, or slanted away from one another, towards the top, which usually indicates

<sup>1</sup> ['Novæ Symbolæ ad rem Numariam Muhammedanorum Petrop,' 1819, p. 45, pl. ii, fig. 14.]

the letter ع; though this sloping off may, perhaps, be a mere fortuitous imperfection of the die-engraving, the final letter is best represented by a modern ج, though it may, if needful, be converted into an ج.

The second point is of less consequence, and extends only to the almost invisible outline of the word I have supplied by یدی, under the requisitions of sense rather than on the absolute authority of the single coin which retains in any degree of distinctness that portion of its mint impress.

#### BĀHMANĀBĀD COINS.

I am anxious to refer, even though momentarily, and in a necessarily imperfect manner, both from the condition of the materials and the want of preparation on my own part, to an interesting series of Indian coins that have only lately been brought to light during the excavation of an inhumed city in the province of Sindh, which Mr. Bellasis, its enterprising explorer, designates, perhaps somewhat prematurely, by the title of the ancient Brāhmanābād.<sup>1</sup>

However, be the site what it may, the laying open of this ruined town has made us acquainted with a class of essentially local money, of which the circle of our Oriental numismatists had previously no cognizance. Unfortunately, for the due and full explication of their historical position, the pieces obtained from this locality are nearly, without exception, of copper; and, in common with their more rare associates of silver, have suffered to an unusual extent during their prolonged entombment.

The general character of the coins, numbering some thousands, and in mere bulk sufficient to fill a 28 lb. shot-bag, is decidedly exclusive, involving Kufic legends with occasional provincial devices, and pertaining, as I suppose, to the Arab

<sup>1</sup> [Its exact position is stated to be 47 miles N.E. of Haidarābād. An account of the city of Brāhmanābād was first published by Mr. A. F. Bellasis in Bombay in 1856. A paper by Col. Sykes, on the same subject, appeared in the *London Illustrated News* of Feb. 21, 1857; and Mr. Bellasis' plans and sections in the number for the 28th of the same month.]

potentates of Mansúrah, who ruled over the lands of the lower Indus after the decay of the central power of Mohammedanism at Baghdád. The money of Mansúr bin Jamhúr (منصور بن جمهور الكلبي),<sup>1</sup> the last Governor on the part of the Umaiyyid Khalífs (about 750 A.D.), heads the list. I do not advert to the earlier coinages of central Asia, which have been transported, in the ordinary course, to the site of their late discovery; but commence the series with the coins which bear on their surfaces the earliest extant mention of the celebrated capital Mansúrah, the Arab reproduction of the still more famed Bráhma-nábád of classic renown.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See 'Baládari,' Reinaud's 'Fragments, 'Arabes et Persans relatifs a l'Inde,' Paris, 1845, p. 211.]

<sup>2</sup> [ 'Amrou, fils de Mohammed fils de Cassem . . . . . fonda, en deçà du lac, une ville qu'il nomma Almansoura. C'est la ville où résident maintenant les gouverneurs.'—p. 210. In a previous passage, Baládari tells us, 'Ensuite Mohammed fils de Cassem, se porta devant la vieille Brahmanabad, qui se trouvait à deux parasanges de Mansoura. Du reste Mansoura n'existait pas encore, et son emplacement actuel était alors un bois. . . . . Mohammed plaça un lieutenant à Bahmanabad; mais aujourd'hui la ville est ruinée.'—Reinaud, p. 198. The Arabic author from whom these facts are derived, named أحمد بن يحيى البلاذري, died in 279 A.H. or 892 A.D. See also Reinaud, quoting Albírdn's 'Tárikh-i-Hind Fragments,' p. 113. The MS. of the latter author's Kánún has the following:—

يبنوناً وهي منه الكبرى وسميت منصوراً لأن فاتحها قال نصرت

Jaubert, in his translation of Edrisi, on the authority of the original, states that the local native name of the place was ميران. Masúdi tells us, 'I visited Multán after 300 A.H., when أبو الدلهات المنبه بن أسد القرشي السامي was king there.'

At the same time I visited el Mansúrah, the king of that country was then أبو المنذر عمر بن عبدالله, [of the family of Habbár ben el Aswad.]—p. 385, Sprenger's Translation. Again, with regard to the extent and importance of the kingdom, we are informed, 'All the estates and villages under the dependency of el-Mansúrah amount to three hundred thousand; the whole country is well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields.'—p. 386, *ibid.* Further references to the geographical and other questions involved will be found as follows:—Vineent's 'Commerce of the Ancients,' London, 1807, vol. i., p. 145. Gladwin's 'Ayin-i-Akbari,' vol. ii., p. 137, *et seq.* 'Marásid-al-Itala,' vol. ii., p. 161. 'Istakri' (A.H. 300 to 309), 'and Sind is the same as Mansúrah . . . . . Mansúrah which they call Sindh.'—pp. 12 and 147. Ouseley's 'Oriental Geography' (London, 1800). 'Ibn Hanka' (A.H. 331 to 366). 'Gildemeister de rebus Indicis' (Bonn, 1838), p. 166. Col. Anderson's Translation, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xxi., p. 49. Reinaud's 'Géographie d'Aboulfeda,' vol. i., p. 386, etc. 'Liber Climatium Arabic Text,' J. H. Müller, Gotha, 1829. Reinaud's 'Mémoire sur l'Inde,' p. 235. 'Ancient Accounts of India and China,' London, 1733; ditto, Reinaud's edition, Paris. Elliot's 'Historians of India,' Calcutta, 1849. Elliot's 'Appendix to the Arabs in Sind,' Cape Town, 1853. 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 413. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vii., pp. 93, 279; vol. x., p. 183; vol. xiv., p. 75. McMurdo, 'Jour. Roy.

I should be disposed to conjecture a considerable interval to have elapsed between the issue of this currency and that bearing devices somewhat in common, which displays the name of Abdulrahman (No 3 *infra*), but I am not now in a condition to enter into any satisfactory speculations as to the precise identity of this monarch, or the dates of any of his successors, whose names can be but faintly traced on the worn and corroded surfaces of the coin, submerged with the town of which it necessarily constituted the bulk of the then existing currency. I await, in short, the further supplies of better specimens, promised me by the energetic antiquarians on the spot,<sup>1</sup> and, individually, more leisure to look up the rather obscure history of the divisional government which these coins represent.

I have one remark to add in reference to the peculiarly local character of these numismatic remains, and the restricted antiquity of the town, as tested by the produce of the habitations hitherto penetrated, in the fact of the very limited number of Hindú coins found among these multitudes of medieval pieces, and that even these seem to be casual contributions from other provinces, of no very marked uniformity or striking age.

#### MANSUR.

No. 1, Copper : weight, 33 grains ; size 6.

OVERSE :—

*Area* : لااله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

*Margin* : Illegible.

REVERSE :—

*Area* : Central symbol nearly effaced, above which appears the name محمد, and below the words رسول الله.

*Margin* : بسم الله ضرب [هذا الفل]س بالمنصورة مما امر به  
منصور (sic)

As. Soc., vol. i., p. 23 *et seq.* Burnes' 'Bokhara,' vol. iii., p. 31. 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. i., p. 199. Postan's 'Observations on Sindh,' p. 143. Pottinger's 'Beloochistan and Sindh' (London, 1816), p. 381. Wood's 'Oxus' (London, 1841), p. 20. Mohammed Ma'sûm's 'History of Sind,' A.D. 710 to 1590. 'Bombay Government Selections,' new series, No. xiii. (1855).]

<sup>1</sup> [Messrs. Frere, Bellasis, and Gibbs, of the Bombay Civil Service.]

## No. 2 :

OBSERVE :—Device altogether obliterated.

REVERSE :—

*Area* : Central symbol in the shape of an elongated eight-pointed star : above, محمد; below, رسول الله.

*Margin* : (sic.) بالمنتصورة مما امر به منصور.

## ABDULRAHMAN.

No. 3, Copper : size, 5 ; weight, 44 grains.

OBSERVE :—Central device, a species of quatrefoil, or star with four points, on the sides of which are disposed, in the form of a square, the words محمد رسول الله عبدالرحمن. The outer margin of the piece is ornamented with a line of dots enclosed within two plain circles, with four small dotted semicircles to fill in the space left vacant by the angular central legend.

REVERSE :—A scalloped square, surrounded by dots, within which, arranged in three lines, are the words بالله عبدالرحمن لسلعار; the concluding word I am unable satisfactorily to decipher, it is possibly the name of Abdulrahman's tribe.

## MUHAMMED.

No. 4 : A unique coin of apparently similar type—though with an obverse absolutely blank—replaces the name of Abdulrahman on the reverse by that of Muhammed. The concluding term is identical with the combination above noted.

## ABDALLAH.

No. 5 : Copper.

OBSERVE :—Device as in No. 3 (Abdulrahman).

LEGEND : محمد [رسول الله] عبدالله

REVERSE :—Blank.

No. 6. Copper : size,  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ; weight, 18 grains.

OBSERVE : Central device as in No. 3, around which in a circular scroll may be partially read the formula لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له.

REVERSE :—Centre device composed of the name of عبدالله Abdul-lah; the two portions عبد and الله being crossed at right angles, in somewhat of accord with the scheme of the obverse device.

The marginal legend is arranged in the form of a square and consists of the words محمد رسول الله [الا] مير.

No. 7. Silver: size, 2; weight, 8.4 grains.<sup>1</sup> Devices are discontinued and replaced by simple Kufic legends, as follows:

OBVERSE:— لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

REVERSE:— محمد رسول الله الامير عبد الله

No. 8. Copper, of similar legends. Other specimens vary in the division of the words, and omit the title of *Al Amir*.

#### OMAR.<sup>2</sup>

No. 9. Silver: size, 1½; weight, 9 grains. Five specimens.

OBVERSE:—No figured device. Legends arranged in five lines.

بالله محمد رسول الله عمر

Marginal lines, plain or dotted, complete the piece.

REVERSE:—Kufic legends alone in three lines.

بالله بنو عمروية النصر

No. 10. Copper: size, 4; weight, 35 grains. Common.

Legends as in the silver coins, with the exception that the بنو is placed, for economy of space, in the opening between the ل's of بالله. The die execution of these pieces is generally very inferior.

No. 11. Copper: size, 3½; weight, 21 grains. Unique.

OBVERSE:—Blank.

REVERSE:—

Centre: بنو — عمروية النصر

Margin: — س بالمنصورة سنة أربع — ؟

#### OMAR (?)

No. 12. Copper: size, 4½; weight, 36 grains. Mr. Frere, unique.

<sup>1</sup> [Among the silver coins exhumed from the so-called Bráhmañabád some are so minute, as to weigh only 1.2 gr.]

<sup>2</sup> [I am inclined to identify this ruler with the Omar bin Abdallah, above indicated as the reigning sovereign of Mansúrah, at the period of the geographer Masúdi's visit to the valley of the Indus, and of whom he speaks further in the following terms:—'There is some relationship between the royal family of el-Mansúrah and the family of esh-Shawárib, the Kadi, for the kings of el-Mansúrah are of the family of Habbár ben el-Aswad, and have the name of Beni 'Amr ben 'Abd el-Ayíz el-Karshí, who is to be distinguished from 'Amr ben 'Abd el-Ayíz ben Merwán, the Omaïyide (Khalif)'.—Sprenger's 'Meadows of Gold,' p. 385. See also Gildemeister, quoting 'Ibn Hankál,' p. 166, and Elliot, citing the same author ('Historians of India'), p. 63.]

OBVERSE:—Central device, four lines crossing each other at a common centre, so as to form a species of star of eight points; four of these are, however, rounded off by dots.

LEGEND, arranged as a square:

محمد رسول الله

with single dots at the corner angles, and two small circles filling in the vacant spaces outside of each word.

*Margin*: Two plain lines, with an outer circle of dots.

REVERSE: Central legend in three lines within a triple circle composed of dots, circlets, and an inner plain line. I transcribe the legend, with due reservation, as:

بنه بالله عمرويه النصر

XXI.—ADDITIONS TO BACTRIAN NUMISMATICS,  
AND DISCOVERY OF THE BACTRIAN  
ALPHABET.

(JULY, 1838.)

It is not an easy matter to gratify my numismatical readers with a plate of entirely new Bactrian coins so frequently as they would wish ; for, independently of the time and labour requisite for engraving them, the subject, as to new names at least, may be looked upon now as nearly exhausted. Opportunities, however, still occur of verifying doubtful readings, of supplying names where they were erased or wanting in former specimens, and of presenting slight varieties in costume, attitude, and other particulars, which tend to complete the pictorial history of the Bactrian coinage.

For these several objects I enjoyed a most favorable opportunity during the visit of General Ventura to Calcutta last winter ; his second collection, though possessing few types or names absolutely new, boasted of many very well preserved specimens of the small silver coinage of Menander, Apollodotus, Lysias, Antimachus, Philoxenes, etc. The General most liberally conceded to me, from his abundant store, several that were wanting to my own cabinet, both of silver and



copper ; and he placed the rest also at my disposal, to draw, examine, and describe, as I might feel inclined. Unfortunately, I refused to take charge of the Indo-Scythic gold series for examination, finding nothing particularly new among them, the consequence of which was that the whole were stolen by some sharper at the hotel where the General was residing, and none have since been recovered ! I am now speaking of last January ! Since then I have received a coin and drawings of several others from Gen. Court ; also two or three from Gen. Allard ; and, latterly, the whole produce of Capt. Burnes' search in the neighbourhood of Kábul have been entrusted to my care. It is the very latest arrival from him (or rather from a valuable member of his expedition, Dr. Lord), consisting of two beautiful coins of Eueratides, that stimulates me at once to give forth all that have accumulated in my Bactrian drawer since I last wrote on the subject. I must give Dr. Lord's coins the first place, because one of them is, perhaps, the most curious and important that has yet fallen into our hands.

Plate xlii. contains etchings of both of these coins to which I would thus draw prominent attention. Dr. Lord thus describes the place and circumstances of their discovery :—

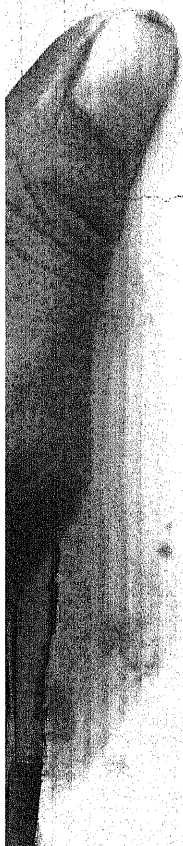
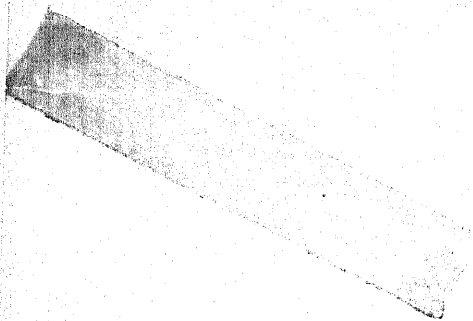
‘ I do myself the pleasure to forward two coins, which I have been so fortunate as to find during my late visit to Turkistán. The double-headed coin I found at Tash Korghán, the other at Kundúz.’

Fig. 2 I need not particularly describe, as, though new to us, it has been published from other specimens in France. The reverse has a naked figure of Apollo in lieu of the Dioscuri.

Fig. 1 is an unique medallion (that is, a tetradrachma) of Eueratides.

OBVERSE :—A fine youthful head and bust of the king wearing a plain steel helmet, with the bands of the diadem protruding behind.





On the area above and below—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ in the nominative case.

REVERSE :—Busts of a man and a woman looking to the right : hair simple and without diadem ; legend above ΗΑΙΟΚΑΕΟΥΣ, below ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ.

Supplying the word *uios*, we have here the parentage of Eucratides developed in a most unexpected way : 'The great king Eucratides, son of Heliocles and Laodice.' The former is a well-known Greek name, but it is evident from the absence of title and diadem that he was a private person, and yet that his son, having found his way to the throne, was not ashamed of his unregal origin.<sup>1</sup>

I have long been pledged to my readers to give them a new alphabet for these Bactrian legends, and I think the time has now arrived when I may venture to do so ; or at least to make known the modifications which have been elicited by the abundance of fresh names and finely preserved specimens which have passed under my eye since that epoch. It must be remembered that the only incontestible authority for the determination of a vowel or consonant is its constant employment as the equivalent of the same Greek letter in the proper names of the Bactrian kings. Beyond this we have only analogies and resemblances to other alphabets to help us, and the conjectural assumption of such values for the letters that occur in the titles and epithets of royalty as

<sup>1</sup> [I have omitted some of Prinsep's original speculations in regard to the Indian origin of Eucratides' mother, that he was led into by the faulty drawing of the coin supplied to him by Mr. Masson, and which the sealing wax impression of the original in his possession did not enable him to rectify until new information reached him at the moment of the publication of the current number of the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', when the error was unhesitatingly corrected by a fly-leaf note.]

may furnish an admissible translate of the Greek in each and every case.

It will be my object presently to show that this can be done, as far as the coins are concerned, by means of the Sanskrit or rather the Pálí language; but in the first place it will be more convenient to bring forward my revised scheme of the alphabet as far as it is yet matured. Unfortunately the exceeding looseness of orthography and caligraphy which could not but prevail when one foreign language (for such it was to the Greek die-cutters) was attempted to be rendered by the ear in another character, equally foreign to the language and to the scribes, with abundance of examples before me, renders it almost impossible to select the true model of some letters for the type-founder! <sup>1</sup>

I begin with the initial vowels :

ॐ, *a*. This symbol continues to occupy the place of the vowel *a* in all the new names lately added to our list, beginning with the Greek *A*, of which we have now no less than seven examples. The other short initials appear to be formed by modifications of the alif as in the Arabic, thus :

ॣ, ॣ *e*, is constantly employed for the *E* of Greek names.

𑀓 *u*, is found following it in the word Eueratides, as though put for the Greek *u*, but other evidence is wanting.

𑀔 [with the head-line reversed], *i*? though seldom met with on the coins, is common in the inscriptions, and by analogy may be set down as *i*.

𑀕 *á* [the Numismatic *an*, plate xi.], is employed in words beginning with *AN*.

The medials seem to be formed in all cases by a peculiar system of

<sup>1</sup> [It will be seen that under the combined poverty and imperfection of the only Bactrian type available in Europe, I have had much difficulty in doing justice to Prinsep's latest revision of this alphabet. As my author's own forms were often faulty and defective, it was of course useless to reproduce the deficient letters, or to do more than indicate as nearly as possible, though necessarily in somewhat of a patchwork manner, the essential position in which he left the study of Arian palaeography.]

diacritical marks; of these the *i* is the best determined, being found applied to almost all the consonants in the form of a small stroke crossing the letter. The *d* is uncertain; it may be a prolongation below in the *r*,—a foot stroke or *mdtra*. The *e*, I judge from the Manikyála inscription, to be a detached stroke behind and above; in a few cases only joined. The *u* may be the loop so often seen at the foot of the written letters. I feel it to be a little premature thus to assign sounds without any positive authority; but it was from a similar assumption of the value of its vowel marks that I was led to the discovery of the Indian pillar alphabet.

With regard to the consonants, I ought, perhaps, to follow the order of the Hebrew alphabet; but, as the language to be expressed is allied to the Sanskrit, it may be more convenient to analyze them in the order of the latter.

𑀓, *ka*. This letter on further scrutiny I find invariably to represent *k*; and its place is never taken on the coins by 𑀔, as I formerly supposed. It occurs also with the vowel affix *i*, as *ki*; also, but seldom, with the *u*, as *ku*; and with the subjoined *r*, as *kra*. In the compounds, *kla*, *kli*, a form is adopted more like the Hebrew *q p* (quere 𐤒). There are two or three examples in support of it.

𑀕, *kh*, is limited as such to the name of Antimachou; but I find it also representing the *g* in Abagasou. In the written tablets we have various forms seemingly identical with it; yet one of these, with the vowel *i*, is used in some places for *dhi* (intended for the inflected *i*?). There is no small affinity between them and 𑀖, 𑀗, the *kh* of the old Sanskrit written invertedly.

[1st, see second form of Numismatic 𑀕; 2nd, the same inflected with *r*; 3rd, the compound represented by the eleventh letter in the inscription from the brass cylinder, pl. vi., vol. i.] I place these forms here because they occur several times in the tablets, and they bear some resemblance to the *g* of the Pehlvi.

Of the Sanskrit palatals neither the Greek nor the Chaldaic alphabets contain any proper examples—the *ch* and *j* are modified to *s* and *ts*—which letters we must expect to find substituted for the Sanskrit class च छ ज झ.

[No. 1, a *v* reversed; 2, a *q* reversed. See Numismatic *chh*, pl. xv.] The first of these forms is found at the close of a series of words terminating each in the same vowel inflection, '*e*'; which makes me suppose it to be the Sanskrit conjunction *cha*, uniting a string of epithets in the locative case. As yet I have no stronger argument for its adoption.

𑀙, or 𑀚, *ja* (*tsa*?). The form of the Chaldaic *ts* 𐤕, agrees well with

the first; indeed, in many coins of Azes, the Bactrian form is identical with the Chaldaic. I find that in every case this letter may be best represented by the Sanskrit ञ *j*, and, indeed, in the early coins of Apollodotus, etc., its duplicated form [the fourth letter in Maharāja, pl. xii.] seems to be copied from the ancient Sanskrit ए, reversed in conformity with the direction of the writing. The only inflection I have met with of this letter is *ju*.

I can make no discrimination between cerebrals and dentals; because the Greek names translated have of course no such distinctions, but from the variety of symbols to which the force of *d* and *t* must be ascribed, I incline to think the alphabet is provided with a full complement, though it is in the first place indeed almost a matter of option which letter to call *d*, *t*, *r*, or *n*, they are all so much alike—thus for *t* we have ṭ, ṛ, ṛ, and ṛ, and with the vowel *i*, ṛi, ṛi, etc.

As the equivalent of *d* again we have the same ṛ, ṛ, ṛ, and also three other forms [1st, the second of the fifth Tradata, pl. xii; 2nd, the third of Menander; 3rd, the penultimate in No. 32, pl. xii.]: and for *dhi*, [*dhrī* and *dhi*] the formerly evidently ṛ with ṛ subjoined; the latter quasi *tī* or *dī*: sometimes it is nearer ṛ *ri*.

I do not attribute this ambiguity to the letters themselves so much as to the carelessness and ignorance of the writers, who might pronounce the foreign name Apollodotus, indifferently Apalātada, Apaladata, and even Apalanata. Being obliged to make a choice, I assume as in my former paper—

ṛ, ṛ, for *ta*, whence the various inflections.

ṛ, *tta*, *tha*, commonly used for *dha*, and its inflections.

ṛ ṛ, ṛ, for *da*, *nda*.

ṛ, *na*. I do not perceive any indications of the other nasals, and indeed, they seem to be omitted when joined to another consonant: but I find something corresponding to the *anusvara* attached below the vowel *a*, and before consonants it seems represented by *m*.

ṛ *pa*. The first of the labials is one of the best established letters. It has been discovered also inflected, and united with either *h* or *s* in ṛ *pha* or *spa*: also with *li* in *pli*, and in other combinations which will be noticed as they are brought forward.

ṛ, *pa* or *fa*? I have no stronger reasons than before for continuing this value to ṛ:—it seems in some few cases to usurp the place of *v*; it is inflected also.

*Ba*? is still undetermined; in the doubtful name above quoted, ΑΒΑΡΑΞΟΡ, it seems to be replaced by ṛ or ṛ—the aspirate is also unknown.

ṛ *ma* ṛ. This letter admits of no doubt whatever; but in the

Menander form,  $\psi$ , I now recognize the inflection *me*, corresponding with the Greek name more closely. The second or what may be called the printed form of *m* has a considerable affinity in form with the old Sanskrit  $\mathfrak{m}$  or  $\mathfrak{z}$ , whence it may be almost as readily derived as the Burmese form of the Páli *m*.

$\Lambda$  *ya*. This letter is unchanged : it invariably replaces *z* and *y*, and sometimes *j* where the latter would be expressed by the Sanskrit  $\mathfrak{y}$  or  $\mathfrak{j}$ . It may perchance have been modified from the letter, for in some examples it is turned up on the sides thus,  $\omega$  ; the inflected form *yi* is of common occurrence : *yu* less common.

$\mathfrak{r}$ ,  $\mathfrak{r}$ , *s*, *ra*. It is necessary to preserve these three representatives of *r* ; I incline to think that the prolongation below may be the *mātra* or the long *d* inflection, *rá* ; for the first form is used in Ermaiou where there is no intervening vowel. It is only distinguishable from *d* by the foot-mark of the latter, which seems to be often omitted notwithstanding.

$\mathfrak{l}$ , *la*. Further acquaintance has taught me that this is the only representative of  $\Lambda$  in Greek names : the instances wherein the *l* before appeared to be replaced by  $\mathfrak{l}$  have been disproved by duplicate coins. The inflected form  $\mathfrak{li}$ , has numerous examples among our new acquisitions.

$\mathfrak{v}$  *va*, and *vi*, rest on strong but not indisputable authority, as will be seen below.

$\mathfrak{h}$ ,  $\mathfrak{h}$ , *ha*, has been removed from its former position as *h* on ample grounds ; and the value now assigned has, I think, equally strong support—though as far as Greek names are concerned it rests solely on the initial syllable of Heliocles, *he*. There is, again, a similarity worthy of remark between  $\mathfrak{h}$  inverted, and the old Sanskrit *ha*,  $\mathfrak{h}$ ,  $\mathfrak{h}$ .

$\mathfrak{s}$ , *sa*. To this letter I gave the sound of *o* on the former occasion, because I found it the general termination of nominatives masculine in Zend and Páli—replacing the Sanskrit *visarga*, *ah* or *as*. Since then I have found the same letter (affected with the vowel *i*) in two Greek names as the equivalent of *si*, and I am too happy on other considerations to adopt this as its constant value ; whether the dental *s* of the Sanskrit will best represent it remains to be seen, but the nearest approximation in form occurs in the Hebrew  $\mathfrak{s}$  : there are certainly two other characters [one like a *k*, or  $\mathfrak{k}$ ], and  $\mathfrak{s}$ , having the force of *s* or *sh*. The former I should presume to be the Sanskrit *sha*  $\mathfrak{sh}$ , from its likeness to the old form  $\mathfrak{sh}$ . The latter,  $\mathfrak{s}$ , may be a variation of  $\Lambda$ , for which it is sometimes used, but rather by change of the Greek *z* to  $\mathfrak{z}$ , than as being the same letter, for elsewhere it takes the place of the Greek  $\mathfrak{z}$  as in  $\mathfrak{AZIAIZOT}$ , while  $\Lambda$  occurs for *z* in the same word. In



form it seems to be the Chaldaic *n*, or *th* soft. Several inflections of these letters have been observed.

It will be naturally expected that the alterations I have been compelled to adopt in the value of many of the above letters must produce considerable modifications in my former interpretation of the Bactrian legends. Indeed, when I look back at my attempt of 1835, I must confess that it was very unsatisfactory even to myself. I was misled by the Nakshi-rustam trilingual inscription, wherein the title of king of kings has been uniformly read as *malakán malaká*, though I balanced between this and the term *maharáo*, having found PAO on the Indo-Scythic series. But, once perceiving that the final letter might be rendered as *sa*, which is the regular Pálí termination of the genitive case, I threw off the fetters of an interpretation through the Semitic languages, and at once found an easy solution of all the names and the epithets through the pliant, the wonder-working Pálí, which seems to have held an universal sway during the prevalence of the Buddhist faith in India.

The best test of the superiority of a Pálí interpretation will be found in its application to the several royal titles of the Greek kings, which were previously quite unintelligible. The first of these is simply ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, which is constantly rendered by פארוס *maharájasa*, the Pálí form of महाराजस्य. It is true that there is some doubt whether the long vowel *d* is here applied to the *h* and *r*; but we have long since been accustomed to the omission of this and even other vowels in the Satrap coins of Suráshtra. The word is often written פארוס, whence I have supposed the dot or dash below to stand for *d*.

The next title is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ, which we find replaced by *mahárájasa rárádájasa*, a perfectly sound and proper expression according to the idiom of the Sanskrit. But in one class of coins, that of Azes, there are some very well preserved specimens, in which the second part of the title is פארוסאד, which is evidently *rújátirájasa* (or *adhi*, for the letter *h* has a turn at foot, and may be meant for *dhi*), the regular राजाधिराजस्य of the paramount sovereigns of India. The syllable *dhi* is often written *ti*, *ri*, or even *gi* (?) but the vowel *i* shews what is meant.

To the title of king of kings is generally added on the Greek side the epithet ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, for which we have an addition in Bactrian of the word פארוס *mahatasa*, one of the forms of the Pálí genitive of *mahan* (or *mahat*) great, which makes only *mahatah* महतः in Sanskrit. The full title then is thus found to be *mahárájasa rárádhirájasa mahatasa*, which is far preferable to the clumsy and unsatisfactory *malakao kak-kao malako* of my former paper, now rectified by the rejection of *r* as *ka*.

The next title in the list is  $\Sigma\Omega\Theta\text{PO}\Sigma$ , for which we have rather a dubious word of four letters, either *dadatasa* or *nandatasa*, the former equivalent to **ददतः** the bestower of *dāna*, a word comprehending protection as well as charity;—the latter to **नन्दतः** 'of the giver of pleasure.'

The epithet of next frequency is  $\text{ANIKHTO}\Sigma$ , the unconquered, which is translated by *apavihatasa* (Sans. अपविहतस्य), the unbeaten or invincible. It is this word principally which leads me to make  $\text{P } va$ , and to distinguish it from  $\text{P } ti$  and  $\text{P } li$ , with the latter of which I before founded it.

Next in order comes the somewhat similar expression  $\text{NIKH}\Phi\text{OPO}\Sigma$ ; but the correct definition of this epithet is preserved in *jayadharasa*, the bearer of victory. In one instance the *dh* is written separately  $\text{P } \gamma \text{P } \lambda \text{P } \lambda \text{P } \gamma$ ; in others (like the *dh* of *adhi*) it is *jayadarasa*, but there can be little doubt of the sense; and this word is a strong confirmation of the value of the letter  $\text{P } \gamma$ , or  $\text{P } \lambda ja$ .

There is a second epithet of nearly the same signification which is common enough on the Seleucidan coins, but comparatively rare on those of Bactria,  $\text{NIKA}\text{TOPO}\Sigma$ . This epithet was found on the unique coin of Amyntas, of which Col. Stacy was unfortunately robbed, and on one or two others. In the Bactrian translation the same word is used in every case as for  $\text{NIKH}\Phi\text{OPO}\Sigma$ , namely, *jayadharasa*, the possessor of victory, or the victorious.

There remains but one epithet to be accounted for (for  $\Phi\text{IAO}\text{NATOPO}\Sigma$  of the Apollodotus unique coin does not seem to be translated):—it occurs on the coins of Heliocles, Spalurmes, and Archelies; I mean  $\Delta\text{IKAIO}\Sigma$  'the just'—a rare epithet in any but the Arsacidan line of kings. This is everywhere rendered by *dhamikasa* (Sans. धर्मिकस्य) the exact expression required, and one constantly applied to Indian kings.

I am wrong in saying that the epithets are here exhausted, for on the unique coin of Agathocleia in Dr. Swiney's possession there is a singular epithet  $\Theta\text{EOTPOPO}\Sigma$ , 'heavenly dispositioned,' yet unaccounted for: of these, the two or three first letters are lost, and the last two  $\text{P } \gamma \text{P } \gamma$  *tasa* may terminate *devamatasa* or some such simple translation. It is a curious fact that the name of the queen does not appear to be feminine in the Bactrian legend; and the title *mahārājasa* is also in the masculine.

There is another expression on a coin of Spalurmes, viz., 'king's brother,'  $\Sigma\text{IAATMO}\Sigma \Delta\text{IKAIO}\Sigma \Delta\text{E}\Lambda\Phi\text{OT TOY BACIAEON}\Sigma$ , the Bactrian translation of which at first seemed inexplicable; but, by means of

another coin, I think I have solved the enigma, as will be presently explained.

Another expression for the 'great king of kings,' is met with in one example only, as far as my information goes, namely, in the rude square coin of Spalirises, of which four specimens have passed through my hands: here the expression runs *maharajasa mahatakasa* (quasi महात्मकस्); but no great stress can be laid on such rude specimens.

Having thus satisfactorily disposed of the regal titles, we may place once more under review the whole of the Greek names with their Bactrian transcripts collated from a multitude of specimens.

GREEK NAME.	BACTRIAN IN ROMAN CHARACTER.
AZOT .....	<i>Ayasa</i> (pronounced <i>Ajasa</i> )
AZIAIZOT .....	<i>Ayilishasa</i> .
APHOΛAOΔOTOT .....	<i>Apaladatas</i> .
ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΩΣ.....	(found only in the old Sanskrit) गलकृत
ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ .....	<i>Fakasaglitasa</i> (or <i>yasa</i> ).
ANTIMAXOT .....	<i>Anti-makhasa</i> .
ANTIAAKIAOT .....	<i>Anti-alikidasa</i> .
AMYNTOT .....	<i>Amitasa</i> .
APXEΛIOY .....	(unique, Bactrian name erased).
ΑΒΑΓΑΣΟΤ .....	<i>Abakhashasa</i> .
ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΤ .....	<i>Eukratidasa</i> .
ΕΡΜΑΙΟΤ .....	<i>Ernayasa</i> .
ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΩΣ .....	<i>Helayaglayasa</i> .
ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΤ .....	<i>Tayamidasa</i> .
ΛΥΣΙΟΤ .....	<i>Lisiasa</i> (or <i>Lisikasa</i> ).
ΜΑΥΟΤ .....	<i>Ma-asa</i> (or <i>mdyusa</i> ).
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΤ .....	<i>Medanasa</i> (or <i>Menanasa</i> ).
ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΤ .....	<i>Pilasinasa</i> (or <i>Plijasinasa</i> ).

Then follow a class of coins in which the names are either quite different on either side, or the Greek is intended for a transcript or translation of the native appellation.

ΟΝΟΝΟΤ (of Vonones) .....	<i>Spalahdrasa</i> (or <i>Balahdrasa</i> ?)
ΣΠΑΛΤΡΙΟΤ (or ΣΗΑΤΜΟΣ .....	<i>Spalafarmasa</i> .
ΣΠΑΛΙΡΙΣΟΤ .....	<i>Spalirishasa</i> .

Then the group of the Ferres, or Phraates dynasty, if we may so call it, of which some new specimens will be introduced presently—

ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΤ .....	<i>Farahetasa nandatas</i> .
ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΟΤ .....	<i>Farahetasa gaudadharasa</i> .
ΗΡΟΝΑΣΦΕΡΡΟΤ .....	<i>Pharateklisanadharasa</i> ?

but it may be doubted whether all these are not in reality the same name, *Farahetasa*, coupled with the title corresponding to ΣΑΤΗΡΟΣ, written in a loose manner.

On the reverse of the coins of the second Hermæus (or perhaps the

## Bactrian Coins.





third), having a Hercules for reverse, commences another series of native names, forming what we have designated the Kadphises or Kadaphes group. After the change from ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ on the obverse, to ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ, we have still precisely the same reverse as before, and it is preserved through a numerous series;—the title of mahārāja is not to be found, nor is it easy to see where to commence either the Greek reading ΚΑΔΦΙΖΑ or ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ, or the Bactrian, which may be transcribed *dhama . . rata Kujulakasa sabashakha (?) Kadaphasa*:—in this reading, if we can make out nothing else, there are at the least two names, *Kosoula* (also written *Kozulo* and *Kozola*), and *Kadphises* (also written *Kadaphse* and *Kadphises*), accounted for. The distinctions on the small coin of ΚΟΠΑΝΟΥ ΖΑΘΟΥ ΚΑΔΦΕC I am unable as yet to make out for want of further samples.

Connected with the same family we then come to the long inscription on the Mokadphises coins, which may be read by comparison of a great many examples:—

*Maharajasa rajadhirajasa sabatracha ihacha mahiharasa dhi makadphisa nandata.*

‘Of the great sovereign, the king of kings, both here and everywhere seizing the earth, etc., Mokadphises, the saviour?’

I do not insist upon any of these epithets, *sabatra mahidharasa*, for in fact they vary in every specimen. The *dhi* also looks in many coins more like *dha*, quasi *dhama Kadphisa*. On some the reading is rather *sabalasa saviratasa mahishhitasa* महीहितः sovereign?). On some gold coins, again, the name more resembles *vavahima Kadphisa*, agreeing with the Greek ΟΩΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΧC.

It remains only to apply my theory of the Bactrian alphabet to the inscriptions on the cylinders and stone slabs extracted from the topes at Manikyāla, etc., but this is a task of much more serious difficulty, and one not to be done off-hand, as all the rest has been! I must, therefore, postpone the attempt until I am better prepared with my lesson; and, meantime, I will proceed to describe briefly the contents of

#### PLATE XLIII.

Fig. 1 is a small silver Euthydemus in Capt. Burnes' collection: it resembles exactly the medallions already published of the same prince. Weight, 62 grs. See pl. xxv., vol. iv., fig. 1, ‘Jour. As. Soc. Beng.’

Fig. 2 is a hemidrachma of Demetrius also belonging to Captain Burnes. See one figured from General Ventura's collection, pl. xiii., fig. 2.

Fig. 3, a silver coin of Antialcidas, presented to me by General Ventura. Execution very good. Weight 10½ grains.

OBVERSE:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ. Head of the king with a flat helmet shaped like a cocked hat:—chlamys on the shoulders, and diadem seen under the hat.

REVERSE:—Bactrian legend, *Maharajasa jayadharasa Antialikidasa*. Jupiter

seated holding a small figure of victory:—at his feet to the right, the forepart of a small elephant with trunk elevated. Monogram on the left composed of P and  $\Delta$ <sup>1</sup>.

Fig. 4, a similar drachma of Lysias, belonging to General Ventura: unique.

OBVERSE:— $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΥΣΙΟΥ}$ . Head of the king, with the Demetrius helmet, shaped like an elephant's head.

REVERSE:—Bactrian legend, *Maharajasa apavihatasa Lisasa*. (The copper square pieces have *Lisikasa*). Hercules naked standing, with club and lionskin, as on the coins of Demetrius.

Figs. 5, 6. Two varieties of Menander, not yet depicted in the journal, given to me by General Ventura, who has many of a similar nature. In one the prince wears a handsome helmet, in the other he has the simple diadem. The reverse of both agrees with the one engraved in pl. xiv., fig. 1, except that Minerva looks in the contrary direction.

#### HELIOCLES, KING OF BACTRIA.

Fig. 7. The first coin of Heliocles which I have yet seen in India. It belongs to General Ventura. A square copper or bronze piece in excellent preservation.

OBVERSE:— $\text{ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ}$ . Diadem'd head of the 'just king, Heliocles,' somewhat similar in features to Eucratides.

REVERSE. Bactrian legend, *Maharajasa dhamikasa Heliyaklayasa*:<sup>2</sup> an elephant equipped with howdah and trappings walking to the right; monogram  $\Sigma$ .

Fig. 8. A less perfect coin of the same king presented by the General to myself.

In lieu of the head of Heliocles, the obverse bears an elephant, naked, walking to the left, Greek legend as above. The reverse is irrecoverably lost.

It is, perhaps, unnecessary here to retract my former doubts of the existence of a Heliocles in the Bactrian dynasty, since they have long been removed by the account of the silver medals in France. We have as yet seen none but these two copper specimens in India, but the probability is that both silver and copper might be found in Bactria proper, to the north of the Hindu Kush or Imaus.

An opinion has been started by Mionnet, in opposition to many European numismatists, that Heliocles was no other than Eucratides the second, the parricide. The surname of  $\DeltaΙΚΑΙΟΣ$ , so unsuitable to such a character, he supposes given through fear or adulation, which I agree with M. R. Rochette in thinking too great an anomaly to be allowable: but without seeking to account for this staggering circumstance, we can now help M. Mionnet to a very powerful argument in his favour from the unique coin of Dr. Lord described in a former part of this paper, which proves that Eucratides' father was a Heliocles; and we know that it was common to call an eldest son by his grand-

<sup>1</sup> N.B. The etching of this coin is a total failure: the plate was laid by for several months and the acid would then barely touch it. In retracing it, the native engraver has quite wandered from my original, and I perceive it too late for alteration on more than half the edition of the plate.

<sup>2</sup> The ante-penultimate letter might be better read *Sru*, or *Sri*: which would give a Sanskrit version of the name, — *hilyasriyasya*, 'having a sun-like prosperity.'

father's name, as is, indeed, universally the custom to the present day both in Eastern and Western countries.

Fig. 9. I have introduced this duplicate of the single mutilated coin depicted in fig. 8, pl. xv., among the then doubtful group, because General Ventura's present specimen exhibits the name in the Bactrian,  $\text{PA} \lambda$  *ayasa*, and thus proves it to belong to the abundant series of AZES' coins.

Fig. 10 is a square copper coin of Lysias kindly added to my cabinet by General Ventura.

It is in better preservation than any before published.

OBVERSE:— $\text{BA}\Sigma\text{IAE}\Omega\text{S ANIKHTOT AY}\Sigma\text{IOY}$ . Head of Lysias, with diadem. Mionnet says of a similar coin, 'représenté en Hercule, la massue sur l'épaule gauche'—but I do not perceive these characteristics very distinctly.

REVERSE:—Bactrian legend, *Mahdrujasa apavihatasa lisika*, 'of the unconquered king *Lisika*.'

I perceive that both Mionnet and M. Raoul Rochette give to Lysias the square coins of Spalyries or Spalurmes; though there is no resemblance whatever between them. M. Raoul Rochette writes in the 'Journal des Savants,' Mars, 1836, p. 136:—

'Cette autre médaille de Lysias diffère sous tous les rapports de celles que nous possédions déjà du même prince: elle est restée inconnue,<sup>1</sup> à tous les savants et voyageurs Anglais qui, depuis plusieurs années se sont appliqués avec un zèle si louable à recueillir ces précieux monuments de la civilisation Grecque enfouis dans le sol de l'Inde: et l'exemplaire que nous devons à M. le général Allard, et que je publie, est encore unique. La fabrique, qui ressemble à celle de la médaille du roi anonyme, que j'ai fait connaître,<sup>2</sup> accuse sensiblement une époque de décadence, d'accord avec la forme carrée du  $\square$  et de l'  $\square$  qui commencent à paraître sur la monnaie des Arsacides, à partir de Phraate III. à une époque qui doit s'éloigner bien peu de l'âge de notre Lysias. On pourrait voir un autre rapport entre cette monnaie Bactrienne et les médailles du même prince Arsacide, dans le titre de juste,  $\Delta\text{IKAIOY}$ , qui se lit habituellement sur les médailles de Phraate III. . . . mais ce qui constitue ici la particularité la plus remarquable et la plus neuve, c'est la qualification d' Adelphe,  $\text{A}\Delta\text{E}\Lambda\Phi\text{OT}$ , affectée par Lysias, &c."

When the mistake of attributing this coin to the wrong person is corrected, it is curious how perfectly the observations of the learned antiquarian of Paris confirm the conjecture to which I have been led by the deciphering of the Bactrian legend:—the coin is that of the 'son of a king Spalahara or Balahara;' in bearing the effigy of Hercules it agrees with the corrupted coins of Hermaeus II. and others

<sup>1</sup> The drawing of the very coin described by M. R. R. was published by myself in June, 1835, but I did not deem the name legible, nor has it proved so at Paris, by their making Lysiou out of Spalurmou. I stated my reason for not publishing earlier to be, that I might not forestal the 'As. Soc. of Paris' in describing General Ventura's splendid collection.

<sup>2</sup> It is not obvious in what this great resemblance consists;—one coin is square, the other round:—one has a Greek legend only; the other a bilingual one—the equestrian figure is the obverse in one, the reverse in the other. The anonymous coin was first published in the 'Asiatic Researches' in 1831, and in the Journal for 1833 and 1834.



of the Pherres or Phrahetasa (Phraates ?) type, which appear to belong to one family. M. R. R. agrees with our discoverer Masson in locating them in an Indo-Greek dynasty at Nysa, or near Jelálábád, where their coins are found in the greatest abundance.

I have introduced an engraving of a very perfect specimen of this coin given to me by Mr. Trevelyan, who got it from Mohan Lal, as fig. 3 of pl. xlii.

It may be remembered that the name of Vonones is not found on the Bactrian side of his coins, but a totally different word,  $\text{𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀲𑀢}$  *Balaharasa* as I read it, or perhaps *Baldharasa* ( $\text{बलाहरस}$ ), the patron of champions, a term nearly equivalent to 'Satrap.' Now on all the coins of Spalyries (or Spalurmes) hitherto found, the initial letter has been unfortunately cut off; but the three next are *lahára*, the same as above, wanting only the final genitive inflection: the next letters may be read *putasa*, for ( $\text{पुत्रस्य}$ ) 'of the son.' Putting the whole together we have ( $\text{𑀧𑀸𑀓𑀲𑀢}$  *Bu*) *ldharaputasa dhamikasa Balafaramasa*, 'of Balafarama (either for Balaparama, or  $\text{बलवर्मे}$ , whose strength is his armour) the just, the son of Baláhara.' Therefore, as he was brother of the cotemporary of Vonones, 'the then king' must also have been a son of the same person: and we should expect to find another coin of a somewhat similar type struck by him. These conditions are satisfactorily combined in the rude square coin of Spalirises, depicted in pl. xv. and pl. xxviii., fig. 7. He has the same flowing mantle from the shoulders, the sceptre of royalty, and his native name appears to be Balirishasa: thus the father's native name is Balahára; the eldest son's Balirisha, and the second son's Balavarma, and the copper money of the whole triad is distinguished for its exceeding rudeness no less than its conformability of type! The silver money of Spalurmes and Spalirises has not yet been found, or we might probably find that it maintained the name of Vonones, the Parthian king, or his successor, on the obverse.

The style of these three names commencing with Bala,—and the title in particular of the first, Balahára,—call to mind the Balhára dynasty of north-western India, of which the epoch cannot be said to be yet well defined. One of the earliest foreign authorities, the historian Masoudi, who wrote in 947 A.D., says:—'The dynasty of Phoor, who was overcome by Alexander, (had) lasted 140 years: then came that of Dabshelim, which lasted 120 years: that of Yalith was next, and lasted 80 years, some say 130. The next dynasty was that of Courros: it lasted 120 years. Then the Indians divided and formed several kingdoms; there was a king in the country of Sind; one at Kanauj; another in Kashmir; and a fourth in the city of Mankir

(Minnagara?) called also the great Houza, and the prince who reigned there had the title of Balhára.<sup>1</sup>

$120 + 80 + 120 = 320$  years, estimated from Alexander's time, brings us to B.C. 3, or, allowing a few more years to Porus, say 10 or 20 A.D. Now, the reign of Vonones I. as king of Parthia is dated by Vaillant from A.D. 6 to A.D. 20, so that the accordance of time is here perfect, and we need seek no other explanation of the paramount Persian sovereign's name and effigy on one side, while the other modestly bore that of his tributary, because we have witnessed the same in the Satrap coins of Suráshtra. The native kings were apparently allowed to have the copper coin to themselves. The religion here, however, is polytheistic, the effigy that of Hercules or Baladeva.

Without insisting upon their being the same person, I cannot help mentioning that the name of Balarishi is found as one of four brothers by different mothers, who cut a conspicuous figure in Indian fable. Balarishi, Vikramarka, Bali, and Bhartrihari; the second of these is the celebrated Vikramáditya, whose reign falls 56 years before Christ, and he was the son of one Gandha-rupa, or, as the fable has it, of a *gāndharva*, in the mortal disguise of an ass. Wilford interprets the tale by making Vikramáditya the son of Bahram Gor of Persia by an Indian princess, and, to account for the anachronism of 400 years, is forced to imagine there were several kings of the same name,—which would be likely enough if he admitted (as seems certain from our coins) that Vikramáditya is a mere title. We shall presently allude again to this circumstance.

Fig. 11. From General Ventura's collection. A more perfect specimen of a hitherto illegible coin. It is now seen to belong to Mayes.

OVERSE:— $\text{BAΣIAEONΣ}$   $\text{BAΣIAEON}$   $\text{MEΓAAOT}$   $\text{MATOT}$ . Front figure of the king seated on a chair or throne, a shawl (?) on his shoulders, and a club or knotted sceptre in his right hand like that given to Mokadphises.

REVERSE:—Much worn and indistinct, a female holding some object like a scarf with both hands, and having a flowing robe behind, like that of the Vonones group. Bactrian legend, *rajadhirajasa mahatasa maasa*, and on the field  $\omega\lambda$  used numerically (?)

The discovery of this rare specimen, only the third known of the prince whose name it bears,<sup>2</sup> will be highly gratifying to the numismatists of Paris. It will, in the first place, remove the doubt entertained by M. Raoul Rochette himself whether the un-Greek appellation Mayes might not be used for *Mao*, 'the moon,' as a divinity and not as a king; or whether, united to the title  $\text{BAΣIAETΣ}$ , the compound may

<sup>1</sup> Wilford's Essay, 'Asiatic Researches,' ix., 181.

<sup>2</sup> I have just received another Mayes of different type from Capt. Burnes too late for insertion here.—J.P.

not be equivalent to the name of Apollodotus : 'ce n'est là, du reste, qu'une conjecture que je soumets avec beaucoup de défiance aux lumières de nos philologues indianistes, desquels seuls il est permis d'espérer la solution de ce curieux problème.'

The problem is now solved so far that we find him an earthly sovereign with similar titles to those of Azes,—and that he is not Apollodotus! The native name, composed of three letters, I should have formerly read MAO, but on the new, and I think correct, system now adopted, it must be read *Mā-asa* or *Mayusa*, as near an approach to the Greek, or by the Greek to it, as the relative alphabets would allow. Of the name itself, I am inclined to identify it neither with *Maia*, the mother of Mercury (though the caduceus favors this idea, and the Indian *Māyā* is also the mother of Buddha), nor with *Mao*, as lunus,—though Chandra is a common name enough,—but rather with *Māyu* (मायुराजः), the son of Kuvera, the god of riches (whose name also is frequently adopted by princes),<sup>1</sup> and it may have been borne by a contemporary or successor of Apollodotus, who swayed the sceptre but a short period in some part of the Panjáb, if it is necessary to suppose them of the same age.

#### PHILOXENES.

Fig. 12. A square copper coin in most respects agreeing with the former one, also of General Ventura's collection, but having apparently a difference in the orthography of the Bactrian name. On comparing the drawing of the silver Philoxenes in the 'Journal des Savans,' with the rapid sketch I had taken of the same coin while in Calcutta, I perceive that I read the name and title wrong; which is my reason for inserting this better preserved coin:—the legend is clearly *maharajasa apavihatasa phijasinasā* (or *Phildasinasa*). On the silver coin the epithet is *apavihasasa* (quasi अपविहसस्त्र)—not to be laughed at! but I think the *s* must be a blunder.

M. Raoul Rochette judges from the military aspect of Philoxenes that he was a satrap placed with a regal title on the north frontier of the Bactrian kingdom when threatened by the Scythians; but the circumstance of none of his coins having been found by Masson in the upper field, while several have come to light in the Panjáb, would tend to contradict this hypothesis, as much as the *Ceres Carpopore*, or abundance personified, and humped bull of his copper coin. This learned critic does not allow that the brahmany bull has any reference to India, because it is seen on the Seleucidan coins; but in the only specimen I have in my cabinet of a Seleucus with a bull reverse, the animal is altogether of the European breed.

<sup>1</sup> See notes on the Allahábád inscription, Nov. 1837, p. 972—*Palaka Ugrasena, devaráshttraka Kuvera*. As the Parthian kings were styled *derajanto*, this country of the devas may have been in the north, as was indeed the fabulous country of Kuvera, the god-king.

## COINS OF THE AZES GROUP.

A great deal remains to be done ere we shall be able to clear the history of this numerous and interesting series of coins. Every day new types and varieties spring up, generally of tinned copper or bronze.

Fig. 13 is a specimen in good relief lately sent down to me by General Allard; there was another in the collection sent home by General Court under care of M. Meifredy, of which I was favored with the sight of the drawing. On this the name on the Greek side was entire, and thence I am enabled to complete my description.

OBVERSE:—BACIAΣΔC BACIAΣΔN MΣTAΔOV VNΔOΦEΠPOV,—rāja in a brahmanical dress, upper part of the body naked,—on the head a turban (?) with flowing fillets. The small figure of victory holding a chaplet over him forms the peculiarity of the device, of which there are yet but three samples. The monogram, which was before so unintelligible to us, I now recognise as a combination of two letters of the old Sanskrit alphabet, ४ and ७, *m* and *n*.<sup>1</sup>

REVERSE:—Whether the figure in a brahmanical costume, holding a trident in the right hand and a palm branch in the left, is Neptune, Siva, the river Indus, or the king, I am not sufficiently initiated in the art to determine. No two reverses seem to be exactly alike, though formed of the same materials; the legend on the present in Bactrian is

*Maharajasa rajarajasa nandatasa jayadharasa (?) Farhetasa.*

I do not pretend to be satisfied with the last epithet, nor with the name, which, however, I collate with M. Court's. I have conceived it possible, on a former occasion, that it referred to Phrahates, the predecessor of Vonones, or another of the same name: but there are too many uncertain letters in it to build theories safely upon. At any rate, the same name of five letters, here seen below the figure of Siva, is found on all the rude coins ascribed formerly to *Unad* (now corrected to) *Undo-pherres*, with exception of the penultimate letter, which is there always formed like an *f*. *Fara-etisa* (?), to which *nandatasa* (soteros) is invariably added—on M. Court's coin this epithet may be preferably read 𑀧𑀸𑀓 great!

On the area are two Bactrian letters, which might be profanely taken for 'six shillings' by an uninitiated handler!

Fig. 14. A variety of the same group, in General Ventura's recent collection. In this the horseman looks in the opposite direction, and the beginning of the name TNAOΦεppo is visible. The monogram is composed of ४ and ७, — ४ mya.

On the reverse, a well clad female holding still the trident (though it looks more like the cross) walks to the left—a Greek and a Bactrian monogram on either side, of complex form: legend as before, the name below.

Fig. 15. Another novelty from General Ventura's store, of which a duplicate has been sent to France by M. Court.

In all respects but the name the obverse corresponds with the foregoing. The

<sup>1</sup> I may here note that fig. 14, pl. xxxii., is also a coin of *Farheta*, with the letters ४ as a central symbol.

name in the two coins yet brought to light of this species is quite distinctly  $\Gamma\Omega\Delta\Theta\Phi\Lambda\text{PCT}$ , which is either another member of the family or a corruption of the last.

The erect front-faced figure on the reverse is dressed in the Hindu dhoti, and extends his hands over a new symbol of gridiron fashion—in his left hand is the trident. This figure has been conventionally styled 'Siva,' when he appears with his bull on the Indo-Seythic coins. The native name is as before, *Farahetasa*, with the addition of *netadharasa*, 'the bearer of something not very intelligible, unless we make the first syllable  $\Lambda\text{J}$  *jaya*, 'victory.'

Referring to the observations in a preceding page about the brothers of Vikramāditya, I cannot forbear mentioning that in Gondophares we might almost recognize the father of Vikramāditya himself; for in the word *Gondophares* we have a signification not very remote from *Gandharupa*;  $\phi\alpha\rho\sigma$  being pallium, vestis exterior,—the compound may mean 'having a cloak made of the skin of the *gandha*, *gonda*, *gor*, or wild ass.' Whence may have originated the fable of the Parthian king doomed to assume the guise of an ass during the day.

These are speculations certainly much in the Wilford strain, but the curious coincidence in so many names is enough to lead even a matter of fact man aside from the justifiable deductions of sober reason.

Fig. 16, like the last, adds a new name to the Bactrian list. The coin, a thick copper piece in tolerable preservation, was sent down to me by General Allard a short time ago; it is as yet, I believe, unique.

OVERSE:—( $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$   $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$   $\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ )  $\text{ABA}\Gamma\text{A}\Sigma\Box\text{V}$ —'of the great king of kings, Abagases:' there may, perhaps, be another letter before the A. The king, known by the flowing fillets of his diadem, seems dressed in a petticoat, *rāja* fashion—and he sits sideways on a richly caparisoned horse, looking to the right. Monogram  $\text{H}$  as before, but with the Bactrian letter  $\text{?}$  beneath it.

REVERSE:—The same royal personage (by the fillets) as if performing the functions of high priest. The dress is so precisely Indian, that I feel disappointed in not finding a regular Sanskrit name below; nor can I produce much of accordance between the Bactrian and Greek names—the letters are *abakhafasa*. On the field are various insulated alphabetic symbols,—Bactrian and Greek, and, under the latter, one which looks like a modern *Nāgari*  $\text{z}$ ,  $\text{𑀲}$ , but is more probably a Bactrian letter.

The last figure in the plate (from General Ventura's store) is a duplicate of the Azes coin published as fig. 22 of pl. xvii. Between the two one important fact is established, namely, that at this period of the Azes dynasty the use of the Greek was entirely lost, while the native character was written with greater correctness in the same or rather the inverse ratio. The Greek legend is a mere jumble of letters, but the Bactrian reads continuously—

*Maharajasa mahatasa dhamikasa vijatirajasa Ayasa,*

'Of the great king, the mighty, the just, the king of kings, Azes.'

The figure of Abundance with her cornucopia has a compound symbol on the left, which might be read *Srī*, her Indian name; and on the right the two letters  $\text{z}$ ,  $\text{S}$ , *kha* and *dha*, used numerically. (?)

The perfect Greek medals of Bactria proper, however beautiful as works of art, ought not to turn away our attention from these corrupted or 'barbarous' specimens which mark the decadence of Greek dominion and Greek skill. These are the most precious to the student of Indian history: through their native legend he may yet hope to throw light on the obscure age of Vikramāditya, and the Scythian successors of the Greeks on the north of India. Hitherto these classes of rude coins, though very numerous, have been much disregarded, and on that account I now invite attention to them, and promise to return to the task myself when I have fresh materials collected and arranged; my text being, 'those coins on which the native and Greek legends differ, or record different names.'

[ Following out the plan I have adopted on previous occasions, of combining the substance of Prinsep's discoveries with a general outline of the present state of our knowledge of the various subjects embraced under each heading, I subjoin—

1st. A revised plate (xi.), and a cursory letter-press review of the Bactrian alphabet, as elucidated by the latest available evidence, and illustrated by a valuable comparative table of the transitions of the early Semitic Alphabets, furnished me by M. le Duc de Luynes (pls. xi.<sup>a</sup> xi.<sup>b</sup>).

2nd. A brief introductory notice of the Arian nomenclature, and the parallel transcription and translation of the Greek names and titles occurring on the coins.

3rd. An abstract of the leading theories for the epochal and serial distribution of the list of monarchs adopted severally by the authors who have specially devoted themselves to the study so effectively inaugurated by Prinsep.

4th, and finally, I annex an outline but numerically comprehensive catalogue of all the Bactrian coins I have had an opportunity of examining, together with references to the various publications wherein the more important pieces may chance to have been figured and described at large; further, to improve, as far as possible, the general series, I have added such examples as I felt myself justified in citing from Major

Cunningham's inedited plates;<sup>1</sup> and, to complete the typical details, I have compiled from the coins themselves a table of mint monograms (pls. xi.<sup>c</sup> xi.<sup>d</sup>), which I trust will be found to afford a full and exact summary of these important records.

#### I.—REVIEW OF THE BACTRIAN ALPHABET.

Whatever of modifications or discrepancies of form may be apparent in the Bactrian character, as opposed to the Semitic alphabets of the West of parallel date, there can be but one conclusion as to their joint derivation from a single parent stem. It would be absurd to suppose that the Phœnician and its cognate ramifications curtailed and yet complicated into the crude signs of their own system the more copious and advanced alphabetical series of the East. Indeed, there is internal evidence to the contrary, and the process of simplification of certain characters by the latter can be traced and detected in the mere mechanical configurations alone, and otherwise most of the changes and adaptations of the Arian scheme can be explained and accounted for by the double action of the needful increase in the total number of letters, and the effect of contact with the independently perfected alphabet of India proper.

The proofs of the common origin of the two styles of writing are to be found in the direction followed by both—from right to left,—in the leading idea of the construction of the majority of the characters of either, and, more definitively, in the approximation and close unity, in each series of the several forms of ב, 𐎁 [𐎂], 𐎃, and 𐎄.

<sup>1</sup> [It is perhaps necessary for me to explain more distinctly the reserve I feel called upon to exercise in this regard. Major Cunningham, some years ago, prepared and printed off a series of eighteen plates of Bactrian coins, designed for the ultimate illustration of his long contemplated work on 'The Successors of Alexander in the East.' These lithographs were most obligingly communicated to myself, and others interested in cognate studies in anticipation of the due order of publication. They contain facsimiles of many important coins that I should have been glad to have cited to improve the series now given, but as I trust the author will shortly be enabled to make public his elaborated memoir, I ordinarily abstain from anticipating the novelties he has delineated, even under the full acknowledgment appended on the rare occasions that I have quoted from this source.]

In regard to the date of the elaboration of the improved system, it would be vain to speculate with any pretension to accuracy; but it may be safe to say, while adverting to the internal fixity of the Semitic alphabet and the very remote period at which it can be shewn to have been in free use,<sup>1</sup> as well as to the material progress achieved up to that date, that the Bactrians must have separated and organized their system at an era considerably antecedent to B.C. 250;<sup>2</sup> which is the earliest epoch at which any example of their epigraphy can at present be quoted.

Symptoms of such an independent advance may be tested in the fact, that at the period in question, many of those letters of purely Semitic formation, which were retained comparatively intact as representatives of identical phonetic values, are found to exhibit a far more striking approximation towards the ultimately accepted forms of the modern alphabet than their correspondent characters of the Western system in use under the Seleucidæ.

<sup>1</sup> [For instance, its having formed the model of the Greek alphabet, which itself is admitted to have been employed in the 9th and 10th centuries B.C. Mure, 'Hist. Greek Lit.,' iii., pp. 403, 424, 430, 456. M. E. Renan considers that there is evidence authorizing the induction that the Hebrews wrote in the 'phénico-babylonien' alphabet at the time of the coming out of Egypt. 'Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques,' p. 108. Paris, 1855.]

<sup>2</sup> [I am not able to discover upon what precise authority M. Renan extends the spread of Semitism to Bactria at the period indicated in the subjoined extract, but I conclude he associates it in some way with the accession of 'la dynastie (d'origine arienne) qui éleva à un si haut degré, au viii<sup>e</sup> siècle, la puissance de Ninive,' and the subsequent establishment of the kingdom of Babylon:—'Un fait beaucoup plus important que tous ceux qui viennent d'être cités, est la transmission qui se fit, vers le viii<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère, de l'alphabet sémitique à tous les peuples du monde ancien, par l'action combinée de la Phénicie et de Babylone. Semé sur toutes les côtes de la Méditerranée jusqu'en Espagne,<sup>a</sup> porté vers le Midi jusqu'au fond de l'Éthiopie, gagnant vers l'Orient jusqu'au Pendjab,<sup>b</sup> l'alphabet sémitique fut adopté spontanément par tous les peuples qui le connurent;' p. 195, 'Hist. Gen.']

<sup>a</sup> L'alphabet phénicien était devenu, sous diverses formes, l'alphabet commun de tous les peuples méditerranéens, avant d'être remplacé par l'alphabet grec et par l'alphabet latin, c'est-à-dire par deux transformations de lui-même. Dans le monument de Téos, déjà cité, l'expression *τὰ φοινικῆα* (s. e. *γράμματα*) désigne le texte même de l'inscription.

<sup>b</sup> L'alphabet zend paraît se rattacher aux alphabets araméens. Quant au dévânâgarî, son origine sémitique est restée très-douteuse, malgré les efforts de M. Lepsius pour l'établir.



Tracing more closely the internal constitution of this adaptive alphabet, we have to allow—(1) for the creation of nearly double the number of letters previously existing in any known Semitic series, incident to the linguistic demands of a more exact language; (2) for a hitherto-unheeded discrimination between consonants and vowels; and lastly, for that strange anomaly in Semitic writing, the introduction of the medial vowels in the body of, or attached to, the covering consonant, which was calculated so seriously to affect the normal form of the latter.

With these ample materials for comparisons and inductive definitions, it may be said that it should be easy to arrive at the truth; but it must be remembered that the very multitude and conflicting nature of the possible causes creates, in itself, a difficulty in selecting the ruling one. And as has already been remarked, we are not by any means in possession of the whole evidence in the case, but have to decide upon the facts presented to us by three literal series at a given point of their several histories, when each had already arrived at advanced maturity.

However, let the special instances be proven or not, thus much may be conceded on the general issue:—1st, That in the formation of the Bactrian alphabet the leading tendency was to follow Semitic tracings; 2nd, That the normal types of the parent stock were altered, adapted, and even devoted to new purposes, as occasion required, for the due exhibition of the more ample and exact speech they were now called on to embody; and 3rd, That the pre-existing and indigenously-matured Pálí alphabet of the South exercised more or less influence in the ultimate determination of many of the forms, more especially in regard to that extraneous element—the definition of the vocalic sounds.

With this limited preface I introduce the detailed examination of such letters of the entire series as seem to furnish data in support of the results above indicated, otherwise avoiding all

notice of those characters which neither illustrate the general derivative question, nor present any difficulties in regard to their own forms and values.<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen that I follow the order of the Lát alphabet, as arranged by Prinsep in his early engravings.

1. Regarding the value of the letter *k* in its leading lapidary form, or its numismatic modifications, there has been from the first but little question. Some apparent anomalies, however, present themselves in the way of a ready determination of the prototype from whence the Arian letter derived its outline. The normal configuration of the Semitic *כ*, *Caph*, seems to have been devoted, in the Bactrian system, to the representation of a new articulation;<sup>2</sup> and the prevailing style of the Phœnician *פ*, *Koph*, was superseded in the Eastern alphabet by the appropriation of an almost identical character as the exponent of *s*. And yet, amid the enigmas of Semitic palæography, it is curious to mark the community of design apparent between the Bactrian *𐎧* of extreme Eastern maturation and one of the Aramæan varieties of the *פ* preserved on the monuments of Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

2. The *kh* of the Bactrian system will be seen to have gone through a succession of forms, whether under its numismatic or lapidary progressional course: this is possibly owing to its infrequent use, whereby it retained a less determinate position in the general alphabet. It is found on the coins of—(1) Antimachus; (2) Archebius; and (3) Kozola

<sup>1</sup> [It is needful that I should specify more precisely the nature of the materials whereby I propose to justify my inferences:—1st, In regard to the lapidary characters. The Kapurdigiri inscription may be examined in Mr. Norris's most scrupulous mechanical transcript, copied from an inked-cloth impression taken from the rock itself, and published in the 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 153; as an additional verification of the facsimile, I have been able to consult the original calico transfer, in some cases available in duplicate, as well as Masson's own eye-transcript, executed with such obvious care and accuracy on the spot; and, finally, advantage has been taken, in the few possible instances, of the seemingly correct outlines afforded by an indifferent Calcutta lithograph, designed by Mr. J. W. Laidlay, and purporting to have been drawn from a facsimile by Captain A. Cunningham, copied *in situ*.—The Manikyála stone inscription is engraved in pl. ix. of this work, and the entire transcript has been compared and tested anew, from the original—now rectified as to its position on the walls of the Bibliothèque Imperiale—since my remarks at p. 125, vol. i., were printed off. The Wardak inscription, which may be classed with the monumental rather than with the numismatic section of palæography, is reproduced in pl. x., and the urn itself is before me for reference. The numismatic characters are necessarily gathered from diverse sources, which it would be tedious to expose at large. It may be sufficient to say that the apparent age of the coins has ruled the order of the several exemplars inserted in the plate of alphabets.]

<sup>2</sup> [*J* or *jh*, *infra*.]

<sup>3</sup> [See Gesenius, Carpentras Inscription, tab. 4; and type table of Semitic Alphabets *infra*, series No. 3.]

Kadaphes, in each case in correspondence with the Greek x. Its Kapurdigiri outline is well ascertained, and equally so is its value, as the equivalent of the Páli  $\chi$  = ख. I have not been able to trace it very positively in the Manikyála writing, and the form I adopt from the Wardak urn is likewise only conjecturally inserted in virtue of outline similarities. I have also entered in the plate the most prominent of the numismatic varieties, whose originals seem often to exemplify the mere crudities of imperfect engraving; but the letter, as it appears on one of Archebius' coins,<sup>1</sup> presents a striking peculiarity in the supplementation of a small hook, such as is used to denote the simple  $\chi$ , which would almost seem to indicate an acknowledgment of the necessity of some further means of discriminating a character, in many instances liable to be taken for a *t* or an *r*. The precise sound of the ancient Semitic  $\chi$  *Kheth* (*Hheth* or *Cheth*) is not very well determined; and if it were not for the seeming appropriation of the design of the legitimate Phœnico-Babylonian  $\chi$  to the representation of the Arian *ch*, it might be possible to refer the origin of the Kapurdigiri guttural to a reduction of the superfluous lines of the Achæmenian  $\chi$ , to which stage the complicated figure of olden days had already been brought, and whose unchanged outline was finally accepted by the Greeks as their aspirate *h*.

3.  $\varphi$  =  $\chi$ . This letter, regarding which some doubt at first existed, is now the received exponent of the sound indicated by the characters of the kindred alphabets set against it. The only difficulty connected with it consists in the question which necessarily arises as to what effect the horizontal foot-stroke, occasionally supplemented to its radical form, in common with those of the  $\varphi$  *j* and  $\chi$  *z*, may chance to have upon its ordinary phonetic value. The Kapurdigiri Inscription, with a single doubtful exception,<sup>2</sup> leaves the original letter unadded to, and the Manikyála stone alike abstains from the augmentation. The Steatite urn (pl. vi.) seems to insert the stroke in the one case in the word भगवान् and to omit it in the second version of the same title.<sup>3</sup> The Wardak Inscription, which, it may

<sup>1</sup> [In the possession of Colonel Abbott.]

<sup>2</sup> [The instance I refer to occurs in the 14th line in the word *gabagarasi*, corresponding with the Gîrnâr Páli *gabhâgaramhi*. The first *g* has the horizontal foot-stroke, which is clearly to be traced in the cloth impression: it is also entered in Mr. Norris's first copy from that facsimile, but it has been omitted in the lithograph. Masson's eye-copy gives it in full distinctness; and Major Cunningham's transcript fully acknowledges the existence of some such mark, though in the Calcutta lithograph the sign is transformed into an *anusvâra*.]

<sup>3</sup> [Prinsep, I see, has given it in both cases; but there is no trace of the line on the lid of the vase itself.]

be added, will be seen to contain a striking number of ग's in proportion to the rare occurrence of the letter in the cognate inscriptions, must be supposed to insert the sign or its substitute, in the form of a back stroke (easily confounded with the subjoined र r), in the majority of instances, while, in one case, the g is positively deficient in that or any other subjunctive mark.

For the present, therefore, I am disposed to conclude that this line constitutes a mere optional addition to the simple letter, possibly having its origin in a design more completely to distinguish the g from some of the literal compounds, with which it was liable to be confounded.

Regarding the origin of the character itself, I should be inclined to attribute its derivation to a semitically outlined and more cursive imitation of the Pálí 𑖅. The proper A g of the Pálí series, which so nearly corresponded with the Phœnician 𐤂 g, will be seen to have been devoted to other purposes in the organization of the Bactrian alphabet;<sup>1</sup> hence a new form had to be found to represent the functions of the g, which it is easy to conceive may have been taken from a character of proximate sound in the independent series of the South.

4. 𑖆 = 𑖅 𑖆. The sign for gh has been noticed and commented upon under its numismatic aspect, at p. 207, vol. i. It remains for me to confirm the true outline of the character from lapidary sources. The gh is not a letter of very frequent occurrence, so that the possible examples in the whole Kapurdigiri Inscription are limited to three. In tablet iv., line 8, the Arian letters that should correspond with the Gírnár 𑖆's in the words *Berighoso* and *Dhammaghoso*, are imperfect, both in the original cloth transfer and in Masson's eye-copy. Mr. Norris transcribed them therefore as simple g's. However, the recurrence of the letter (tablet xiii., line 5), in its full form, and in due correspondence with the Pálí 𑖆 in the word *Upaghato*, leaves no doubt that the earliest lapidary outline is identical with that employed on coins.<sup>2</sup>


5. 𑖇 ng. Major Cunningham claims, among his other discoveries in the Arian alphabet, to have detected the sign employed to represent this sound. I have had occasion to doubt the finality of this assignment (vol. i., p. 102), and for the present am constrained to leave the Arian column of equivalents of this letter unfilled.

6, 7. I pass by the various forms of 𑖈 and 𑖉, which are sufficiently assured in their early demonstration, as well as obvious enough

<sup>1</sup> [Y. No. 26.]

<sup>2</sup> [In addition to the proved example of the letter on the Behat coins, it is occasionally met with in monogrammatic combination on the Azes series. It also occurs in the last line of the Wardak writing (pl. x.), and in Captain Pearse's copper-slip inscription, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. xxiv. (1855), pl. xv., p. 328.]

in their subordinate gradations, as exhibited in the plate, merely noting with reference to what has already been said on the derivation of the Bactrian *kh*, that the simple form of the Achæmenians and Artaxerxes Longimanus, or their joint prototype, may well be imagined to have furnished the model of the less stiffly-fashioned Bactrian *ch*.

8.  $\varphi = \varepsilon$  . I proceed to consider the various equivalents of the letter *j*. The Kapurdigiri and Manikyála outlines of the character closely accord with the simple numismatic type, while the dotted inscription on the Wardak vessel develops certain vaguely executed forms, which are scarcely consistent with one another, but which may generally be said to shew a considerable modification of the primary design.

The peculiarities in the numismatic character consist in some cases of an apparent duplication of the letter by the insertion of a second forward limb, and in the nearly uniform addition of the horizontal foot-line noticed as in occasional use in connexion with the normal form of *g*. And in these instances, also, I am almost forced into the conclusion that this extra line was not designed to have any effect upon the articulation of the consonant, as the same word, Rajadirajasa, is written alike, with or without the lower lines of the *j*'s (*ex. g.* Eukratides and Kadphises), though the earlier examples affect the former, while the later<sup>1</sup> return to the monumental outline. In regard to the association of the normal letter with any character of Semitic organization, I may note its near correspondence with some of the secondary forms of the Western  $\mathfrak{z}$ , though it is clear, if any such identity is to be admitted, that the sign must be understood to have been appropriated to the expression of a foreign and very different sound in the Eastern system.

9. The definition of the Indian Páli form of the *j**h* was effected by Prinsep in March, 1838 ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vii., p. 272; *suprd.*, vol. ii., p. 36). As the Kapurdigiri correspondent passages, wherein this letter might have been expected to be met with, were defective in the one place (tablet vi., line 7), and differently cast in the other (tablet xiv., line 2), the Arian configuration of the character has hitherto remained undetermined. The authority for the present assignment rests therefore solely upon the legends on the coins of Zoilus, where the letter copied in the plate is found as the representative of the Greek *z* in the king's name. It will be remembered that the Devanágari alphabet possesses no equivalent of the letter *z*;

<sup>1</sup> [Some of the Azes' coins so far modify the shape of this adjunct as to give it a merely forward direction from the base of the letter, in seeming conformity with the parallel simplification noticed under the letter *g*, p. 149.]

and although modern practice, under the necessities of the adaptations of a foreign tongue, may often substitute the simple  $\aleph$  for the Arabic  $\text{ج}$ , this constitutes no obstacle to the free acceptance of the above identification. The Greek  $\Xi$ , it may be noted, is rendered in Arian by the letter  $\P = \text{S}$  (see Philoxenes). In this instance, as in those about to be noticed under Nos. 11 and 12, a difficulty arises as to whether the simple letter or its aspirate should be accepted as the more direct derivative from the parent alphabet. Gesenius' early forms of the Semitic  $\text{צ}$  *Caph*, as well as the leading column of the Duc de Luynes' alphabets, would favor the claims of the latter, while the Achæmenian and other proximate reproductions of the same letter approach more nearly to the linear rudiments of the former.

10. The Arian letter, answering to  $\aleph$ , seems to have been primarily deduced from a duplication of the upper limb of the ordinary  $n$  to meet the requirements of due correspondence with the more exact and ample alphabet of the South. Its use in the Kapurdigiri Inscription is not exclusive in its accordance with the Pálí  $\text{ṇ}$ . It is found in substitution of  $\text{ṇ}$  =  $\aleph$  in *hiranna* (line 17), and (if the word is not misread) as the equivalent of  $\text{ṇ}$  *ṇj* (line 3); but where such strange liberties are seen to have been taken with the orthography in other parts of the writing, these departures from the intentional standard need not disturb the recognition of the leading value of the sign.

11, 12. The Arian cerebrals,  $t$ ,  $th$ , in their relative configuration, seem to carry out the general idea of the Pálí alphabetical system, which associated the simple letter and its aspirate under more or less community of form, though in this instance the normal character would appear to have been retained for the representation of the aspirate, while the corresponding simple letter was constructed out of its elements by a slight modification in the arrangement of its original lines. The earliest Semitic  $\text{ת}$ , as its name implies,<sup>1</sup> consisted of a simple cross, and in such guise it clearly found its way into the Bactrian literal series. That it should be adapted to the exposition of the Eastern  $th$ , rather than to that of the simple  $T$ , to which the Greeks devoted it, need cause no surprise, as it is clear that  $th$  (as in 'think') was the primary and preferable equivalent of its sound, notwithstanding that the second and more dubiously aspirated  $t$ ,  $\text{ṭ}$  *teth*, which co-existed in its own alphabet, was converted in the Hellenic system into  $\theta$ .

It is curious also to note, in the Kapurdigiri inscription, what may possibly chance to be a parallel simplification of the dental  $t$  out of the complicated lines of the  $th$  of the same order of consonants; except

<sup>1</sup> ['Cujus nomen ( $\text{ת}$ ) *signum cruciforme* significare constat.' Gesenius, p. 47.]

that, if this derivation is to hold good, the supposition of the conversion of the Semitic  $\gamma$  into the former letter must fall through, and to the cerebral  $\delta h$  of the Bactrian scheme must be conceded the title of inheritance of the alphabetical outline of the Phœnician *Daleth*. Though, in this case, as the primary form of the original Semitic  $\beth$  *teth*, like its derivative denomination, is indeterminate, and the Bactrian adaptation is equally uncertain in its point of departure, it will, perhaps, be preferable to adhere to the definition which supposes a construction of the simple  $\gamma = t$ , in unison with the parallel development of  $\beth$  *b* and  $\gamma$  *r*, from the nearly identical rudiments of the simple letters of the earlier series, and consequently to regard the adaptive dental *th* as a linear improvement upon the tortuous form of the Western alphabets, and as based in one portion of its configuration at least, upon the modified representative of its own simple letter.

13. The  $\delta$  is an alphabetical sign of limited use; but it is of consequence correctly to determine its normal form, with a view to the illustration of the history of the associate characters of approximate sound, and the determination of the progressive modifications of the letter itself. Its positive shape in its monumental expression is sufficiently defined (as given in the plate)<sup>1</sup> by the Kapurdigiri Inscription. It would seem to retain its original outline in the Manikyála writing, and is frequent amid the coin legends, though strange to say, in these instances it never occurs in its full and definite development as an isolated and uncombined letter, but only appears in its true shape in composition with the vowel *e*, to receive which its side limb has to be considerably prolonged: hence a question arises as to whether the radical configuration of the character was not subjected to a modified design in its ordinary expression as a simple letter; as such, it may possibly have furnished the model for the sign usually exhibited as  $\beth$ ; and it is clear that the resulting elongation of the upper line and the rounding off of the angular turning point might easily occur in the ordinary degradation of the character. And this suggestion brings me once more to face an acknowledged difficulty,—the intent and meaning of the horizontal foot-stroke attached. Hitherto I have had to deal with letters that derived little or no advantage from this supplementation; now a new light seems to break upon the subject, and it would almost appear that the foot-line in this case, like the Parthian semicircular dot of Naksh-i-Rustam, still extant in the diacritical mark of the Syriac  $\delta$ , was designed to discriminate the  $\delta$ , or at all events to distinguish it from some character

<sup>1</sup> [It is equal to  $\delta$  in tablet iv., line 12, and tablet vii., line 2; but it corresponds with  $\delta$  in tablet vii., line 3, in *ekadesam*.]

nearly allied in shape but differing in phonetic value. As a general rule (for there are few exclusively consistent ones in this series), the character used to express *d* is individualized by the cross-stroke, while the almost identically-formed *t*'s and *r*'s are preferentially left unmarked.<sup>1</sup> The value of the letter 𑀩 as *d*, whether doing duty as cerebral or dental, is proved by its alternation and interchange with the true dental *s* in the antepenultimate in the name of Apollodotus, and in the titles Tradatasa and Rajaḍirāj. So that, whether we accept it as a derivative from the old 𑀮 = 𑀮,<sup>2</sup> or as an ordinary 𑀮 = 𑀮 *t*, adapted to a modified articulation, its reciprocal value remains much the same.

14. The cerebral *dh* is not a letter in frequent requirement, and though the Arian equivalent is freely developed in the lengthened edict of Kapurdigiri, it need cause no surprise that it should not have been met with amid the brief legends on the coins, especially when it is seen how little discrimination was made between simple letters and aspirates, and what scant scruple was exercised by the die-engravers in the interchange of one *d* for another, or the more vague substitution of *t*'s<sup>3</sup> in place of *d*'s.

15. The cerebral *ṇ* well retains its original Kapurdigiri<sup>4</sup> identity in the later Manikyāla lapidary writing, and on the engraved silver disc from the same locality. Among the modified letters of the Wardak inscription it is more difficult to determine its correct correspondent; for, if we are to follow the Manikyāla inscription, the ordinary 𑀮 has now become 𑀮, which form duly appears on the brass vessel; but the 𑀮 is here so far changed as in some cases almost to look like a return to the model of the early *s* = 𑀮 of the Kapurdigiri legends.

16. The 𑀮 = 𑀮 𑀮, is a letter which admits of but little question, from its first appearance on Asoka's monumental edict to its latest use upon coins. Its form is of importance under the comparative palæographical aspect, in that it assimilates so closely in its simple outline to the nearly homophonous Hebrew 𐤎 *d* of modern days, thus exhibiting the more speedy advance towards maturity of the Eastern system in contrast to that of the West, whose expression of the letter in 250 B.C. had in most instances diverged but little from the primitive sign.

<sup>1</sup> [Ex. gr. Eukratidasa. Tradatasa. Some of Apollodotus' coins mark the penultimate *t*, but in the better executed specimens the foot-stroke appears as an 𑀮. See note on that name in the Coin Catalogue.]

<sup>2</sup> [Among other inconveniencies of imperfect type, it will be seen that I am compelled to use the same sign for *j* and *d*. The real difference between the two is properly discriminated in the plate.]

<sup>3</sup> [Coins of Azes, *et. seq.* 'Wardak,' i., p. 163.]

<sup>4</sup> [Precision in the use of this 𑀮 seems to have been as little regarded as in other cases already noticed. Ex. gr. 𑀮 = 𑀮 usually. 𑀮 = 𑀮, 4, 9.]



17. The letter *th*, in its early lapidary development, likewise admits of but little cavil; but it is doubtful whether its form is to be detected amid any of the inscriptions or coin-legends subsequent to its proved appearance on the Kapurdigiri rock. Its derivation, as well as that of its fellow *t*, has been already commented on in association with Nos. 11 and 12.

18.  $\varsigma = \text{𐎧}$ . Regarding the letter *d* in its isolated aspect but little need be said; its absolute identity, in the earliest form of which we have knowledge, with the ordinary  $\varsigma = \text{𐎧}$  of the same alphabet, is singular, and often proves inconvenient. It appears to be but little changed in the process of time intervening between the endorsement of Asoka's edicts and the engraving of the Manikyāla stone, though the associate  $\text{𐎧}$  in the latter writing seems to have been considerably modified from the old type. On the coins, this *d* remains but little varied, either under the provincial or ordinary progressional influence. I have still to speak of the subjunction of the horizontal foot-stroke. If the theory be sound that this adjunct is attached to *d*'s and other special letters, and is never supplemented to the *n*'s,<sup>1</sup> then the second letter of the ordinary form of the name of Menander must be read as a *d*, which is certainly opposed to the probabilities of orthographical transliteration. If there were any authority for so doing, I should prefer to interpret the single compound as *nan*, assuming the foot-mark to be a mere simplification of the arrow-pointed anuswāra of the Kapurdigiri system; but here, again, difficulties present themselves, as the sign can scarcely be uniformly accepted as the mark of *n*, and indeed as a suffix to the  $\text{𐎡}$  *a*'s and  $\text{𐎢}$  *s*'s, it affects another form. It would still be possible to infer that the discriminating sign of the *d* here supplemented to *n* might stand for the duplication of the succeeding *d*, in accord with Pāli requirements of orthographical expression; but I should be sorry to propose so hazardous a conjecture without more definite and positive evidence than I am yet in possession of. To dispose of the succeeding letter in Menander's name, under this, its proper heading, I may note that the character hitherto received as *n*, appears, from an examination of the best specimens of the multitudinous hemidrachmas of this sovereign, to be a combination of the equivalents of *drd*.

19.  $\text{D} = \text{𐎡}$  *dh*.<sup>2</sup> The definition of this letter is well ascertained,

<sup>1</sup> [Certainly this latter rule seems to hold good, with the single exception, if such it be, here noted. I have nowhere else succeeded in finding a pointed *n*.]

<sup>2</sup> [For a long time the Parthian *dh* was supposed to be represented by an outline similar to the above. The correct form is given in the plate, under 7. (See 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.' vol. x., p. 118; vol. xii., p. 264.)]

and its outline undergoes but little change throughout the entire period represented by the various Arian writings antiquarians have as yet been able to assemble for scrutiny and comparison. I notice it in this place merely for the purpose of drawing attention to the curious coincidence of its form with that of the Achæmenian letter (522 to 456 B.C.), entered in the Phœnician series of the Duc de Luynes as the equivalent of the **𐎧** *Tsade*. This outline, it will be seen, departs notably from the ordinary run of the derivations from the old *Tsade*; and hence a question might arise as to whether the exceptional letter may not have been borrowed from the independently matured Bactrian series to represent a sound not very dissimilar to its own, but whose precise articulation did not exist in the Arian system.

20. **𐎧** = **𐎧**. The Kapurdigiri *n* of manifest Semitic derivation, which here had to represent the sound of *d* or *n* at will, seems to have preserved its, to us, normal form on the early coins of the Greek monarchs. Menander, at least, uses it in near parallelism with its counterpart *d*, and Philoxenes places its import as *n* beyond a shadow of a doubt, by inserting it as the penultimate letter of his own designation. The character, however, was soon doomed to modification, whether on account of the objection to one symbol having to represent two diverse sounds, we need not stop to inquire; but on the hemidrachmas of Dionysius the *n* has become little more than a perpendicular line, and stands in strong contrast to the initial *d*, which follows the old model. On the Kadphizes' coins (No. xxvi.) the *n* is formed almost like a Greek **ρ** of the obverse legends, and approximates more to the old design of the **𐎧** than to that of the simple **𐎧**. On Kozola Kadaphes' coins the *n* is figured as a perpendicular line with a single arrow-barb on its top like the letter **I** have transcribed as **𐎧** from the Manikyāla stone and the Wardak urn; and, finally, on some of the Bactrian Satrap coins the letter appears with the full arrow-point, which may either indicate a modification of the form or value of the character, or may simply imply the addition of a short vowel to the original letter.

21. **P**.—The Arian *p* is a letter which presents no difficulty, either in its original ascertainment or its use in its onward course. But it claims special notice, in companionship with the *l* of the same series, on account of its departure from the standard Phœnician type, in the direction assumed by the indicative adjunct, which constitutes the very essence of the character. The Semitic **𐎧** is shaped like a Bactrian **𐎧** *a*: that is, the distinguishing curve from the leading down-stroke is turned to the left, while the letter **𐎧** of the former series produces the side curve to the right. In the Arian alphabet both these methods of formation are abandoned in favour of a directly opposite mode of

definition, which strikingly identifies the resulting characters with the corresponding letters of the Pálí. These coincidences may, of course, be purely fortuitous, but, taken with other indications of connexion between the two schemes of alphabetical notation, I am disposed to accept the double evidence as more distinctly evincing a designed change.

22.  $\text{𑀓} = \text{𑀔}$ . The  $\text{ph}$ , unlike the  $p$ , which maintains its integral identity throughout, is subjected to changes and modifications that demand specification. Its Kapurdigiri indicator is freely developed, and the original idea of its formation, upon the basis of its own simple letter, may be traced in the additional stroke inserted in the onward course of the writing, beyond the perpendicular line of the parent  $\text{𑀓}$ . In its ordinary written form it is with difficulty discriminated from a  $\text{𑀓}$ , and this chance of confusion may possibly have led to the marked alteration which may be observed during its numismatic course to the  $\text{𑀓}$  of Godophares' money, and again to the  $+$  of Kadphises' mintages.

23. The Arian  $b$  is the letter of all others that most intimately identifies its own alphabet with the parallel Semitic offshoot of more Western culture. The derivation from some common parent being admitted in each case, it is curious to mark the independent development of the early Bactrian type of 250 B.C., as opposed to the stationary Phœnician  $\text{𐤁}$  in use under the Seleucidæ; and, progressing onwards, it is still more strange to note the large amount of derivative identity the Parthian letter of Ardeshr Bábegán holds in common with the Bactrian character of earlier days, as well as the close similarity of the joint resultants more definitively exemplified in the Partho-Bactrian coinage. Further, among the coincidences attending the evolution of alphabetical symbols, it is singular to note a parallel advance towards the most approved modern form of the character achieved *proprio motu* by the Palmyrene writing.<sup>1</sup>

24.  $\text{𑀕} = \text{𑀖}$ . The shape of this character is as well defined and equably sustained, as its value is undoubted; but little, therefore, need be said in reference to it. It would, indeed, have been a matter of interest to have traced the possible combination of alphabetical rudiments whence it derived its standard configuration; but, as our starting point for all comparisons consists in an already matured literal series of many centuries growth, it would be useless, in the absence of the more primitive forms, to institute any contrasts based upon materials apparently so largely modified from their primary outlines.

25.  $\text{𑀗} = \text{𑀘}$ . At first sight the Bactrian  $m$  might be pronounced to

<sup>1</sup> [Gesenius, tab. v., pl. xi. a, and Type Table *infra*.]

have nothing in common with the Semitisms of the Western alphabets; but on examining the question more closely, it seems by no means impossible to conceive that the Eastern product retained in effect a portion of the original elements of the ancient character. The rejection of the superfluous down stroke of the Phœnician *m*, which, as it stood, conflicted with the Arian *ḡi*, would reduce the former letter into the Eastern representative of *mi*, and the further necessity of again discriminating the uninflected consonant from this latter combination may reasonably have led to the ultimate simplification of the current form of the *m*, and the reservation of the cross stroke for its own proper purpose, as the sign of the medial vowel *i*.

26.  $\Lambda = \text{𐎧}$ . As with the *m*, I was almost on the point of pronouncing against any possible Semitic influence in the formation of the Bactrian *y*; but it is clear that, if the doctrine of intentional simplification of the characters under the needs and requirements of a more perfect language is to be held valid, much of the primary identity of the Phœnician *y* might be traced in the form ultimately adapted to the Arian alphabet: here, again, a rejection of the redundant up-stroke, which in the Eastern scheme constituted the suffix *r*, and the omission of the second down-stroke of the Western palatal, which expressed an *o* in the Arian series, would leave the character very much in the form extant upon the Kapurdigiri rock. Though I confess that, knowing as I do how much mere mechanical comparisons of forms, under imperfect data, are liable to mislead, I am unwilling to press such arguments, or to claim more than a possible association of minor coincidences, where the broad question is supported by such definite evidence.

27.  $\daleth = \text{𐎧}$ . The letter *r* of the Bactrian series, as found in the monuments of B.C. 250, is of high importance in proving at how much earlier a date it had become developed into the since dominant Hebrew form than the same character of the cognate alphabets of the West. That it is fundamentally the same letter in both may easily be conceded; and the manner in which the nearly fellow character, the *t* of one series, the *d* of the other, advanced into maturity, is likewise striking. The same may be said of the  $\daleth = \text{𐎧}$  *v* of the Bactrian and the *vau* of the Western scheme. As a simple letter, the standard *r* remains but little changed. In combination, however, like the anuswara of the Bactrian system, it presents difficulties from the innate obstacles to the conjunction of the literal forms of Semitic alphabets, which, even under the necessities of Arian speech, seem to have progressed but slowly, and by imperfect rules, in this direction. The small back stroke at the foot of the covering consonant clearly

stands for the letter *r*; but it is a question whether the act of subjunction invariably implied the suppression of the short sound of *a* inherent in the leading consonant; and supposing such to be the ordinary intent and purport of the act of combination, it is doubtful whether the brief *a* is absolute after every open consonant. In the incompleteness of literal definition, so characteristic of all Semitic writing, much must necessarily have been left to the reader's knowledge of the speech so symbolized, to supply orthographical deficiencies; and as we find the compounds *San*, *Sin*, etc., so we may fairly assume that the *Dhrama* of Kapurdigiri and the *Dhramika* of the coins were intended to be read as *Dharma* and *Dharmika* (धर्म); the Southern Pāli of course duplicated the *m* in lieu of the compound *rm*. Major Cunningham has discovered a method of combining the *rm*, subsequently introduced into the Bactrian numismatic alphabet, whereby the ʾ was run into the ʾ for the apparent purpose of stifling the intermediate *a*; and I am the more disposed to concur in this assignment, since I imagine I observe in all the words representing *Dharma*, wherein this compound is used, that the tail stroke of the usual subjunct *r* is rejected from its place at the foot of the *dh*.

Among other progressive efforts towards the due discrimination of the superposed *r*, I detect a remarkable, though solitary, instance of its expression by a dot above the succeeding consonant in the name of Arkhabiyas. This means of representing the *r* is somewhat in parallel accord with the system of the South, where the sign was figured as little more than a prolonged dot above the conjunct letter. But even among these Pāli alphabets we have no very positive example of its employment prior to the Sāh inscription at Girnār, though there is every reason to suppose that it was in use much earlier than the date of that writing.

28. The formation of the Bactrian *l* presents no peculiarity demanding comment. I may, however, note its representation by the letter *r* on the medals of Heliocles, and I may refer to the substitution of *l* for *r* in the Dhauli inscription, and the parallel interchanges of these letters in the Western languages of Persia. 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' xiii., 375.<sup>1</sup> The Parthian *l*, it will be seen, retained much of the original figure of the Bactrian type, and had nothing in common with any of the direct offshoots from the Phœnician model.

29. ʾ = ʾ. The *v* of the Bactrian system may be fairly taken to correspond with the original idea of a Semitic ʾ *vau*; indeed, some of the intermediate forms of the latter consonant-vowel assimilate completely with the outline of the analogous semi-vowel of the Eastern series.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [See also 'Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar,' p. 120.]

<sup>2</sup> [Gesenius, p. 26, and tab. i., 4, 5; Judas, tab. i., and Type Table *infra*, series 1.]

The identities of the 7 *v* have been already alluded to, vol. i., p. 103. The letter is only further remarkable for the difficulty with which it is at times discriminated from the nearly similarly outlined *t*'s and *r*'s. The intentional distinction seems to consist in the more straight formation of the head line, and the angularity given to its point of junction with the down stroke, which also participates in the lesser degree of curvature. At Manikyála a further divergence may be detected in the extra length given to the perpendicular line.

31.  $\text{𐎧} = \text{𐎡}$ . I am unable to detect any direct affinity between the earliest monumental form of the common Bactrian *s* and the antecedent outlines of the Semitic  $\text{𐤓}$ . The nearest approach, indeed, to the ordinary configuration of the Eastern letter is afforded in the  $\text{𐎡}$  of the Western system. The Duc de Luynes enters, under the Seleucidan period, a form of  $\text{𐎡}$  nearly identical with the Arian numismatic symbol, but the ascertainment of the value of the character is marked as doubtful, and even if finally admitted, I should prefer to pronounce in favour of its derivation from the Bactrian exemplar, rather than the indebtedness of the latter to the Western source. The formation of the Kapurdigiri *s* seems to have been effected by the delineation of a downward curve, but little dissimilar to the ordinary *b*, into which was inserted a perpendicular line,—a method of definition which the *Sinaitique*  $\text{𐤓}$  (*circa*, 18 B.C.) seems singularly enough to have preserved. In progress of time the Arian *s* becomes more cursive, or rather takes such a form as should avoid the necessity of a second application of the pen. Under neither form does it seem to have anything in common with the Pálí  $\text{𑀲}$ .

32.  $\text{𐎧} = \text{𑀲}$ . The second, or palatal, *s* of the Arian series need scarcely be looked for among the signs of strictly Semitic origin, and may be accepted as an independent invention to meet the wants of Sanskrit vocalization.<sup>1</sup> The earliest Pálí form of this  $\text{𑀲}$ , as I have before remarked, seems to have been borrowed from the Bactrian outline which stood for the  $\text{𐎧}$ . The Southern edicts of Asoka make use of but one *s*, and the contrast between the two systems of writing, in this respect, may be readily exemplified in the word  $\text{𐎧𐎡𐎧}$  *sususha* of the Arian inscription, which is written  $\text{𑀲𑀲𑀲}$  *susunsa* in the Girnár text (xiii., 3).

33.  $\text{𐎧} = \text{𑀲}$ . The Arian *śh*, unlike the letter last referred to, must under every aspect be supposed to have had a counterpart in the languages of the West, and its identity in shape with the secondary

<sup>1</sup> [I have elsewhere adverted to a possible Parthian derivative from this character, but as the language of the Bilingual inscriptions, wherein the former occurs, is still undetermined, the value and association of the Western form remains purely conjectural. See 'Num. Ch.', xii., 78.]

forms of the Phœnician  $\psi$  is sufficiently striking. Its absolute inversion, under its Bactrian adaptation, need cause no surprise, as the obvious necessity of discriminating its power from the compound *me*, whose outline, under the local system of insertion of medial vowels in the body of the covering consonant, exactly imitated the configuration, and hence the latter may presumptively be taken to have conflictingly superseded the proper functions of the ordinary *sh*; which sibilant had therefore to be provided with a distinctive though not altogether novel form of character.

34, 35.  $\text{𐎧} = \text{𐎡}$   $\text{𐎨} = \text{𐎡}$ .<sup>1</sup> The Bactrian alphabet, in common with the Indian Pāli, possessed distinguishing signs for the long and short vowel *a*, though it was deficient in this respect in the quantitative symbols for the *i* and the *u*, for each of which a single form had to respond to the double articulations. The Arian system, like its Southern associate, duly contrasted the initial and medial outlines of both vowels and diphthongs. The initial forms of the soft and hard *a*'s are marked in plate xi., the authority for the latter resting solely on the numismatic character made use of, with dubious propriety, in the name of Apollodotus. The Kapurdigiri Inscription either does not mark the difference between the powers of the two vowels, whether initial or medial, or the failure to discover the additional sign, must be attributed to its shape and isolation from its covering letter, and the state of the surface of the rock, which was evidently opposed to its detection, unless the observer chanced to know sufficient of the language to expect and seek for the simple dot which constitutes the essential difference. As a medial, the short *a* may be held to be ordinarily inherent in each consonant; and the long *a*, in appropriate coincidence with the arrangement of the other vowels, is defined by the detached dot, the discriminating adjunct of the *ā* initial.

The Bactrian  $\text{𐎨}$  admits of no approximation to any of the purely Semitic forms of  $\text{𐤀}$ ; indeed, it approaches nearest in identity to another

<sup>1</sup> [Colonel Rawlinson has annexed to his exposition of the value of the Persian cuneiform *a* an elaborate note (*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. x., pp. 54, 78), on the general subject of Arian *a*'s and their correspondents in the Semitic system. One of the few points upon which I altogether dissent from his conclusions is his assumed derivation of the Parthian and Sassanian *a*'s from the original Hebrew  $\text{א}$  *ain*. The languages in question, so far as we have present knowledge of them, did not need any alphabetical symbol for the latter utterance; indeed, when Arabic came to be written in Pehlvi characters, the simple  $\text{𐎡}$  of the old series had to perform the representative functions of the foreign articulation. It seems much more reasonable to infer that the Eastern copy of the *a* (whether exclusively devoted to that vowel, or permissible as a substitute for  $\text{א}$  in the conterminous dialects), was based upon some of the varying forms of the original Phœnician *a* rather than upon the outline of a letter for which the adapters had little or no use, and whose normal and subsidiary configurations were almost without exception opposed to the graphic delineation eventually adopted into the derivative alphabets. (*Cf.* also Gesen., p. 21, etc.)]

letter of the Western series, namely, the **ḍ**. It is possible that this character may have been incorporated from the common stock, and subjected to new duties; but I should prefer to suppose a positive invention of a new character, or a very marked simplification of the complicated cross-strokes of the earliest **ṣ**, rendered requisite, like many of the other changes, by the necessity of avoiding complex outlines among the radical letters, with a view to their facile reception and legible representation of the short vowels in combination.

The radical form of the full or initial Arian **ṇ** = *a* claims extraneous attention, in the fact that its outline constituted the basis for the construction of all the other vowels and diphthongs of its own alphabet, which are severally distinguished by the additional marks supplemented in each case to the normal *a*, while the same discriminating signs suffice, in combination with consonants, to represent the medial form of their several fundamental letters.

An indication of no little importance in the question of derivations, developed by this law, is to be detected in the imitation and simplified extension of the orthographical rule of the Pāli, which took the initial **ṛ** as the basis of certain other vowels and diphthongs, discriminating them from the simple letter *a* by supplemental additions; thus **ṛ** *a* became **ṛ** *ā*, **ṛ** *o*, **ṛ** *an*, etc., while *i*, *e*, *u*, had separate forms. The Arian scheme, following out this notion with more effective systemization, made **ṇ** the groundwork of the entire vocalic series.

38. The vowel *u* demands a passing notice, rather for the modification it undergoes than for any difficulty in its recognition. The initial on the Kapurdigiri rock is formed by the addition of a foot-line to the standard *a*, in the forward direction of the writing; and a similar mark effectively fulfils the duty of the medial vowel in combination with consonants. An optional interchange of symbols for the initial may be observed on the coins of Eukratides, which is instructive as evincing the limited precision of the orthographical science of the period. In some cases the opening syllable of this name is defined by a combination of the medial sign of the *e* prefixed to a squarely-outlined *u* initial; in others, the sound of *eu* is represented by a fully developed initial *e*, followed by an unattached and completely formed initial *u*. The numismatic *u* medial is speedily transformed into a loop, which form it retains throughout its later monumental course.

41. The equivalent of the Sanskrit **ṣ** *an* is formed in the Kapurdigiri inscription of the subjunction of an arrow-point to the foot of the normal **ṇ** *a*, and may reasonably be supposed to figure in convenient modification of the standard **o** *m*, whose sound it convertibly responds to. A similarly outlined suffix is used for the same purpose in com-



bination with consonants, as in *Kambayi*, *Gandharanam* (tab. v.). On coins the stiffness of the adjunct is amended by its transformation into a semicircular curve in continuation of the down stroke of the  $\gamma$  *a*, a symbol which, it may be remarked, still retains the elements of the primary  $\cup$  *m*. The change may be attributed to the greater facility of expression, incident to the continuous use of the pen in current writing, as contrasted with the earlier chisel sculpture of lapidary epigraphy, which had nothing to gain by uninterrupted lines. This numismatic suffix appears frequently on coins and inscriptions of more recent date conjoined with the letter  $\mathfrak{p}$  *s*, in positions, as regards the latter, which clearly necessitate the interpretation of the compound as *san*, 'year;' though I notice an apparent inability to define the requisite *anusvāda* in combination in the names of *Menander*, *Amyntas*, and *Gondophares*, which it is difficult to account for.<sup>1</sup>

32. The *st* of the Bactrian alphabet is remarkable as being the only standard compound consonant in the entire range of the Kapurdigiri edict; the subjunction of the *r* was allowable with any consonant that required the combination; but the suffix of the *t*, or rather its incorporation with another character into a distinct sign, was reserved for the conjunction now cited; and this compound retained so much of the force of a distinct letter that it admitted of the insertion of a vowel or the subjunction of the *r* like any other simple consonant. The divergence from the Kapurdigiri outline in the later examples of its use is limited to a straightening off of the cross-lines, whereby it is conveniently discriminated from the character *i* or *hi*, with which it was otherwise liable to be confounded.

Before taking leave of these imperfect contributions to the

<sup>1</sup> [Colonel Rawlinson attributes these omissions to a general orthographical law common to the Persian cuneiform and the Bactrian systems. His remarks on the subject are as follows:—

'I need not multiply examples of the absorption of the nasal, as the first member of a compound articulation; for I have already, as far as argument is concerned, abundantly verified the existence of such an orthographical law; and it is one, moreover, with which the identical construction of the numismatic Bactrian<sup>a</sup> has long ago familiarized Orientalists.'

Colonel Rawlinson is in error in regard to the second and third names quoted, the insertion of the *anusvāda* is palpable and undoubted, and, when looked for, it is visible enough in one instance in Major Cunningham's plates, on whose authority I conclude the author speaks. The Kapurdigiri inscription further evidences that this assumed rule, if sound at all, is, in practice, rather constant to the opposite effect, as I may instance at hazard from the names of *Devanampriya*, *Antiyoke*, *Antikina*, and the words *pashandeshu* (tab. v.), *athasautiranaya* (tab. vi.), etc.]

<sup>a</sup> 'Remark the orthography of the names of *Menander*, *Antimachus*, *Antialkidas*, *Amyntas*, etc. In Indian Pāli the nasal is preserved before the consonants of all classes. See 'Essai sur le Pāli,' p. 80.' 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' x., 132.

history of Bactrian Palæography, and terminating these introductory remarks by the exhibition of the positive data of facsimiles, I desire to advert cursorily to the Parthian or Chaldaeo-Pehlvi and the cognate Sassanian-Pehlvi literal series, exemplars of each of which have been inserted in pl. ix. The first of these claims its position in the general inquiry, in appropriate elucidation of many of the alphabetical coincidences and derivative identities already adverted to; the second founds its title to notice, in this place, upon its apposite intermediary position in the progressive palæographic development of the writing of Asia and the important part it will be seen to have played in its position, as the sole apparent vehicle of speech, whether official or domestic, under the specially national reconstitution of the Persian empire,<sup>1</sup> and the influence that, even in its official extinction, it carried with it into the learning and literature of the conquering Arabs;<sup>2</sup> while its alphabetical forms and difficultly-comprehensible language survive so largely in their fitting

<sup>1</sup> [I have for long past insisted upon one deduction of high import in the history of the Zoroastrian languages, 'in the significant fact implied in the extensively prevailing use of the Pehlvi character, as *prima facie* evidence of the existence and currency of the language itself, or of its mere dialectic modifications. I would cite the universality of its influence throughout nearly the entire Persian empire; its employment as the vehicle of expression for the monumental records of the kings; its uniform official currency in the numerous mints of the Sassanian empire; and the geographical definition of its boundaries from the Tigris and the Persian Gulf on the S.W., to Merv and Zābulistān on the N.E., as manifested by the legends on the Arab coins issued within or near those limits. But beyond this I would now exhibit its acceptance in the affairs of private life, as exemplified by the prevalence of its literal forms on the signets and seals of every-day use. And I would claim this much of deduction from the facts available, that whatever other forms of speech may have existed in the land, whatever of more perfect systems of writing may have been known or employed, it is clear that the seventeen letters of the Pehlvi alphabet sufficed to express all that either official routine or ordinary business transactions required. From our inscriptions and coins we can fix with precision the date of the currency of this style of writing, and unhesitatingly claim its dominance in Persia from A.D. 223 to A.H. 76 (A.D. 695). Our new authorities, the gems, do not of themselves similarly define their own epoch; but we may hope, by testing the forms of the alphabet, and observing closely other significant indications, to fix approximately their place in history.'—'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xiii., p. 374 (1852). See also Westergaard, 'Zendavesta,' i. 19 (Copenhagen, 1854).]

<sup>2</sup> [Here is their own testimony to one most important fact in the history of civilization:—*در عهد عبدالملک جراید دیوانی از صورت فارسی باعربی* M.S. 'Tārikh Guzīdah.' Even so late as 318 A.H. the Arabs were still translating Pehlvi books.—See Reinaud, 'Abulfēda,' p. xlv.]

places as monumental, numismatic, and personal records, or the more isolated but carefully-guarded religious services, which, in return, have, in these days, led to the comprehension of one section of the historical epigraphy,<sup>1</sup> otherwise, to us, so enigmatically endorsed upon the less perishable materials of metal or gems.

As I have ventured to infer a derivation of the more distantly cultivated and more obviously divergent Bactrian alphabet from a parentage in common with or intermediately through the Phœnico-Babylonian, it is demanding but scant faith to ask for a more direct concession of the influence of the latter upon the Parthian or Chaldæo-Pehlvi of almost indigenous site, and which, epochally speaking, is so limitedly varied from its obvious prototype.<sup>2</sup> The Sassanian hereditative, and for a long time

<sup>1</sup> [J. Olshausen, 'Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. xi., p. 62.]

<sup>2</sup> [It may be as well to indicate, as far as possible, the surface over which there is extant evidence of the spread of this character. Inscriptions graven in its letters, in parallel association with the Sassanian Pehlvi, are to be found—1st, at Persepolis; 2nd, at Shahrzör (35° 50', 44° 24'); and 3rd, at Pâf Kûlî, within the Turkish frontier southward of Sulimânia, which latter have only recently been discovered by Sir H. Rawlinson, who further states that isolated but earlier varieties of this character are to be found in inscriptions at—1, Amadiâh; 2, Holwân; 3, Shimbor, in the Baktiari mountains; and 4, at Bebahân. Or, to state the case generally, the style of writing has an Eastern limit of 150 miles beyond the Tigris. Further, it is found on certain classes of Imperial Parthian coins ('Vologeses,' iii. etc.), as well as on several varieties of local issues, which up to this time are supposed to be sub-Parthian or Partho-Persian mintages. The most modern date of its use in inscriptions is to be referred to the reign of Shâpûr I. (A.D. 240 to 273); indeed, it would appear to have been speedily superseded by the more readily discriminated Sassanian Pehlvi, in which alone the monumental records (Ker Porter, vol. ii., pl. lxxviii.), and the coin legends of his successors are couched. Cf. 'Philosophical Transactions,' vol. xlix., p. 593, pl. xviii. (1756). Pellerin 3me 'Supplément' (1767), pl. i., fig. 13, p. 32. De Sacy, 'Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse,' pp. 72, 136, 202, etc. Ouseley, 'Medals and Gems' (London, 1801). 'Mionnet,' v. 686. Millingen's 'Sylloge' (London, 1838), p. 84. Ker Porter, pls. xv., xxii., xxviii., etc. Rich's 'Babylon and Persepolis' (London, 1839), pl. xii. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xv., fig. 23, etc. Rawlinson, 'Mémorial on Persian Cuneiform Inscriptions,' 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. x., p. 118, *et seq.*; and my Pehlvi Alphabets, 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. xii., p. 262; and vol. xiii., p. 3. Westergaard, 'Bundelesh,' p. 84 (1851). 'Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. xii., p. 63; and Dr. Scott's papers, vols. xvii. xviii. *ibid.* Lindsay, 'View of the Coinage of the Parthians,' (Cork, 1852). 'Haug. Ueber die Pehlwi-Sprache' (Gott. 1854).

While advertizing to Parthian writing, I feel bound to notice a somewhat pretentious article, recently published, which professes to interpret the legends on several classes of sub-Parthian currencies. The paper in question is inserted in the 'Zeitschrift' of the present year (1857), p. 700, under the title of 'Lettre, etc., sur quelques médailles à légendes iraniennes de l'époque Arsacide, par Comte A. de Gobineau' (Téhéran, le 12 Mars, 1857). As the author seems to have been altogether un-

contemporary character, is not perhaps so manifest an emanation from the same source, but of the absolute fact there can be no reasonable question, though the ordinary course of mechanical induction leaves this much doubtful, as to whether the Sassanian was derived by independent action from some purely Semitic stock, or whether it was a local improvement upon the intermediate Parthian character of anterior currency and official prominence in their joint monumental association: I myself should certainly prefer the latter inference.

acquainted with De Sacy's elaborate investigations into the alphabet of cognate type, which appears in the numerous bilingual inscriptions of the early Sassanians, I may be held excused from withholding my general acquiescence in his readings; but, to show how fallacious his system of decipherment has proved, even in his own hands, I may remark that on his coin No. 7 (*Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xii., pl. p. 68, figs. 5, 6, 7), he detects the word *malika* (or *meleky*, as he transcribes it), in one portion of the legend, while its repetition in the same epigraph altogether escapes him, as equally do the same duplicate titles on his piece No. 1. The interpretation he assigns to the legend on this latter coin I reproduce, as a test of the probable value of the rest of his definitions.

KYUVA SETRY VARYA ARHSAK.

'Le Roi de race pure, Arhsak.'

My own reading of the legend of a similar coin, a facsimile of which is prefixed to the modern transcript, is as follows:—

מלכא ברי באילך מלכא  
ארסהשטר

See '*Numismatic Chronicle*,' vol. xii., pl. No. 8.

While upon this subject, I may take occasion to refer to my original transcription of the legend on the unique coin of Hormuzd II., brought from Persia by Sir H. C. Rawlinson (*Num. Chron.*, vol. xv., p. 180; '*Jour. Roy. As. Soc.*,' vol. xiii., p. 379). Dr. Scott, in commenting upon my transliteration as opposed to that of Dr. Mordtmann, while confessing that the shapes of the letters on the coin itself better accord with my version than that of the author just named, accepts the interpretation of the latter, or *אורמוזדי לבני השאן* '(of) Ormuzd, of the god of light,' in preference to mine, in virtue of its having the advantage of 'being comprehensible!' (*Num. Chron.*, vol. xvii., p. 166). As I did not pretend to translate my transcript, which was grounded simply on mechanical data, I could have no objection to so much of condemnation; but, in truth, my version, with the interpretation I now append, not only makes very excellent sense, but it has the higher merit of according far more precisely with the typical indication afforded by the monarch's head-dress, which is formed after the conventional model of the Hercules' head, so frequent on the Greek coins, with the covering of a lion's skin. My transliteration ran—

מודיסן בני אורמוזדי לבאושאן מלכאן מלכא

The only doubtful portion of the whole—I understand to mean 'lion killing.' The mixture of Aramaic and Persian in the compound need cause no surprise; neither, I am bound to add, is the orthographical expression of the participle in accord with modern Persian grammar; but these objections are infinitesimal in the interpretation of so irregular and little-known a language as that used in the official records of the early Sassanians.]

The next step in the onward course of the Sassanian alphabet, its merging into the Pehlvi of the early Arabs in Persia, which is nearly literatim the same as the Pársis have preserved in Kermán and Gujarát, admits of no possible cavil : how much of the essence of these modified letters the Arabs took into their own superseding Kufic has only been partially investigated, and hitherto insufficiently allowed for ; but the number of the normal forms of Pehlvi that have passed into and been reproduced in the so-called Zend alphabet are palpable and manifest on the most cursory inspection ; and whatever may be the real antiquity of the language of the Avestá, couched in these letters, there can be but one opinion as to the comparatively recent date at which the characters themselves must have been compounded out of more ancient systems of writing.

I now exhibit the Plate of Comparative Alphabets, which I have prepared in supersession of Prinsep's original plate xi. and to complete the data for testing the rise and progress of the Bactrian alphabet from its Semitic elements, I have appended the two plates of the modifications of that class of literal symbols so obligingly prepared for me by the Duc de Luynes, whose original introductory notice I insert in explanation of the derivation of each.<sup>1</sup>

#### ALPHABET PHÉNICIEN (PHÉNICIE PROPRE).

*Du temps de Sargon.*—Les lettres כ, ד, י, ל, נ, פ, ר, ת, sont prises dans les légendes des deux pierres gravées à inscriptions, découvertes par M. Place sous les taureaux du Palais de Sargon.<sup>2</sup> Les autres lettres sont tirées de pierres gravées à

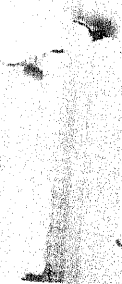
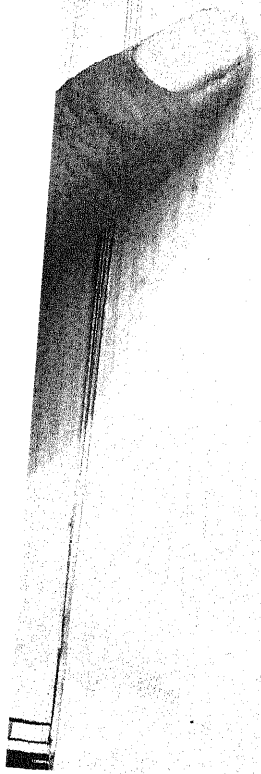
<sup>1</sup> [It is a pleasure to me to record the circumstances under which I have to acknowledge M. le Duc de Luynes as a coadjutor in this Essay. During a passing visit to Paris, I was made aware that he had most liberally permitted the Numismatic Phœnician type, prepared for the illustration of his own privately circulated works, to be made use of in the printed sale-catalogue of the Baron de Behrs' coins. Encouraged by this concession, I ventured to solicit a similar favor in my own case, so far as a single elucidatory alphabet was concerned. I need not add that this request was readily complied with ; but moreover, on my subsequently addressing M. de Luynes, with a view to obtaining a more precise idea of the epoch and localities to which these specimen letters were due, I was surprised and gratified by a promise of a mature and comprehensive review of the entire question of Phœnico-Semitic Alphabets, of which the present materials exhibit the performance.]

<sup>2</sup> Ces légendes sont : עבדבעל et רפתי Obadbaal et Riphothiah.

English	Indian Palli	Lapidary Brahmā	Monastic Brahmā	English	Indian Palli	Lapidary Brahmā	Monastic Brahmā
k	+	𑀓	𑀓	ph	𑀧	𑀧	+
kh	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	b	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
g	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	bh	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
gh	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	m	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
ng	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	y	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
ch	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	r	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
chh	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	l	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
j	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	r	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
jh	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	h	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
ñ	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	s	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
t	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	s	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
th	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	sh	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
d	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	a	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
dh	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	a'	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
n	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	i	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
t	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	u	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
th	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	e	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
d	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	o	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
dh	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	an	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
n	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	st	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕
p	𑀕	𑀕	𑀕	sp	𑀧	𑀧	𑀕

ANCIENT PEHLVĪ ALPHABETS: (PARTHIAN & SASSANIAN.)

ANCIENT PERSIAN ALPHABETS: (PARTHIAN & SASSANIAN)								
Modern Hebrew	Parthian	Sassaniam	Modern Hebrew	Parthian	Sassaniam	Modern Hebrew	Parthian	Sassaniam
א	𐭠	𐭡	ב	𐭢	𐭣	ג	𐭤	𐭥
ב	𐭦	𐭧	ד	𐭨	𐭩	ה	𐭪	𐭫
כ	𐭬	𐭭	ו	𐭮	𐭯	ז	𐭰	𐭱
ט	𐭲	𐭳	ח	𐭴	𐭵	ט	𐭶	𐭷
י	𐭹	𐭺	ק	𐭼	𐭽	י	𐭿	𐭾
ל	𐭽	𐭿	מ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿
מ	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿	ע	𐭿	𐭿
נ	𐭿	𐭿	פ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿
ס	𐭿	𐭿	ק	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿
ע	𐭿	𐭿	ר	𐭿	𐭿	ל	𐭿	𐭿
פ	𐭿	𐭿	ש	𐭿	𐭿	מ	𐭿	𐭿
צ	𐭿	𐭿	ת	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿
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נ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿
ס	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿
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נ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿
ס	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿
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פ	𐭿	𐭿	פ	𐭿	𐭿	מ	𐭿	𐭿
צ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿
כ	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿
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כ	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿
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ע	𐭿	𐭿	ע	𐭿	𐭿	ל	𐭿	𐭿
פ	𐭿	𐭿	פ	𐭿	𐭿	מ	𐭿	𐭿
צ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿
כ	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿
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מ	𐭿	𐭿	מ	𐭿	𐭿	פ	𐭿	𐭿
נ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿
ס	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿
ע	𐭿	𐭿	ע	𐭿	𐭿	ל	𐭿	𐭿
פ	𐭿	𐭿	פ	𐭿	𐭿	מ	𐭿	𐭿
צ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿
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ל	𐭿	𐭿	ל	𐭿	𐭿	ע	𐭿	𐭿
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ע	𐭿	𐭿	ע	𐭿	𐭿	ל	𐭿	𐭿
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צ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿
כ	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿
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נ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿
ס	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿
ע	𐭿	𐭿	ע	𐭿	𐭿	ל	𐭿	𐭿
פ	𐭿	𐭿	פ	𐭿	𐭿	מ	𐭿	𐭿
צ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿
כ	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿
ל	𐭿	𐭿	ל	𐭿	𐭿	ע	𐭿	𐭿
מ	𐭿	𐭿	מ	𐭿	𐭿	פ	𐭿	𐭿
נ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿
ס	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿
ע	𐭿	𐭿	ע	𐭿	𐭿	ל	𐭿	𐭿
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צ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿
כ	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿
ל	𐭿	𐭿	ל	𐭿	𐭿	ע	𐭿	𐭿
מ	𐭿	𐭿	מ	𐭿	𐭿	פ	𐭿	𐭿
נ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿
ס	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿
ע	𐭿	𐭿	ע	𐭿	𐭿	ל	𐭿	𐭿
פ	𐭿	𐭿	פ	𐭿	𐭿	מ	𐭿	𐭿
צ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿
כ	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿
ל	𐭿	𐭿	ל	𐭿	𐭿	ע	𐭿	𐭿
מ	𐭿	𐭿	מ	𐭿	𐭿	פ	𐭿	𐭿
נ	𐭿	𐭿	נ	𐭿	𐭿	צ	𐭿	𐭿
ס	𐭿	𐭿	ס	𐭿	𐭿	כ	𐭿	𐭿
ע	𐭿	𐭿	ע	𐭿				



légendes plus ou moins longues, dont plusieurs caractères font partie des légendes sur les deux pierres gravées de M. Place et doivent, par là, se rattacher au même alphabet.

*Du temps d'Esmunazar.*—Alphabet tiré de la longue inscription sur le Sarcophage de ce Roi. [*'Journal Asiatique,'* Avril-Mai, 1856.]

*Sous les 1<sup>ers</sup> Achéménides.*—Cet alphabet est formé des légendes sur les médailles les plus archaïques d'Aradus : Tête virile barbue et laurée. Revers, Navire ; au dessus  $\aleph, \beth$ , suivi de lettres numérales variées,  $\pi, \zeta, \eta, \delta, \psi, \phi$  ; les lettres  $\chi$  et  $\omega$  se trouvent sur des pièces d'argent des anciens Rois de Perse représentant un Roi frappant de son poignard un lion dressé devant lui ; auprès,  $\omega$ , et au revers : N(i)S(i)B  $\aleph \beth$  au dessus d'une ville à tous crénelées, &c. Cette pièce est au Musée britannique.

*Du temps d'Artaxerxès Longue-main.*—Tiré des médailles d'or et d'argent des Rois de Tyr, de Cittium et des Chittim (*cf.* mes Satrapies).

*Sous Artaxerxès Mnémon.*—Tiré de la numismatique des Rois de Gebal (Byblos) vivant probablement à cette époque (*cf.* mes Satrapies), et de médailles encore inédites de cette dynastie dans ma collection.

*Sous Artaxerxès Ochus.*—Tiré des Dariques de mauvais travail frappées sous ce Prince.

*Sous Alexandre et les 1<sup>ers</sup> Séleucides.*—Monnaie d'or et d'argent aux types d'Alexandre frappée sous son règne et sous ses premiers successeurs à Joppé, Acé, Aradus, et Thœma.

*Sous les Séleucides, de 312 à 145.*—Lettres isolées et numérales sur les médailles d'Aradus, de Tyr et de Sidon, frappées sous la domination de ces Princes. Médailles de Tyr frappées sous Antiochus IV. et Demetrius II. et de Laodicée au revers d'Antiochus IV.

*Sous la domination Romaine, depuis l'an 145.*—Monnaie en cuivre d'un travail de décadence frappée à Sidon, Tyr, et Marathus.

#### DÉRIVATIONS DE L'ALPHABET PHÉNICIEN.

*Araméen.*—Manuscrits sur papyrus appartenants au Duc de Blacas. Gesenius paraît croire que ces Manuscrits qui font mention de la captivité d'un peuple en Egypte, sont allusifs à celle des Hébreux et pourraient être contemporains. En tout cas, ils sont très anciens. Cependant, le monument de Carpentras, portant une inscription de même écriture, ne paraît pas remonter à une époque très reculée.

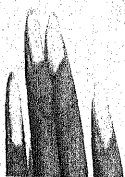
*Palmyrénien.*—La plupart des Inscriptions Palmyréniennes connues ne sont pas plus anciennes que les premiers Empereurs Romains et ne dépassent guères l'époque d'Alexandre Sévère mort en 235 de J.és. Chr. Cependant, il existe une médaille presque archaïque, frappée à Sidé de Pamphylie, dont la légende est évidemment en caractères palmyréniens (voir mes Satrapies).

*Sinaitique vers l'an de J. C. 18.*—Cet alphabet est tiré de médailles encore inédites de Rois des environs de la mer rouge et de l'Idumée, dont le principal date ses monnaies de l'an 330 (des Séleucides).

*Sinaitique après l'an de J. C. 18.*—Alphabet établi par M. Beer d'après les inscriptions de Gebel Mocatteb. *Inscr. veteres litt. et ling. hucusq. incogn. ad mont. Sin. magn. num. repert, &c.* Lipsiæ, 1840, 4to.

#### ECRITURE PUNIQUE.

*Avant 396.*—Médailles archaïques de Motya, Tsits et Aea, frappées en Sicile. Motya fut détruite en 396.





*De 396 à 332.*—Médailles de travail grec avec les types de Cérès et de Proserpine, adoptés par les Carthaginois seulement depuis 396, époque où ils commencèrent à honorer ces Déeses, et pièces frappées avec le type du droit imité des monnaies d'Alexandre.

*Première guerre punique.*—Médailles au type de la tête de Cérès et du cheval ou du Pégase, d'un bon travail, et que l'on trouve en grande abondance en or, argent, et cuivre.

*Seconde guerre punique.*—Les mêmes types ou peu variés, mais d'un travail de décadence et de métaux d'un titre bien plus bas.

*Syphax.*—Médailles de bronze de ce Roi et inscription de Marseille exactement de la même épigraphie que les légendes de Syphax.

*Juba 1<sup>er</sup>.*—Monnaies de ce Prince en argent et cuivre.

*Empire Romain.*—Monnaies puniques d'Espagne et d'Afrique avec des types impériaux en conformes par leur écriture à celles qui portent ces types.

*Satrapies de Cilicie* et particulièrement ceux de Tarse (*cf.* mes *Satrapies*).

*Cypre vers 424.*—Médailles de Salamine, frappées probablement sous le gouvernement d'Abdemon. La lettre  $\Pi$  appartient à une médaille d'Amathus de la même époque.

*Abdemon, Roi de Salamine.*—Abdemon, Satrape de Cypre, régnait à Salamine. Une médaille de ce Prince, que je possède, porte son nom, עבדמון.

*Écriture ornée de l'Inscription de Cittium,* époque incertaine mais probablement reculée.

L'Inscription en question est celle du Musée d'Oxford reproduite par Gesenius dans ses '*Monumenta Phœnicia*,' pl. xi, inscr. No. ix., 2 n.

## TYPE TABLE OF SEMITIC ALPHABETS.

I have but little to say in commendation of the subjoined type table of comparative Semitic alphabets, the majority of which consist of such reproductions of the materials of early commentators as the German type-founders chanced to have prepared for the use of printers.

The series Nos. 1, 3, and 4, which are based upon Gesenius' plates, were procured for the casual illustration of the general subject, before I was favoured with the elaborate and more mature facsimiles of the Duc de Luynes, which in a measure supersede the less comprehensive alphabets in type metal,<sup>1</sup> though I have permitted these latter to stand in their introductory capacity, for the purposes of facility of reference. The Kufic literal signs are likewise of but limited palæographic

<sup>1</sup> [The fourth or Palmyrene series is peculiarly infelicitous in its rendering of the forms of the originals; however, M. de Luynes' facsimiles will amend its deficiencies.]

# TABLE OF SEMITIC ALPHABETS.

MODERN HEBREW.	1. PHŒNICIAN.	2. NUMISMATIC PHŒNICIAN.	3. ARAMAIC.	4. PALMYRENE. XPR.	5. SYRIAC.	MODERN SYRIAC.	6. KUFIC.	MODERN ARABIC.
א	𐤀	𐤁	𐤂	𐤃	ܐ	ܐ	ا	ا
ב	𐤄	𐤅	𐤆	𐤇	ܒ	ܒ	ب	ب
ג	𐤈	𐤉	𐤊	𐤋	ܓ	ܓ	ج	ج
ד	𐤌	𐤍	𐤎	𐤏	ܕ	ܕ	د	د
ה	𐤐	𐤑	𐤒	𐤓	ܗ	ܗ	ه	ه
ו	𐤔	𐤕	𐤖	𐤗	ܘ	ܘ	و	و
ז	𐤘	𐤙	𐤚	𐤛	ܙ	ܙ	ز	ز
ח	𐤜	𐤝	𐤞	𐤟	ܚ	ܚ	ح	ح
ט	𐤠	𐤡	𐤢	𐤣	ܛ	ܛ	ط	ط
י	𐤤	𐤥	𐤦	𐤧	ܝ	ܝ	ي	ي
כ	𐤨	𐤩	𐤪	𐤫	ܟ	ܟ	ك	ك
ל	𐤬	𐤭	𐤮	𐤯	ܠ	ܠ	ل	ل
מ	𐤰	𐤱	𐤲	𐤳	ܡ	ܡ	م	م
נ	𐤴	𐤵	𐤶	𐤷	ܢ	ܢ	ن	ن
ס	𐤸	𐤹	𐤺	𐤻	ܣ	ܣ	س	س
ע	𐤼	𐤽	𐤾	𐤿	ܥ	ܥ	ع	ع
פ	𐥀	𐥁	𐥂	𐥃	ܦ	ܦ	ف	ف
צ	𐥄	𐥅	𐥆	𐥇	ܥ	ܥ	ع	ع
ק	𐥈	𐥉	𐥊	𐥋	ܩ	ܩ	ق	ق
ר	𐥌	𐥍	𐥎	𐥏	ܪ	ܪ	ر	ر
ש	𐥐	𐥑	𐥒	𐥓	ܫ	ܫ	ش	ش
ת	𐥔	𐥕	𐥖	𐥗	ܬ	ܬ	ت	ت







value, as they do not represent the earliest form of that adaptive alphabet.<sup>1</sup> There are, however, two sets of characters (not of German execution) to which I desire to call attention. No. 2 comprises the Numismatic Phœnician cut for the Duc de Luynes, and imitated principally from the forms of letters prevailing on the coins of Cilicia and Cyprus. The alphabet No. 5 is, likewise, a novelty, for which I am indebted to the Rev. W. Cureton,<sup>2</sup> who explains its derivation in the following terms :—

'The type was principally copied from MSS. of the 6th century, and represents the earliest form of the character known to us. It is identical with that of the most ancient MS. in the British Museum, date A.D. 411; but the forms of the letters are made a little more carefully than they were written by the person who copied that MS., and imitate more closely those of some better scribe, although about a century later.'

The alphabet in question claims a double interest, in exemplifying the earliest extant Syriac writing, as well as in its near identity with the Estrangelo graven on the celebrated Nestorian monument of Si gan Fu, dated in the 8th century,<sup>3</sup> while its progress on its Central Asian course, thus clearly marked, illustrates the parentage of the Mongol alphabets, whose derivation from a Syriac source has long been freely conceded.

<sup>1</sup> [A valuable contribution towards the study of the palæography of the Arabs has been furnished by J. C. Lindberg ('Lettre à M. Brøndsted,' Copenhagen, 1830), from whose work I cite the following note on the earlier authorities on the subject :— I. G. C. Adler. 'Descriptio codicum quorundam euficorum in bib. reg. Hauniensi.' Altonæ, 1780. Silvestre de Sacy. 'Mémoires sur l'origine et les anciens monumens de la littérature parmi les Arabes.' 'Mém. de l'Académie,' vol. I., p. 247. The same. 'Notices et Extraits,' etc., vol. viii., p. 209; and 'Journal Asiatique,' 1827. M. Kopp. 'Bilder u. Schriften der Vorzeit,' ii., 287.—To these I may add Marcel's 'Paléographie Arabe,' Paris, 1828. 'Ibn Khallikan,' Orient. Trans. Fund. pp. xv., xvi., etc.; and lastly, I would refer to M. Renan's comprehensive review, p. 320, in his 'Histoire générale des Langues Sémitiques,' 1855. While referring to Kufic writing, I must not omit to call attention to the interesting copper-plate grant to the Christian Church in India—which bears the signatures of attesting witnesses—severally in Kufic, Pehlvi, and Hebrew characters. 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. vii., p. 343. 'Madras Journal of Literature and Science,' vol. xiii. (1845), pl. viii.]

<sup>2</sup> [Or I should rather say my obligations are due to Mr. Watts, of Crown Court, to whom the type properly belongs.]

<sup>3</sup> ['La Chine d'Athanase Kircher.' Amsterdam, 1670.—'Assemani,' iii., 2nd part, p. 738. Romæ, 1728.—M. Hue. 'Christianisme en Chine,' p. 48. Paris, 1847.—'Journal of the American Oriental Society,' vol. v., p. 278.—Reinaud, 'Géogr. d'Aboulféda,' p. 365.—Renan, 'Hist. Gén.,' vol. i., p. 268.]

Finally, I have introduced a set of Zend letters, more with the object of completing the series of cognate alphabets, than for any credence I wish to claim for them among the other palæographic memorials of the ancient currency of which we have good and authentic proof; and, for the purposes of direct comparison, I have prefixed to this enlarged alphabet the several original Pehlvi characters upon which the Zend correspondents seem so obviously to have been formed.<sup>1</sup>

## II. ARIAN NOMENCLATURE.

I do not propose to recapitulate the Arian transcriptions of the Greek names; the details of each, together with the variations in the standard orthography, will be found duly marked in the Coin Catalogue, and most of their peculiarities will have already been considered in the determination of the alphabet in whose literal forms they are expressed. The same may be said of the Oriental names, which in process of time superseded the Greek designations, and where the definition must be supposed to be authoritative under its Arian form rather than in the now imitative transcript in Grecian characters. It may, however, be useful to summarize the Arian titles, whether direct translations or local equivalents of the leading idea of titularization adopted from the conquerors, even if it be merely to avoid the tedious repetition of interpretations on the recurrence of each king's little-varied epithets.

1. The more common indigenous titles of *Maharaj*, 'great king,' and its superlative combinations of *Rajadhiraj*, 'king over kings,' and *Rajaraja*, 'king of kings,' scarcely require notice.

2. The equivalent of the Greek *σωτήρ* is rendered by the word *Tradata*, a provincial derivative from *𑀲𑀸𑀓*, 'to preserve'; and here, as in all cases, I adhere to the manifest orthography

<sup>1</sup> [This Zend type, like the early Syriac just acknowledged, is also the property of Mr. Watts. The very excellent Pehlvi fount, as has been already noticed, belongs to Messrs. Harrison and Co., St. Martin's-lane.]

# ZEND ALPHABET.<sup>1</sup>

## VOWELS.

SHORT VOWELS, <i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬀 a.	𐬁 i.	𐬂 u.
„ <i>Zend</i> ,	𐬀 a.	𐬁 e.	𐬂 i.
LONG VOWELS, <i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬀 ai.	𐬁 i.	
„ <i>Zend</i> ,	𐬀 á.	𐬁 í.	𐬂 ú.
„ <i>Zend</i> ,	𐬂 o.	𐬂 ó.	𐬁 do.
			𐬁 é. 𐬀 é.

## CONSONANTS.

GUTTURALS,	<i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬀 k.	𐬁 ku.	𐬂 g.
„	<i>Zend</i> ,	𐬀 k.	𐬁 kh.	𐬂 q. 𐬂 g. 𐬂 gh.
PALATALS,	<i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬂 ch.		𐬂 j.
„	<i>Zend</i> ,	𐬂 ch.		𐬂 j.
DENTALS,	<i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬂 t.		𐬂 d.
„	<i>Zend</i> ,	𐬂 t.	𐬂 th.	𐬂 d. 𐬂 dh.
LABIALS,	<i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬂 p.		𐬂 b.
„	<i>Zend</i> ,	𐬂 p.	𐬂 f.	𐬂 b.
SEMI-VOWELS,	<i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬂 i or y.	𐬂 r.	
„	<i>Zend</i> ,	𐬂 𐬂 (𐬂 med.) y.	𐬂 r.	𐬂 (𐬂 med.) v.
„	<i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬂 v. or w.	𐬂 h.	
„	<i>Zend</i> ,	𐬂 w.	𐬂 h.	
SIBILANTS,	<i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬂 s.	𐬂 sh.	𐬂 z.
„	<i>Zend</i> ,	𐬂 s. (ç.)	𐬂 sh.	𐬂 s. 𐬂 ž 𐬂 z.
NASALS,	<i>Pehlvi</i> ,	𐬂 n.		𐬂 m.
„	<i>Zend</i> ,	𐬂 n.	𐬂 ñ. 𐬂 an.	𐬂 ž. 𐬂 m.

<sup>1</sup> The definition of the Zend Alphabet is adopted from Spiegel's 'Grammatik der Pârsisprache;' the Pehlvi series is confined to the older and unpointed forms.





of the original, without attempting to reconcile the deviations from the laws of Sanskrit grammatical construction, or to trace the process of vernacular degradation; it is sufficient to say that, having the Greek counterpart, and ordinarily an appropriate Sanskrit root, we must remain content to take the inflections and orthographical variations the die engravers have left behind them.

3. The *δίκαιος* of the coins is represented by the term *Dhamika*, or rather *Dhramika*, from धृ, 'to hold, to maintain,' whence धर्म, 'virtue,' etc.

4. The term *νικηφόρος* appears under the optional forms of *Jayadhara* and *Jayata*, the derivation of which, from जि, 'to conquer,' जय, 'conquest,' is sufficiently obvious.

5. The counterpart of *ἀνκλητος* appears in parallel accord as *apadīhāta*,<sup>1</sup> for अप्रतिहत, 'unrepulsed' (from हन, 'to strike or hurt').

6. *Mahata* and *Mahataka*, of obvious derivation, occur as the representatives of the Greek *μεγας*.

7. The title *Pradicha*, otherwise *Praticha*, which stands as the indigenous representative of the Greek *ἐπιφάνης*, may readily be identified as the vernacular form of प्रतिष्ठित *Pratishṭhita*, 'renowned.'

8. The transcripts of the Greek *σατράπης* and *σατᾶτηγός* seem sufficiently assured, as likewise does the translation of 'ΑΔΕΛΦΙΔΕΥΣ' in the local *Brada-putrasa*, 'brother's son.'

### III.—THE EPOCHAL AND TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE BACTRIAN MONARCHY.

I have already intimated that I am not in a position, either as regards preparation or present opportunity, to review, with the deliberation the subject demands, the classification of the long list of Bactrian kings, the sole witnesses of whose rule, in the majority of cases, exist in the emanations from their mints

<sup>1</sup> [On Gondophares' coins, *apratihata*.]

exhumed from time to time in and around the ancient seats of government.

In other cases credit is claimed for coins under their faculty of illustrating written history: in this instance they comprehend the sole data for history itself; at least, from their records alone must be drawn, with scant exception, all testimony at present available of the survival, re-institution, and extinction of the dominant Hellenic element on the site of Alexander's furthest conquest in the East. In the almost total absence of annals, whether Occidental or Oriental, it is from the legends stamped upon the public money that we must reconstruct the story of the otherwise unrecorded potentates who swayed the destinies of these lands for upwards of two centuries.

For such tales as these medallie memorials may tell, I must refer to the works of those authors who from time to time have treated this section of numismatics in detail; contenting myself, for the present, with reproducing, with but scant comment, the matured results arrived at by each.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [*Independent Works*.—*Historia regni Græcorum Bactriani, in qua simul Græcarum in India coloniarum vetus memoria explicatur, auctore Theophil. Sigefr. Bayero*, Petropoli, 1738. Mionnet, 'Supplément,' vol. viii. (1837). Lassen, 'Zur Geschichte der Griechischen und Indoskythischen Könige,' Bonn, 1838. 'Coins of Greek, Parthian, and Indo-Scythian Kings of Bactria and the countries on the Indus,' by Dr. C. Grotefend, Hanover, 1840. 'Ariana Antiqua: a descriptive account of the Antiquities and Coins of Afghanistan (with a memoir on the buildings called Topes,' by C. Masson), H. H. Wilson, London, 1841. 'Historical Results, deducible from recent discoveries in Afghanistan,' by H. T. Prinsep, Esq., London, 1844. 'Indische Alterthumskunde,' von Ch. Lassen, Bonn, 1847.

*Calcutta Asiatic Researches*.—'Description of select coins from originals or drawings in the possession of the Asiatic Society,' by H. H. Wilson, Esq., vol. xvii., p. 559 (1832).

*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.—'Note on Capt. Hay's Bamian Coins,' by H. Torrens, Esq., vol. ix., p. 70. 'Points in the history of the Greek and Indo-Scythian Kings in Bactria, Cabul, and India, as illustrated by decyphering the ancient legends on their coins,' by Christian Lassen, Bonn, 1838, vol. ix., p. 251; continued, pp. 339, 449, 627, 733. 'Notice of some counterfeit Bactrian Coins,' by Captain Alexander Cunningham, vol. ix., p. 393. 'Notes on Captain Hay's Bactrian Coins,' by Capt. A. Cunningham, vol. ix., p. 531. 'Description of, and deductions from, a consideration of some new Bactrian Coins,' by Capt. A. Cunningham, vol. ix., p. 867; note to ditto, p. 1008. 'Second notice of some forged coins of the Bactrians and Indo-Scythians,' by Capt. A. Cunningham, vol. ix., p. 1217. 'A sketch of the second Silver Plate found at Badakshân,' by Capt. A. Cunningham, vol. x., p. 570. 'Second notice of some new Bactrian Coins,' by Capt. A. Cunningham, vol. xi., p.

## No. 1.

## GREEK DYNASTIES.—GENERAL LIST.

PROF. H. H. WILSON.

	B.C.		B.C.
Theodotus I. . . . .	256	Philoxenes . . . . .	130
Theodotus II. . . . .	240	Antialkides . . . . .	135
Euthydemus . . . . .	220—190	Archebius . . . . .	125—120
Demetrius . . . . .	190	Menander . . . . .	126
Eukratides . . . . .	181	Apollodotus . . . . .	110
Heliokles . . . . .	147	Diomedes . . . . .	100
Lysias . . . . .	147	Hermæus . . . . .	98
Amyntas . . . . .	135	Agathokles . . . . .	135
Agathokleia . . . . .		Pantaleon . . . . .	120
Antimachus . . . . .	140		

## BARBARIC KINGS.

SU-HERMÆUS, KADAPHES, KADPHISES.

Mayes . . . . .	100	Azilises . . . . .	60
Palirius . . . . .	80	Azes . . . . .	60
Spalyrius . . . . .	75	ΣΟΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ, <i>King of Kings</i> .	

130. 'On the Gem and Coins figured in the preceding plate,' by H. Torrens, Esq., B.C.S., vol. xi., p. 137. 'Coins of the Indo-Scythian Princes of Cabul (translations of some uncertain Greek legends),' by H. Torrens, Esq., B.C.S., vol. xx., p. 137. 'Coins of Indian Buddhist Satraps, with Greek inscriptions,' by Major A. Cunningham, vol. xxiii., p. 379.

*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*—'An account of Greek, Parthian, and Hindu medals, found in India,' by Major James Tod, vol. i., p. 313.

*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*—'Observations on some ancient Indian Coins in the cabinet of the Royal Asiatic Society,' by Prof. H. H. Wilson, vol. iii., p. 381.

*Journal Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*—'Observations on the Bactrian and Mithraic Coins, in the cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,' by James Bird, Esq., vol. i., p. 293.

*Journal des Savants.*—M. Raoul Rochette, A.D. 1834, pp. 328, 385. Supplément, 1835, pp. 514, 577; note, 640, (Dr. Honigberger's coins). 2me Supplément, A.D. 1836, February; Allard's (*i.e.* Ventura's) collection. 3ème Supplément, A.D. 1833, p. 736; M. Court's collection; ditto, A.D. 1839, p. 89, ditto.

*Journal Asiatique.*—M. E. Jacquet, Feb. 1836, 3ème série, vol. i., p. 122; Sept. 1836, vol. ii., p. 234; Nov. 1837, vol. iv., p. 401; Feb. 1838, vol. v., p. 163; May, 1839, vol. vii., p. 385.

*Revue Numismatique, Blois.*—'Collection Numismatique du Général Court: Rois de la Bactriane,' par Ad. de Longperier, p. 81 (1839).

*Numismatic Journal* (London).—'Græco-Bactrian Coins,' by Professor Wilson, vol. i., p. 144 (1837). 'Proceedings of the Numismatic Society' (London). 'Memoir, by Professor Wilson, on the recently discovered Græco-Bactrian Coins, 14th Dec., 1837.

*Numismatic Chronicle.*—Major Cunningham, 'Monograms, etc.,' vol. viii., p. 175. W. C. W. Vaux, Esq., on Bactrian Coins, vol. xvi., p. 108.]

## INDO-PARTHIAN DYNASTY.

Vonones . . . . .	Kodes . . . . .
Undopherres . . . . .	Miscellaneous Arsacidan
Gondophares . . . . .	Kings . . . . .
Abagastus . . . . .	

## INDO-SCYTHIAN PRINCES OF KABUL.

Kadphises . . . . .	Ooerki . . . . .
Kanerki . . . . .	Baraoro . . . . .
Kenorano . . . . .	Sassanians . . . . .

## CONTEMPORARY CLASSIFICATION.

Euthydemus.	
Demetrius . . . . .	Eukratides.
Lysias . . . . .	Heliokles.
Amyntas . . . . .	Antialkides . . . . . Antimachus . . . . . Agathokles
Agathokleia . . . . .	Archebius . . . . . Philoxenes . . . . . Menander . . . . . Pantaleon
	Apollodotus
	Diomedes
	Hermæus
	Su-Hermæus (P)
	'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 267 (1841).

## No. 2.

## M. DE BARTHOLOMÆI'S LIST.

1. Défection de la Bactriane et commencement du règne de Diodote, vers 256 av. J. C.
2. Agathoclès succède à son père, vers 240 av. J. C.  
Euthydème s'empare du trône de la Bactriane par le meurtre d'Agathoclès 215 av. J. C.
4. Pantaléon se maintient dans le Kaboulistan oriental contre Euthydème jusque, vers 214 av. J. C.
5. Guerre d'Euthydème avec Antiochus après 210 av. J. C.
6. Traité de paix, conclu avec le Roi de Syrie, vers 206 av. J. C.
7. Euthydème fait des conquêtes dans l'Ariane et l'Arachosie, vers 200 av. J. C.
8. Demétrius fils d'Euthydème succède à son père, vers 190 J. C.
9. Eucratides s'empare de la royauté dans la Bactriane, Demétrius fonde une monarchie dans l'Arachosie et dans les contrées de l'Inde qui avaient été conquises par son père vers 181 av. J. C.
10. Eucratides fait pendant plusieurs années la guerre à Demétrius et finit par s'emparer de ses états, vers 164 av. J. C.
11. Eucratides étend ses conquêtes dans l'Inde, vers 160 av. J. C.
12. Meurtre d'Eucratide, par son fils Heliocles, qui s'empare de la couronne en Bactriane, vers 155 av. J. C.  
Ici commence le démembrement graduel de la monarchie, et les données historiques semblent nous manquer pour tenter même un ordre chronologique quelconque.
13. Antimachus fonde un royaume dans la Drangiane ?
14. Antialcides réunit sous sa domination l'Arachosie et la Kaboulistan oriental.

15. Ménandre fonde un puissant royaume dans l'Inde.  
 16. Arsace VI., Mitridate 1<sup>r</sup> roi Parthe, envahit la Drangiane, vers 145 av. J. C.  
 17. Chûte complète de la Monarchie grecque-bactrienne, proprement dite, vers 139 av. J. C. 'Köhnes Zeitschrift,' 1843, p. 76.

The subjoined list has been abstracted from Major Cunningham's lithographed table inserted in the eighth volume of the 'Numismatic Chronicle,' 1843. It will be found to enter into an elaborate detail of the epochal and territorial distribution of the various divisions of the Bactrian empire. The assignment of the geographical boundaries is understood to have been primarily based upon the author's interpretations of the mint monograms discovered on the coins of the different kings. It is needless to add that these results must be received with considerable caution, as most of my readers will appreciate the ordinary difficulties environing the resolution of monogrammatic combinations, as well as the obstacles that exist to the application of the preferable readings under even a well-defined system of comparative geography, a department in which we are sadly deficient in regard to the countries in question.

## No. 3.

## MAJOR CUNNINGHAM'S TABLE.

NO.	B.C.		
1	256	Diodotus I.	} Bactriana (including Sogdiana, Bactria, and Margiana).
	243	Diodotus II.	
2	247	Agathocles	} Paropamisadæ and Nysa.
3	227	Pantaleon	
4	220	Euthydemus—Bactriana, Ariana (including Aria, Drangia, Arachosia, and Paropamisadæ), Nysa, and subsequently Gandharitis, Peukelaotis, and Taxila.	
5	196	Demetrius—ditto, ditto; and, later in his reign, Patalene, Syrastrène, Larice	
6	190	Heliocles—Bactriana and Paropamisadæ.	
7	190	Antimachus Theos—Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila.	
8	185	Eucratides—Bactriana, Ariana, besides Patalene, Syrastrène, and Larice, as well as Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila.	
9	173	Antimachus Nikephoros—Nysa, Gand., Peuk., and Taxila, contemporarily with Eucratides' retention of the rest of his dominions.	
10	165	Philoxenes—succeeds to Antimachus Nikephoros' kingdom	
11		Nicias—ditto, with the exception of Taxila.	
12	165	Apollodotus succeeds Eucratides in Ariana, as well as Pata., Syr., Lar.	
13		Zoïlus	} follow Apollodotus in Ariana alone.
14		Diomedes	
15		Dionysius	
16	159	Lysias—succeeds these in Paropamisadæ, and obtains Nicias' dominion of Nysa, Gand., and Peuk.; while Mithridates I. possesses himself of Ariana, having previously gained Margiana from Eucratides.	

- |    |         |  |
|----|---------|--|
| 17 | 150     | Antialcidas—succeeds to Lysias' kingdom.   |
| 18 |         | Amyntas } follow Antialcidas.  |
| 19 |         | Archebius }  |
| 20 | 161-140 | Menander—reigns in Paropamisadæ, Nysa, Gand., Peuk., Taxila, Por. Reg., Cath., Patalene, Syr., Lar.                |
| 21 | 135     | Strato—succeeds, with the exception of the countries of Pata., Syr., Lar., which fall to Mauas.                    |
| 22 |         | Hippostratus } follow Strato.  |
| 23 |         | Telephus }   |
| 24 | 126     | Hermæus—rules over Parop., Nysa, Gand., Peuk. (The Su-Sakas obtain Aria, Drangia, and Arach., from the Parthians). |
| 25 |         | Mauas—has Taxila, Por. Reg., Cath., Pata., Syr., Lar.  |
| 26 | 105     | Kadphises—( <i>Yuchi</i> )—takes possession of Hermæus' kingdom, and Taxila from Mauas (Kozola Kadaphes).          |
| 27 |         | Vonones }  |
| 28 |         | Spalygis } Paropamisadæ.   |
| 29 |         | Spalirises }   |
| 30 | 110     | Azas—succeeds Mauas, obtaining also, in 90 B.C., Nysa, Gand., and Peuk.  |
| 31 | 80      | Azilisas—succeeds Azas in the three latter, adding Taxila, and the Paropamisadæ.                                   |
| 32 | 80      | The Soter Megasthenes obtains the dominions of Azas, and subsequently those of Azilisas.                           |
|    | 60      | The Yuchi again possess Parop., Nysa, and Tax., etc.   |
| 33 | 26      | Gondophares—reigns in Ariana.  |
| 34 |         | Abdagases (and Sinnakes or Adinnigaues)—ditto in ditto, less the Parop.  |
|    | A.D.    |  |
| 35 | 44      | Arsaces (Ornospades or Orthomasdes)—ditto, ditto.  |
| 36 | 107     | Pakores Monnasses—ditto, ditto (Hiathelah in Bactriana. [36a Orthagnes.]   |
|    | 207     | Artemon—in Aria, Drangia, Arachosia.   |
|    |         | Sassanians.  |

'Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. viii., p. 175 (1843).

No. 4.

### M. LASSEN'S LIST.

## DIE GRIECHISCH-BAKTRISCHEN UND GRIECHISCH-INDISCHEN KÖNIGE.

## 1. DIE GRIECHISCH-BAKTRISCHEN.

- Diodotus I., vor 250 vor Chr. G.  
Diodotus II., seit 237 . . . . . Agathokles, in Badakshan und am obern Indus  
seit 245.  
Euthydemos, unabhängig seit 245;  
in Baktrien seit . . . . . 222; Pantaleon.  
Demetrios, seit 205; beseigt um 165.  
Eukratides, nach 180.  
Heliokles, seit 160; Lysias, nach 165; Antimachus, seit 170.  
Archebios, 150–140; Antialkides; . . Philoxenes, um 160.  
Amyntas.

86 | 9 |  
 87  $\Sigma$   $\Sigma$   $\alpha$   $\Sigma$   $\Sigma$   
 88  $\boxtimes$   
 89  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 90  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 91  $\boxplus$   
 92  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 93  $\boxtimes$   
 94  $\boxtimes$   
 95  $\boxtimes$   
 96  $\Delta$   $\kappa$   
 97 2  $\gamma$   
 98  $\gamma$  ?  $\boxtimes$   
 99  $\gamma$   $\gamma$   
 100  $\gamma$   $\gamma$   
 101 7  $\gamma$   $\boxtimes$   
 102  $\gamma$   $\gamma$   $\boxtimes$   
 103 2  $\gamma$   
 104 4  $\gamma$   
 105  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 106  $\gamma$   
 107  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 108  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   
 109  $\boxtimes$   
 110  $\boxtimes$   
 111  $\boxtimes$   
 112  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 113  $\boxtimes$   
 114  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 115  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   
 116  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$

117  $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   
 118  $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   
 119  $\boxtimes$   
 120  $\boxtimes$   
 121  $\boxtimes$   
 122  $\boxtimes$  Rev.  $\gamma$   
 123  $\boxtimes$   
 124  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 125 2  
 126  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 127  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   
 128  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 129  $\boxtimes$   
 130  $\boxtimes$   
 131  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   
 132  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 133  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   
 134  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   
 135  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   
 136  $\boxtimes$   
 137  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 138  $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   
 139  $\boxtimes$   $\gamma$   $\boxtimes$   
 140  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 141  $\boxtimes$   
 142  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 143  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   $\boxtimes$   
 144  $\boxtimes$   
 145  $\boxtimes$   $\alpha$   $\boxtimes$   
 146  $\boxtimes$   
 147  $\boxtimes$  Rev.  $\gamma$

148  $\gamma$  Rev.  $\gamma$   
 149  $\gamma$  Rev.  $\gamma$   
 150  $\gamma$  Rev.  $\gamma$   
 151  $\gamma$  Rev.  $\gamma$   
 152  $\gamma$  Rev.  $\gamma$   
 153  $\gamma$  Rev.  $\gamma$   
 154  $\gamma$   
 155  $\gamma$   $\alpha$   $\gamma$   
 156  $\gamma$   $\alpha$   $\gamma$   $\gamma$   $\gamma$   $\gamma$   
 157  $\gamma$   
 158  $\gamma$   
 159  $\gamma$   
 160  $\gamma$   $\gamma$   $\gamma$   $\gamma$   $\gamma$   
 161  $\gamma$   $\gamma$   
 162  $\gamma$   $\gamma$   
 163  $\gamma$   $\gamma$   
 164  $\gamma$   
 165  $\gamma$   
 166  $\gamma$   
 167  $\gamma$   
 168  $\gamma$   
 169  $\gamma$   
 170  $\gamma$   
 171  $\gamma$   
 172  $\gamma$   
 173  $\gamma$   
 174  $\gamma$   
 175  $\gamma$   
 176  $\gamma$   
 177  $\gamma$   
 178  $\gamma$





## 2. DIE GRIECHISCH-INDISCHEN KÖNIGE.

Apollodotos, nach 160.  
 Zoilos und Dionysios.  
 Menandros, seit 144.  
 Straton, um 124.  
 Hippostratos, nach 114.  
 Diomedes, Nikias, Telephos, zwischen 114 u. 100.  
 Hermaios, 100—85.

## No. 5.

## DIE INDOSKYTHISCHEN UND PARTHISCHEN KÖNIGE.

## 1. ÇAKA-KÖNIGE.

Mayes, nach 120 vor Chr. G.	Vonones, kurz vor u. nach Chr. G.
Azilises, um 100.	Spalygis.
Azes, seit 95.	Yndopherres, um. 90.
Spalirisos, um 60.	Abdagases, von 40 bis 30.

## 2. JUEITCHI-KÖNIGE.

Kadphises I., nach 85 vor Chr. G.  
 Kadaphes, und seine namenlosen Nachfolger etwa bis 60 v. Chr. G.  
 Kadphises II., seit 24 vor Chr. G., bis etwa 1.

## 3. TURUSHKA-KÖNIGE.

Hushka oder Oerki, von etwa 10 vor bis 5 nach Chr. G.  
 Gushka, bis 10 nach Chr. G.  
 Kanishka, oder Kanerki, bis 40.  
 Balan, bis 45.  
 Oer Kenorano, bis 60.

‘Indische Alterthumskunde,’ vol. ii., p. xxiv., published 1852.

IV.—As I am compelled to avoid entering upon any such comprehensive revision of the general subject as should justify my attempting to recast the order of succession of the Greek princes of Bactria and Northern India, it becomes necessary that I should adopt, for the moment, some one of the lists above quoted, to serve as a basis for the arrangement of the annexed catalogue. I have therefore selected for the purpose that of Major Cunningham, as being more full in names, more facile of reference, and as grounded upon an examination of by far the most ample series of original specimens.

This outline, it will be seen, was published many years ago, and I have no doubt its author would now be prepared to subject it to extensive modifications. I shall perhaps be pardoned, therefore, for anticipating some of the more obviously needed emendations. In regard to the tables of monograms which accompany this catalogue (pls. xi.c and xi.d), it may be necessary to explain that a degree of difficulty has been experienced in the allocation of the several varieties of these enigmatical compounds. Some examples, that depart but slightly from combinations previously entered, have been inserted in

the plates independently in their modified form, in order to avoid the risk of the omission of what might eventually prove to be a separate symbol. And, further, some few monograms have been intentionally repeated, with a view to bring more distinctly together the complete group pertaining to a given monarch.

The perpendicular lines dividing the associate ciphers (60 *et seq.*) are inserted to mark the position in the field of the piece, in reference to the main device, occupied by each.

## I. DIONOTUS.

### 1.—Gold.

OBVERSE :—Head of the king, with fillet, to the right.

REVERSE :—Erect figure of Jupiter, in the act of hurling the thunderbolt; Ægis on the left arm; eagle in front of the left leg; a chaplet in the field; no monogram.

LEGEND :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ.

R. Rochette, 'Jour. des Sav. ;' 'Bibliothèque Impériale,' Captain Hay. (This last most perfect coin has, in addition to the other symbols, a spear head in the field under the left arm); 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 218; 'Trésor de Numismatique,' pl. lxxii, 4.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.—Tetradrachma. Similar types (Cunningham, 'Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. viii., p. 178, and unpublished plates).

Monogram, No. 1, with **Ι**. The chaplet is omitted.

### \*)—Drachma. Similar types.

M. de Bartholomæi, 'Köhnes Zeitschrift,' 1843, p. 75, pl. fig. 1.  
Monogram, No. 2, with *C.a*; chaplet, etc.

Mr. Stokes' and British Museum Coins, Monograms indistinct.

Major Cunningham further cites in his table the Monogram No. 2<sup>a</sup> from the Coins of Diodotus ('Num. Chron.,' vol. viii., p. 179).

## II. AGATHOCLES.

### 1.—Tetradrachma (weight, 4 drachmes 14 grains Fr.)

OBVERSE :—Head, with fillet, to the right. ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

REVERSE :—Erect figure of Jupiter, as in Diodotus' coins.

LEGEND :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Monogram, No. 3 (with chaplet).

M. de Bartholomæi, 'Köhnes Zeitschrift,' 1843, pl. iii., fig. 2, p. 67.

An equally perfect coin of similar types, in the possession of Mr. J. Gibbs, Bombay Civil Service, has the monogram No. 4. The piece in question is stated to weigh 270 grains.

<sup>1</sup> Coins bearing similar devices, from the mint of Antiochus II., may be referred to in pl. ii., fig. 1, p. 25, vol. i. of this work; Burnes's 'Bokhara,' pl. iii., fig. 8; 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 219; 'Trésor de Numismatique,' lxxii., 3.—Monograms: Mr. Gibbs' coin (Tetrad.) A: (see pl. xlii., fig. 1 of this work); 'Bibliothèque Impériale,' B.; Captain Hay (Drachma) C; Mr. Freres' coin (Drachma) C.a associated with D.



- 2.—□ Copper. Pl. xxviii. fig. 8. [Types similar to No. 5. Agathocles.]

OBVERSE:—Panther.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ.

REVERSE:—Bacchante.

LEGEND, in Indian Pālī, 𑀧𑀺𑀭𑀸𑀓𑀢𑀺𑀓𑀲𑀺𑀓 *Pantalevasa*.

Monogram:—𑀧𑀺𑀓, etc.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi. fig. 11.

#### IV. EUTHYDEMUS.

- 1.—Gold.

OBVERSE:—Head of king to the right, with fillet.

REVERSE:—Hercules seated on a rock, resting his club on a pile of stones.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΘΥΔΗΜΟΥ.

Monogram, No. 7, according to 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. i., fig. 1.; quoted from Pellerin, 'Additions aux Médailles des Rois,' p. 95. The 'Bibl. Imp.' coin, to my perception, has the monogram copied under No. 7 a.

- 2.—Tetradrachma. Pl. ii., fig. 3.

OBVERSE:—As in No. 1.

REVERSE:—Hercules, etc., with his club resting on his right knee.<sup>1</sup>

Monograms, Nos. 8, 8a, Aa, 9.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. i., figs. 2, 3, 4. 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1834, pl. fig. 2; 1835, pl. i., fig. 2.

\*—Drachma, similar types. Capt. Hay. Monogram, 8a.

Variant, pl. xiii. fig. 1. Reverse, type as in gold coin. Monogram, No. 10.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1834, pl. fig. 3; Monogram, No. 11.

Other coins have Monograms, Nos. 12, Aδ, Δc, Aa. and Aδ.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi. fig. 1, has 12 with Aδ.

\*—Drachma, similar types. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 2.

- 3.—Tetradrachma. Pl. xxxi. 3, and pl. xlii., figs. 2, 3.<sup>2</sup>

OBVERSE:—Head of King.

REVERSE:—Hercules standing, to the front; head encircled with a chaplet; on the left arm are the club and lion's skin; right hand extended.

Monogram, No. 5. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. i., fig. 11. Monogram 5a.

Variety. Other coins vary the reverse device, inasmuch as the extended right hand holds a second chaplet. British Museum, Monogram, No. 8a (weight, 260.4 gr.) Brereton ditto (weight, 258.5 gr.)

\*—Drachma, as No. 3 variety. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. i., fig. 12; 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1835, pl. i., fig. 3; British Museum, plated coin, Monogram 5?

- 4.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE:—Laurelled head of Apollo to the left.

REVERSE:—Tripod.

R. Rochette, 'Jour. des Sav.,' Dec. 1838, p. 741.

<sup>1</sup> [Where the legends are omitted, they are to be understood to be identical with those cited on the latest occasion.]

<sup>2</sup> [I have had the obverses of the two coins, lately acquired by Messrs. Frere and Brereton, engraved, for the purpose of enabling numismatists to compare the portraiture, as here rendered, with the style of likeness prevailing on classes 1 and 2, an impression existing among our most practised antiquarians that the contrasting dies represent the busts of two independent monarchs, as opposed to the idea of a likeness of one and the same person at different periods of his life.]

## 5.—○ Copper. Pl. xxxii., fig. 4.

OBSERVE :—Bearded head, to the right.

REVERSE :—Horse, free.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. i., figs. 13, 14, 15.

## 6.—○ Copper (small).

OBSERVE :—Head indistinct.

REVERSE :—Erect figure of Apollo to the left, with arrow in the right and bow in the left hand.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 1.

## 7.—○ Copper.

OBSERVE :—Head as in No. 4.

REVERSE :—Tripod.

Monogram, No. 5a.

Captain Hay; 'Trésor de Numismatique,' lxxii. 11;  
also 'Köhler,' pl. i. 3.<sup>1</sup>

## V. DEMETRIUS.

## 1.—Tetradrachma. Head of king with fillet, to the right.

REVERSE :—Minerva armed, to the front.

LEGEND :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.

Monogram, No. 13, with the letter Δ above the figure.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1835 (Höninger's coin), vol. i., p. 4, 1835; re-engraved in 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 3. 'Trés. de Num.,' lxxii. 14.

## 2.—Tetradrachma.

OBSERVE :—Head of king, to the right, with helmet fashioned like an elephant's head.

REVERSE :—Hercules, like No. 3, Euthydemus' device, but his right hand is upraised in the act of placing the chaplet on his brow.

LEGEND :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ.

Mr. Gibbs' coin, monogram, No. 5. 'Köhler,' p. 321.

Monogram, No. 8a.

R. Rochette, 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1838, p. 743.

B.M. coins, monograms, Nos. 5 (weight, 263·5 grs.), 8a, and 14 (inferior execution, weight, 236 grs.)

## a)—Oboli. Plate xiii., fig. 2. Similar devices. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 5.

Monogram, 5. M. Raoul Rochette notices a Triobolus of this type,

'Jour. des Sav.,' Deux. Supp. 16. 'Trésor Numismatique,' p. 149.

Other monograms, 5b, 6, and 8a.

## b)—No. 4, pl. ii., 'Ariana Antiqua,' has the neck of the king bare.

A second unpublished coin E. I. H. has the monogram No. 15 (OE).

## 3.—○ Copper.

OBSERVE :—Head of Hercules.

REVERSE :—Apollo (?)

Monogram, No. 15.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 3.

<sup>1</sup> [I have not been able to obtain a sight of Köhler's work; I quote his coins from Grotefend, 'Die Münzen der Könige von Bactrien,' 1839. The original seems to have appeared under the following title: 'Köhler, Médailles grecques de Rois de la Bactriane, du Bosphore,' etc. Petersbourg, 1822, 8vo. 'Supplément à la suite des Méd. des Rois de la Bactriane,' *ibid.*, 1823.]

## 4.—Copper.

OBVERSE as No. 3.

REVERSE:—Hercules; the right arm is upraised towards the head of the figure.  
Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. xi., pl. fig. 1.

## 5.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Elephant's head.

REVERSE:—The Caduceus.

'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. ix., p. 69; and vol. xi., pl. fig. 2.

## VI. HELIOCLES.

## 1.—Tetradrachma.

OBVERSE:—Head of king to the right.

REVERSE:—Jove, standing to the front, with spear and thunderbolt.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Grotefend, p. 30, quoting 'Catalogue d'Ennery,' p. 40.<sup>1</sup>

'Trésor de Numismatique,' lxxiii., 15.

Monogram, No. 16.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 6,

British Museum coins, monograms, Nos. 11a, B (weight of piece, 259·6 grs.)

Mr. Gibbs' coin, monogram 17. Mr. Brereton, ditto. Lady Sale, No. 16.

A cast in the possession of Mr. Freeling has the letters ΠΓ (No. 19) below the word ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ on the reverse.

a).—Drachma. similar types. 'Bibl. Imp.' Monogram, 114.

## 2.—Tetradrachma.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head.

REVERSE:—Jupiter seated: the right hand holding a small figure of victory, the left resting on a spear.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Capt. Hay.

## 3.—⊙ Plated copper (Drachma?).

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head, closely resembling that of Eukratides, within a marginal border of alternate drops and beads.

REVERSE:—Jove seated.

LEGEND (blundered):—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

Mr. E. C. Bayley; also, Capt. Hay.

a).—Drachma. Similar types.

Monogram 9.

Capt. Hay.

## 4.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Head of king.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ.

REVERSE:—Jove, as above, No. 1.

LEGEND, in Bactrian-Pálí or Arian characters, *Mhdrajasa Dhramikasa*  
*Heliyakreyasa*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 8. Monogram 2.

The orthography of the name in the Arian varies at times to *Heliyakresasa* and *Eliyakreyasa*; the former occurs on a coin in the E. I. H., with the monogram No. 8a. Other hemidrachmas have monograms No. 20 and 20 with 2.<sup>1</sup> [ 'Catalogue des Médailles du Cabinet,' de M. d'Ennery. Paris, 1788.]

- 5.—□ Copper. Pl. xliii., fig. 7.

OVERSE :—Head.

REVERSE :—Elephant to the left.<sup>1</sup>

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 7, monogram Σ. Other monograms, Nos. 8a. E. I. C. coin, 21. Mr. Frere, monogram No. 22.

These coins also differ occasionally in the expression of the Arian version of the name, exhibiting it as *Heliyakreyasa* and *Heliyakraasa*.

- 6.—□ Copper. Plate xliii., fig. 8. As No. 5, but the elephant on the reverse is to the right.

- 7.—□ Copper.

OVERSE :—Elephant, to the right.

REVERSE :—Bull.

Capt. Hay.<sup>2</sup>

- 8.—Copper. Plate xxviii., fig. 4. Degraded type.

OVERSE :—Head.

REVERSE :—Figure as in No. 1. Legends corrupt and imperfect.

- 9.—Copper. Plate xv., figs. 12, 13, 14. Degraded type.

OVERSE :—Head.

REVERSE :—Horse, free, to the left. Legends corrupt and imperfect.

## VII. ANTIMACHUS ΘΕΟΣ.

- 1.—Tetradrachma.<sup>3</sup> (Cast.)

OVERSE :—Head with fillet.

LEGEND :—ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ.

REVERSE :—Standing figure of Jupiter, as in the gold coinage of Diodotus.

LEGEND :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ.

Monogram, No. 12.

Capt. Hay. Mr. Brereton has a similar forgery with the same monogram.

- 2.—Tetradrachma.

OVERSE :—Head of king, to the right, with Causia.

REVERSE :—Neptune, to the front, with trident and palm-branch.

LEGEND :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

'Köhler,' i. 10, reproduced by 'Mionnet,' sup. viii. 466.

Monogram, No. 23. British Museum coins, monogram No. 8a and 23.

Lady Sale and Mr. Brereton, also No. 23.

- a) —Drachma. British Museum, monogram No. 23.

<sup>1</sup> [The Arian legends, like the Greek, are ordinarily omitted after one insertion; where not otherwise noted, therefore, the succeeding coins are to be understood to bear similar epigraphs.]

<sup>2</sup> [I am indebted to Mr. E. C. Bayley, of the Bengal Civil Service, for most of these notices of Captain W. E. Hay's coins. I myself have seen only the silver pieces of that officer's valuable collection.]

<sup>3</sup> [It is needless to say that this important piece, which, though a cast, is evidently taken from a genuine antique, necessitates the promotion of Antimachus Theos to a close proximity, if not to a contemporaneous existence, with the founder of the Bactrian independence. This coin was not known in England when Art. iii., vol. i., went to press.]



- <sup>b</sup>)—Hemidrachma (31·7 grs.). British Museum coin, monogram No. 9*a*. A second, monogram No. 23.

Major Cunningham ('*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*' vol. ix., p. 872) describes a 'plated' hemidrachma of Antimachus Theos, with the monogram 'Xo.'

- <sup>c</sup>)—Obolus. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 12. Monogram 8*a*.

### VIII. EUCRATIDES.

- 1.—Tetradrachma. Pl. xlii., fig. 2.

OBVERSE:—Bare head of the king, with fillet.

REVERSE:—Apollo, bow in the left, and arrow in the right hand.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

'Köhler,' 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 4, monogram No. 9*a*.<sup>1</sup>

Lady Sale, same monogram. See also '*Jour. des Sav.*' Sept., 1835, i. 5;

'Mionnet,' sup. viii.; British Museum coins, monograms Nos. 10, 24, 25;

'Bib. Imp.' No. 26; M. le Duc de Luynes, No. 5*e*.

- <sup>a</sup>)—Drachma. Similar types. Pl. xiii. 6. General Fox, monogram 29.

- 2.—Obolus. Plate xxxii., fig. 10.

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king.

REVERSE:—Caps and palm-branches of Dioscuri. Same legend as No. 1. Monograms, Nos. 8*a*, 13*a*, 27, 28, 28*a*.

- 3.—Obolus.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head of king.

REVERSE:—As in No. 2.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 5. Gen. Fox, monogram No. 13*a*.

E. I. H., 13*a*, M, and 19*a*. British Museum, monog. 12—*i.e.* N.

- 4.—Tetradrachma.

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king, to the right, with fillet.

REVERSE:—Dioscuri, charging.

British Museum. Monogram 8*a*.

- <sup>a</sup>)—Drachma. Pl. xiii., fig. 6. Similar types.

'*Jour. des Sav.*' 1836, ii., 3. '*Trés. de Num.*,' pl. lxxiii. fig. 2.

B.I., monogram 11.

- 5.—Tetradrachma. Pl. xlii, fig. 4, p. 126. (Weight of E. I. H. coin, with suspending loop, 255·7 grs.)

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head of king.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ.

REVERSE:—Male and female heads, uncovered and unadorned with fillets.

LEGEND:—ΗΑΙΟΚΑΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΗΣ.

Monogram, No. 13*a*. '*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*' vol. vii., pl. xxvii., fig. 1. Re-engraved in 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 7, from the original coin.

Col. Sykes' cast, from a possibly genuine coin of this class, and a second reproduction from the same or a similar original, in the possession of Mr. Brereton, both have the monogram No. 5*e*.

<sup>1</sup> [Where the monogram facsimiles in the plates differ from the published specimens, it must be understood that my copy has been taken anew from the original piece, and does not follow the engraving, cited for the mere illustration of the numismatic classification.]

- 6.—Tetradrachma. Plate xiii., fig. 5. (Weight of selected specimens in the British Museum, 258 and 259 grains.)

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head, to the right.

REVERSE:—Dioscouri, charging.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΤΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., figs. 1, 2, 3. Monograms 13a, 27, 29.

British Museum. Monograms, Nos. 5c, 11c, 13a, 29, 30, 31. Lady Sale, No. 28a.

B. I. Monograms, M, 29. Mr. Bayley. Monogram,  $\odot$  with HT in the field.

Capt. Robinson. Monograms 13a, 28a.

- a)—Drachma. 'Jour. des Sav.' 1834, pl. fig. 5: 1835, pl. i., fig. 6. 'Trés. de Num.' lxxiii. 6. British Museum, monogram N. B.I. 28b. Hay, 5c.

- 7.—Tetradrachma.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head of the king, to the left, with a portion of the bust displayed; the right arm raised in the act of darting a javelin.

REVERSE:—Dioscouri.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΤΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

Monogram 5b (?) 'Köhler,' i. 8. 'Trés de Num.,' pl. lxxiii, fig. 7.

- 8.— $\odot$  Copper.

OBVERSE:—Head of Apollo to the right.

REVERSE:—Horse, free, to the left.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΤΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 7.

- 9.— $\odot$  Copper. Pl. xiii., fig. 7. Of similar devices and legends to No. 6.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 8, monogram, No. 21. Mr. Bayley, No. 40.

- 10.— $\square$  Copper.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head, to the left, with javelin.

REVERSE:—Dioscouri.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΤΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

'Köhler.' 'Mionnet,' viii. 470. British Museum, monogram 32.

- 11.— $\odot$  Copper. Size, 3. British Museum.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head to the left.

REVERSE:—A single horseman at the charge.

- 12.— $\square$  Copper. Small coin. Pl. xxxii., fig. 11.

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΤΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Caps and palm-leaves of the Dioscouri.

LEGEND IN ARIAN:—*Maharajasa Eukratidasa.*

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 12. 'Trés. de Num.,' lxxiii. 13.

- 13.— $\square$  Copper. Pl. xiii., figs. 8-10.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head, as in No. 6.

REVERSE:—Dioscouri.

LEGEND IN ARIAN:—*Maharajasa Eukratidasa.*

Monograms, 17a, 21, 27, 28a, 31 with E, 33, 33a, 34, 34a, 35, 35b, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44, 45.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., figs. 9, 10. 'Jour. des Sav.' 1835, pl. i., fig. 7.

## 14.—□ Copper.

OBERSE:—Helmeted head to the right.

REVERSE:—Seated figure to the left, with a small elephant at the side (as in Antialkides' coin, No. 1).

LEGEND indistinct.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 11.

## 15.—□ Copper.

OBERSE:—Helmeted head of king to the left, with javelin.

REVERSE:—A winged figure of Victory to the right, with chaplet and palm branch.

LEGEND defective.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 5, monogram 13a.

## 16.—□ Copper.

OBERSE:—Helmeted head of king to the right.

REVERSE:—Victory to the left, extending a chaplet.

ARIAN LEGEND:—(*Maharajasa*) *Rajadhirajasa Eukratidasa*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 6, and British Museum, monogram

40a. Mr. Bayley, monogram, 40.

Additional monograms of Eucratides, Nos. 8c, 27a, 33b, 42.

## IX. ANTIMACHUS ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ.

## 1.—Hemidrachma. Plate xv., fig. 3.

OBERSE:—Winged figure of Victory, to the left, with palm branch in her right, and fillet in her left hand.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

REVERSE:—King on horseback, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mdhrajasa jayadhardasa Antimakhasa*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 16.

Prof. Wilson was under the impression that all these coins bore the same monograms, Nos. 31a ('Ariana Antiqua,' 274); they are now found to include the symbols classed under the following numbers, 27, 31, 46, and 46a.

## 2.—□ Copper. Pl. xv., 4.

OBERSE:—Demeter, to the front; cornucopia on her left arm. Legend imperfect.

REVERSE:—Winged figure of Victory, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mdhrajasa* . . . . *Antimakhasa*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 16. Monogram Σ

## 3.—□ Copper.

OBERSE:—The skin of an animal (?)

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Wreath and palm-branch.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mdhrajasa* . . . . *Antimakhasa*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 11. Monogram 47.

A silver cast of a genuine coin, in the possession of Mr. Bayley, definitely determines the attribution of this piece, contributing the full counterpart names as inserted above. It bears the monogram No. 27.<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup> [See also Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' April, 1840, p. 392.]

## X. PHILOXENES.

## 1.—Didrachma. Plate xv., fig. 1.

OBVERSE:—Helmeted head of king, to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Horseman with helmet, as on the obverse of Antimachus Nikephorus' coins.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrajasa Apadhatasa Pilasinasa.*

'Jour. des. Sav.,' 1836, ii., 5. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 17.

Monogram No. 22a.

## a) —□ Hemidrachma, of similar devices. Monograms No. 48a, with Σ.

Mr. Bayley.

b) —□ Obolus (?). Types and legends as above. The Arian name is written, *Phalasinasa.* Monogram No. 35c. Captain Robinson.

Mr. Frere has a silver cast of an apparently authentic didrachma, which supplies us with a variety of this obverse type. The king's head is here uncovered. On the reverse, traces of the monogram 31a are visible. The Arian transcript of the name commences with the letter *Phi*.

## 2.—□ Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king with fillet, to the right. Legend as above.

REVERSE:—Device and legend as in No. 1.

Monogram No. 48a, with Σ.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 13.

Colonel Abbott. Monograms, Nos. 22, 8.

## 3.—□ Copper. Plate iii., figs. 6, 7; plate xv., fig. 2.

OBVERSE:—Demeter, with the ordinary Greek legend.

REVERSE:—Humped bull, with the usual Arian legend; the initial of the name is indifferently expressed by *Pi* or *Phi*.

'Jour. des. Sav.,' 1836, ii., 6. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii. fig. 18.

Monogram Nos. 48a, 48a with Σ on reverse, 48, 49, 50. B.I., 51 (?) with a Bactrian γ r on reverse. Mr. Brereton. Monograms 22a, with an Arian v on reverse, 48a and 48b, with Σ on reverse.

## 4.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Crowned figure, with a long spear.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΥ.

REVERSE:—A figure of Victory.

Captain Hay.

X<sup>a</sup>. ARTEMIDORUS.1.—Hemidrachma.<sup>1</sup>

## 2.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Erect figure, with the right arm upraised.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΡΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Bull, as in Philoxenes' copper coins.

ARIAN LEGEND:—(M)*ahdrafasa Apadhatasa A)ti(midarasa).*

Mr. Bayley.

These legends have been completed from a more perfect coin figured and assigned by Major Cunningham ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' 1854, p. 668).

<sup>1</sup> [Mr. Brereton deposes to the discovery of a coin of this description, which has passed from his own possession to that of Major Cunningham. He is under the impression that the types are—Obverse: King's head. Reverse: Minerva Promachos.]

I conclude that this Artemidorus is the monarch styled Artemon in Major Cunningham's list above cited; but if so, the style and fabric of his coinage must very materially alter his assumed date and position in the general list as determined by that numismatist.

### XI. NIKIAS.

- 1.—□ Copper. Plate xlii, fig. 5.

OBVERSE:—Head of king, to the right.

LEGEND:—βα[IAE]ΩC [Λ]ΗΤΗΡΟC NIKIΩV.

REVERSE:—Horseman, as in No. 1, Philoxenes.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Tradatasa* . . . KIASA.

Colonel T. Bush. See also Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. xi, p. 136.

### XII. APOLLODOTUS.

- 1.—○ Hemidrachma. . Plate iii, fig. 4; also pl. xiv, fig. 4.

OBVERSE:—Head of king.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC ΣΩΤΗΡΟC ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟC ΑΠΟΛΛΑΔΟΤΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Thessalian Minerva to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Tradatasa Apaladatasa*.<sup>1</sup>

Monograms, Nos. 38a, 38b, 51, 51a, 51b, 52, 53.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv, fig. 13.

- 2.—□ Hemidrachma. Plate xiv, fig. 5.

OBVERSE:—Elephant.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩC ΣΩΤΗΡΟC ΑΠΟΛΛΑΔΟΤΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Humped bull.

Legend as in No. 1.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv, fig. 14.

Monograms 22b, and the entire suite, together with the combinations indicated under each number, from 54 to 59, both inclusive.

- 3.—○ Hemidrachma. Types and legends as No. 2.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv, fig. 15.

<sup>1</sup> [The Arian orthography of the name of Apollodotus varies considerably in the different specimens of his extensive mintages. I notice in some instances a dot at the foot of the initial α, which elsewhere constitutes the sign of the long sound of that vowel. This is the solitary occasion upon which I have observed its use in defining more precisely the power of the ordinary ὀ initial. And, however little, to our ideas, the exact definition of the phonetic elements of the name may require the hard α in this place, we can scarcely understand the sign as purporting anything else, especially when we observe the lax method of insertion or omission of the same quantitative mark in other words. The antepenultimate α is used indifferently in its simple form, or with the additional horizontal foot stroke, the precise import of which is yet undetermined; and, finally, the α occurs in its normal shape, with the dot of a following hard α. The penultimate is also subject to modification, usually appearing under the form of the proper γ = ε, but at times bearing the foot stroke ordinarily reserved to distinguish the γ = α, of assimilate outline; but to show the irregularities practised in this respect, this extraneous mark is added to the ε in the name, while on the same coin the special definition is rightly reserved to discriminate the γ = α from the γ = ε in Tradatasa. It must be added, however, that in some instances the superfluous foot stroke, in the penultimate of apaladatasa takes the form of an equally needless hard α medial.]

- 4.—□ Copper. Small coin.  
 OBERSE:—Figure of Apollo, with bow and arrow, to the right.  
 Legend as in No. 1.  
 REVERSE:—Tripod. Legend as usual. Monogram, No. 38a.  
 Captain Robinson. Mr. Brereton, monogram 37 (?)
- 5.—○ Copper. Large coin. Plate xiv., fig. 6.  
 OBERSE:—Apollo, with arrow, to the right. Legend as in No. 2.  
 REVERSE:—Tripod. Legend as in No. 1.  
 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 16. 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1834, pl. fig. 6.  
 Variant. ○ Copper. Coin of inferior execution. Legends arranged on three sides of a square, instead of in the usual marginal circle.  
 Bactrian monogram, *gi*, with *ā* or *n*.  
 Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. ix., p. 867.
- 6.—□ Copper. Similar devices and legends to No. 5.  
 Monograms 63, 64.
- 7.—□ Copper. Plate xiv., fig. 7.  
 OBERSE:—Apollo to the front, with the bow in the left and the arrow in the right hand. Legend as usual.  
 REVERSE:—Tripod. Legend as usual. 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1835, i. 7.  
 Variants. Small coin. Pl. xiv., fig. 8; also 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv. figs. 17, 18, and small coin No. 19.  
 Monograms Nos. 8, 8a, 21, 52a, 57, and the entire suite 65—75.
- 8.—□ Copper. Middle size.  
 OBERSE:—'Figure of Apollo standing to the left, clothed in the anaxyris, with chlamys behind, a quiver at his back; an arrow in his right hand, his left resting on his bow; inclosed in a frame of oblong globules, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑ [?] . . . ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ.'  
 REVERSE:—'Tripod; in the field, a symbol which seems to be a military ensign.'  
 Arianian inscription imperfect [*Apaladatasa*].  
 'Ariana Antiqua,' 291, quoting 'Jour. des Sav.,' Dec. 1838, p. 752.  
 B. I. Monogram 386. Small coin, 38a. Col. Bush. Arian Monogram, No. 76.
- 9.—□ Copper. Small coin. Plate xlii., fig. 6. Unique.  
 OBERSE.—Apollo as in No. 8. Legend altogether wanting.  
 REVERSE:—Symbol figured in the plate.  
 ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Tradatasa Apaladatasa*. Col. T. Bush.
- 10.—□ Copper. Small coin.  
 OBERSE:—Bull.  
 REVERSE:—Tripod, surrounded by a bossed margin. No Legends. B. I.
- 11.—□ Copper (middle size), indifferent execution.  
 OBERSE:—Apollo (?) seated, to the right, a bow in left hand.  
 LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ . . . . . ΟΔΟΤΟΥ.  
 REVERSE:—Tripod, within a frame. Legend imperfect, . . . *paladatasa* (?).  
 Monogram, No. 77. Mr. E. C. Bayley.

## XIII. ZOILUS.

## 1.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Head of king, to the right, with fillet.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΖΩΙΛΑΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Hercules, as in Demetrius' coins, but the right hand holding the chaplet is not upraised.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārajasa Dhramikasa Jhoilasa.*

Monogram, No. 30.

Lady Headfort, No. 31. Captain Robinson, No. 46. Colonel Abbott, No. 78. Mr. Bayley, No. 79.

2.—Hemidrachma.<sup>1</sup> These coins have a great similitude, in their die execution, to the small Philopator coins of Apollodotus.

OBVERSE:—As No. 1.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΖΩΙΛΑΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Thessalian Minerva.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārajasa Tradatasa Jhoilasa.* Monogram No. 60.

Colonel Abbott. Mr. Bayley, No. 80.

3.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Head of Hercules covered with the lion's skin, to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΖΩΙΛΑΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Club, with bow in its case, surrounded by a chaplet.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārajasa Dhramikasa Jhoilasa.*

Monogram No. 79.

Lady Headfort.

4.—○ Copper. Similar types to the Apollodotus coin, No. 5, with the addition of a small elephant at the back of the figure, in the field of the obverse. Legends as in No. 2, but the Greek epigraph is less correctly rendered. Monograms Nos. 81, 82, 83.

5.—○ Copper (small coin).

OBVERSE:—Elephant, to the right. Epigraph illegible.

REVERSE:—Tripod.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārajasa Tradatasa Jhoilasa.*

Arian Monograms, *dhi*, *Bh*, and *a* with *t*.

Colonel Bush.

## XIV. DIOMEDES.

1.—□ Copper. Plate xxviii., fig. 3.

OBVERSE:—Dioscuri standing, to the front.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΜΗΔΟΥ.

REVERSE. ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārajasa Tradatasa Diyamedasa.*

Monograms Nos. 31, 31 with  $\Sigma$ . Mr. Brereton. 48a with  $\Sigma$ .

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., fig. 1.

<sup>1</sup> [Major Cunningham has published a degraded type of this class, which he supposes to have formed part of 'a coinage (that) was re-issued and perhaps imitated by the native chiefs in their own names.' 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' (1854) p. 692, and pl. xxxv., fig. 11.]

## XV. DIONYSIUS.

- 1.—Hemidrachma (of inferior execution, similar in its aspect to the Philopater coins of Apollodotus).

OBVERSE:—Head with fillet, to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Thessalian Minerva.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Tradatasa Dianisiyasa.*

Monogram (as in Apollodotus' coins), No. 60, standard type. Col. Abbott.

A second specimen gives the Σ in the name more after the form of a proper *sigma*. The outline of the Ν, in the Arian legend, is also modified in the duplicate coin, which, however, bears the same monogram.

- 2.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Apollo, to the right, as in Apollodotus' coins.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Tripod. Arian Legend imperfect.

Monogram No. 84, consisting of Arian letters, *S* and *Δ*. B.I., mon. 85.

British Museum. 'Num. Chron.,' xvi., plate p. 108, fig. 5.

- 3.—□ Copper. Plate xlii., fig. 7. Unique.

OBVERSE:—As in No. 8, Apollodotus. No legend.

REVERSE:—Device, as represented in the plate.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Tradatasa Diyanisiyasa.*

Colonel Bush.

## XVI. LYSIAS.

- 1.—Hemidrachma. Plate xliii., fig. 4.

OBVERSE:—Head of king, with helmet in the shape of an elephant's head: similar to the Demetrius' type.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΛΥΣΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Hercules standing, to the front, as in the Demetrius' prototype.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Apaḥhātasa Lysikasa.*

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 9. Monogram 86. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 9. Monogram 87. B.I., monogram 85. Colonel Abbott. Monograms 8a, 86, 87.

- 2.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Head of the king, with the ordinary helmet.

REVERSE:—Hercules, as above. The legend varies in the Arian definition of the name, which at times exhibits the initial vowel *a*, and at others the letter *z*, as the penultimate.

The seven specimens of this mintage that I have had an opportunity of examining all have the monogram No. 86. 'Num. Chron.,' xvi., plate p. 108, fig. 1.

- 3.—□ Copper. Plate xiv., fig. 12.

OBVERSE:—Bust of king, to the right, head uncovered, with a club resting on the shoulder.

REVERSE:—Elephant, to the right, as in Heliocles' coins. Legend as above, the name being usually spelt with a *z*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 10. 'Num. Jour.,' vii., pl. ii., 22.

Monograms Nos. 8a, 22, 88a.



## 4.—☉ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Bust of the king, as in No. 3.

REVERSE:—Elephant, to the right. (*Listasa*.)

Monogram No. 24a.

Colonel Bush.

## LYSIAS AND ANTIALKIDES.

## 1.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king, to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ ΑΥΞΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Caps and palm-branches of the Dioscuri.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārajasa Jayādharasa* ANTIALIKIDASA.

Captain Hay.

## XVII. ANTIALKIDES.

## 1.—Tetradrachma.

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Jove enthroned, with a small figure of Victory in his right hand; minute elephant in front, etc.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārajasa Jayādharasa* Antialikidasa.

Monogram No. 86.

Colonel Abbott.

## a).—Hemidrachma. Similar types.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 12.

Monograms No. 8b, 22, 86.

## 2.—Drachma.

OBVERSE:—Head of king, with Causia.

REVERSE:—As in No. 1.

Monogram No. 31. B.I.

## a).—Hemidrachma. Plate xxviii., fig. 2.

In some specimens the small elephant faces the seated figure.

Monograms Nos. 8b, 22, 31, 86.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 11.

## 3.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Head, with the ordinary crested helmet.

REVERSE:—Device as usual.

Monograms 8b, 86.

'Ariana Antiqua,' No. 3, p. 277.

## 4.—☉ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Bust, with uncovered head. The right hand grasps the thunderbolt.<sup>1</sup>

REVERSE:—Caps and palms of the Dioscuri.

Monograms 8, 31, 86, 87.

'Ariana Antiqua,' No 6, p. 279.

## 5.—□ Copper. Plate xiv., figs. 9, 10, 11.

Similar devices.

These two classes of coins vary occasionally in the subordinate typical details,<sup>2</sup> and the Arian definition of the name is irregular in the general series, in the interchange of the dental and cerebral *z*, as the penultimate consonant. Monograms, Nos. 8a, 22, 30 (?), 49a, 87, 87a.

<sup>1</sup> [Major Cunningham supposes this to be the head of 'Jupiter Nicephorus,' 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. ix., p. 874.]

<sup>2</sup> [*Ex. Gr.*, 'Num. Chron.,' vii., pl. ii., fig. 21.]

## XVIII. AMYNTAS.

- 1.—Didrachma. Much damaged. (Weight, 128 grs.)  
 OVERSE:—Helmeted head, to the right.  
 LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ.  
 REVERSE:—Thessalian Minerva, to the left.  
 ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhdrajasa Jayadharasa Amitasa.*  
 British Museum. Monogram No. 20a.  
 'Num. Chron.,' xvi., plate p. 108, fig. 2.
- 2.—□ Copper. Plate xxxii., fig. 1.  
 OVERSE:—Head of king, to the right.  
 REVERSE:—Minerva armed, to the left.  
 Monogram No. 88. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 14.

## XIX. ARCHEBIUS.

- 1.—Tetradrachma.  
 OVERSE:—Bare head.  
 LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΡΧΕΒΙΟΥ.  
 REVERSE:—Jupiter standing to the front, with spear and thunderbolt.  
 ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhdrajasa Dhramikasa Jayadharasa Arkhabiyasa.*  
 Monogram No. 89. Colonel Abbott.<sup>1</sup>
- a).—Hemidrachma. Plate xxviii., fig. 1.  
 Similar types and legends.  
 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ii., fig. 8. Monogram No. 86.
- 2.—Tetradrachma.  
 OVERSE:—Helmeted head.  
 REVERSE:—As No. 1.  
 Monogram No. 20a. Colonel Abbott.
- 3.—Hemidrachma.  
 OVERSE:—Bust of the king with bare head, to the left, a javelin in the right hand, as in one of the common classes of Menander's coins (No. 2.)  
 REVERSE:—Jove (Neptune?) as above.  
 Monograms, No. 8a with 90. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 10.
- 4.—○ Copper.  
 OVERSE:—Victory, to the right, extending a chaplet.  
 REVERSE:—An owl. Monogram 89.  
 R. Rochette, 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1839, p. 104. 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 280.
- 5.—□ Copper. Similar devices. British Museum monograms, Nos. 89 and 89a.  
 'Num. Chron.,' vol. xvi., pl. p. 108, fig. 3.

<sup>1</sup> [I regret to say that my available notes on the typical details of Colonel Abbott's coins are very imperfect. I was greatly pressed for time on the only opportunity I had of inspecting his rich and varied collection; and, at the moment, entertained no design of publishing the result of my scrutiny; hence my memoranda refer to doubtful and difficult readings, special coincidences of design, and monogrammatic data, rather than to the *die* specifications ordinarily demanded by exact numismatic science. Further, I have to note, that my compulsory haste denied me even a bare sight of the copper series of a cabinet whose silver specimens promised so much: and, indeed, whose contents in that metal, whether in regard to discretion of selection or perfection of preservation, are unequalled by any public or private collection I have hitherto examined.]

## XX. MENANDER.

- 1.—Didrachma. (E. I. C. coin. Weight, 151·0 grs.)  
 OBERSE:—Bare head of king, to the right.  
 LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.  
 REVERSE:—Thessalian Minerva, to the left.  
 ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mihārajasa Tradatasa Menadrāsa*.  
 Monograms, Σ and 30. Mr. Brereton, monogram, 8*b*.  
 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 13.
- a) —Hemidrachma. Plate iii., fig. 5. Same types. Monograms, 18*a*, 18 associated with 93 on the same field, 22*c*, 31, 46*a* repeated on the same coin, 79, 86 repeated, 86 with Γ, Ε, and Σ, severally associated on the same field, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95.  
 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 14.
- 2.—Didrachma (cast). British Museum.  
 OBERSE:—Bare head of king, to the left; the right hand grasps a javelin.  
 REVERSE:—Minerva to the left. Monogram 27.
- a) —Hemidrachma. Same types. Monograms, 8*b*, 22, 27, 31, 46, 46*a*, 86 with Σ.
- b) —Hemidrachma. Pl. xiv., fig. 1. Similar devices, but Minerva faces to the right, and the legends are arranged in one continuous circular scroll.  
 Monograms, 27, 31*a*, 46.
- 3.—Didrachma.  
 OBERSE:—Head of king with helmet, to the right.  
 REVERSE:—Minerva. Lady Headfort.
- a) —Hemidrachma. Monograms, 8*b*, 22, 22*c*, 27, 31, 46*a* repeated, 86, with Σ, 91.  
 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iii., fig. 15.
- 4.—Hemidrachma.  
 OBERSE:—Head of king, to the left, with helmet and javelin.  
 REVERSE:—Minerva.  
 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 2.
- 5.—Hemidrachma.  
 OBERSE:—Helmeted head, as in No. 3.  
 REVERSE:—An owl. Monograms, 27, 31.
- 6.—□ Copper. Large coin. Weight, 550·5 grains.  
 OBERSE:—Helmeted head of king, to the right.  
 REVERSE:—Horse, free. Monogram, No. 30 (?). Mr. Brereton.
- 7.—□ Copper. Weight, 316 grains.  
 OBERSE:—Bull's head, to the front.  
 REVERSE:—Tripod.  
 Monograms, 8*a*; another coin (in weight, 228 grs.), 8*a*; a third, No. 31*a*, with an Arian *m* in the field. Mr. Brereton.
- 8.—□ Copper. Plate xxxii., fig. 8. Weight, 342 grains.  
 OBERSE:—Bare head, to the right.  
 REVERSE:—A dolphin. Monogram 30, with H on the field.  
 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 3.

## 9.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Bare head, to the left, with javelin, as in No. 2.

REVERSE:—Minerva, to the right. Monograms, 27, 31, 71.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 7.

## 10.—□ Copper. Plate xiv., fig. 3.

OBVERSE:—Helmated head, to the right.

REVERSE:—Winged figure of Victory, to the right, with palm-branch and wreath. Monograms, 27, 31, 46, 71, 93.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., figs. 5, 6.

## a) —□ Copper.

REVERSE:—Victory, to the left.

Monograms, 31a, with B. Another coin has B alone.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 4.

There are other subordinate varieties of these coins, see 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 285.

## 11.—□ Copper. Plate xxxii., fig. 6.

OBVERSE:—Helmated head, to the right.

REVERSE:—Owl.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 8.

## 12.—□ Copper. Plate xxxii., fig. 5.

OBVERSE:—Helmated head, to the right.

REVERSE:—Shield of Minerva. Monograms, M (?), 46, 46a.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 12.

## 13.—□ Copper. Plate xxxii., fig. 9.

OBVERSE:—Boar's head.

REVERSE:—Palm branch.

Monogram, H.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 9.

## 14.—□ Copper. Plate xiv., fig. 2.

OBVERSE:—Elephant's head.

REVERSE:—Club of Hercules.

Monograms, 27, associated in the several instances with the isolated letters  
A Δ; 31, ditto, A Δ. Colonel Bush, Arian monogram, *San*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 10.

## 15.—□ Copper. Plate xxxii., fig. 7.

OBVERSE:—Wheel.

REVERSE:—Club.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. iv., fig. 11.

## 16.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE.—Minerva to the left, with a spear resting on her left arm—shield in front of the knee—right hand extended.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Indian lion, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Dhramikasa Menandrasa*. British Museum.

Quoted also by Wilson, 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 217, from an imperfect coin described by M. R. Rochette, 'Jour. des Sav.,' Dec. 1838, p. 751.

## 17.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Elephant, to the left.

Legend imperfect, but exhibiting traces of the name of Menander:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ.

REVERSE:—An ankuš (or elephant-goad).

Arian Legend imperfect:—[*Mahara*]jasa Traḍa[tasa] . . . .

Monogram, No. 96.

Mr. Bayley.

## XXI. STRATO.

## 1.—Didrachma. (Cast).

OBSERVE:—Helmeted head of the king, to the right.

LEGEND:—*βασιλεως ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.*

REVERSE:—Thessalian Minerva, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND incomplete:— . . . *Pratichasa Tradatasa Stratasa.*

Monogram, 20a.

Capt. Hay

## 2.—Hemidrachma.

OBSERVE:—Bare head, to the right.

LEGEND:—*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.*

REVERSE:—Minerva.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrajasa Pratichasa Tradatasa Stratasa.*

Two specimens. British Museum. Monogram, No. 8a.

## 3.—□ Copper.

OBSERVE:—Apollo, as in Apollodotus' coin, No. 7.

REVERSE:—Tripod.

E. I. H., monogram, No. 8a.

## 4.—□ Copper.

OBSERVE:—King's bust, with club resting on his right shoulder.

LEGEND:—*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.*

REVERSE:—Victory.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrajasa Tradatasa Stratasa.*

Monograms, No. 22c (?), 22e.

Mr. Bayley.

## 5.—□ Copper.

OBSERVE:—Type as in No. 4.

LEGEND:—*ΒΙΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.*

REVERSE:—Type as in No. 4.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrajasa Tradatasa Dhramikasa Stratasa.*

Monogram No. 22e. British Museum. Other monograms, Nos. 22 and 22b.

## 6.—○ Copper.

OBSERVE:—Bare head of king to the right, as in the silver hemidrachmas.

LEGEND, imperfect:—*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ.*

REVERSE:—Victory with (palm branch? and) chaplet, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrajasa Pratichasa (Tradatasa) Stratasa.*

Monogram 108a.?

Colonel T. Bush.

XXI<sup>2</sup>. AGATHOCLEIA

(WIFE OF STRATO).

## 1.—□ Copper. Plate xxxii., fig. 2.

OBSERVE:—Female head, helmeted.

LEGEND:—*ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ.*

REVERSE:—Hercules with club, seated.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrajasa Tradatasa Dhramikasa Stratasa.*

Monogram No. 22b.

Mr. Bayley.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., fig. 10.

I notice in this place, irrespective of the order of time, a series of debased derivatives from the normal type of Strato's hemidrachmas (No. 2 *supra*), which are peculiarly identified with the original mintage, not only in obvious imitation, but in

the progressive degradation of certain associate pieces bearing that monarch's name, which have been found in company with the only considerable hoard of these coins that has as yet been discovered.<sup>1</sup>

The serial class is remarkable in that, while continuing the same standard devices as the prototype, it eventually lowers the title of *Maharaja*, on the reverse, into that of *Satrap*; and it is further interesting in the exemplification of the speedy obscuration of the Greek legends, while the Arian writing remains well-defined and intelligible, as in the parallel instance of the money of the Sâh kings, where the local Pâli appears in the highest perfection in the presence of the meaningless repetition of Greek outlines on the obverse. In its local aspect also, this particular hoard is instructive, as, although solitary specimens of these and kindred issues may have found their way to other parts of the country, yet the collection of so many successional coins, unmingled with foreign currencies, would seem to indicate an ordinary accumulation of every-day life, either made on the spot or gathered from the circulating medium of no remote locality.

Major Cunningham, in a paper in the 'Journal of the As. Soc. Beng.' (1854, p. 679), with persevering assiduity, endeavours to reconcile the degraded Greek legends with the indigenous inscriptions on the reverse, and essays to discover owners for the names—which read but vaguely even in their Arian form—amid the Hindû dynasties of Hustinâpur and Dehli.<sup>2</sup>

Passing over the progressive steps of barbarization in the jumbled Greek legends of all those coins that bear the name of Strato on the reverse, and rejecting unconditionally the claim of Major Cunningham's ΠΟΣΑ ΣΤΩΝΟΣ to any separate identity, I come to the class of pieces which bear on their obverse variously the titles of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ and ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, followed by portions of a name or title which reads as PAZ and PAZIÖBA. On the reverse this money exchanges the legend of *Maharajasa Tradatasa Stratusa* for *Chatrapasa apraticakrasa Ranjabalasa*.<sup>3</sup> Whether the PAZIÖBA of the obverse legend be an imperfect attempt at a Greek rendering of the native name is of but little consequence, as we can hardly reconcile Ranjabala's humble titles on the reverse with the higher designation applied to Strato himself, or the more pompous ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, assumed by that monarch's successors, which figure indifferently in contact with and contrast to the grade of *Satrap*, to whose dignities alone the former limits his claim. In brief, the coins would merely seem to exemplify an oft-recurring phase in Indian Imperialism, where the decline of the central power encourages, and at times necessitates, the effective assertion of independence by the local rulers, however much they may avoid or delay the overt act of positive disavowal of allegiance.

The monograms on the debased coins of Strato are entered under Nos. 97 to 99. Those on Ranjabala's money are reproduced as Nos. 100 to 104.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Major Cunningham observes: 'The greatest number were procured at Mathura, on the Jumna, and were said to have been found in the ruins of the city, along with some rude hemidrachmas of Strato' ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. vii., 1854, p. 681). I do not know how many of these mixed pieces Major Cunningham obtained on this occasion, but my native coin-collector, who gleaned part of the remainder, brought me 84 coins, more than half of which number were Strato's.]

<sup>2</sup> [See Useful Tables *infra*. Table xix. *Rajapala*.]

<sup>3</sup> [Major Cunningham makes it *Rajabilasa*, but the better preserved coins give the suffix *n* in full distinctness. His translation of *Apraticakra*, as 'invincible with the the discus,' is satisfactory.]

<sup>4</sup> [No. 101 is interpreted by Major Cunningham as *Hasti* for *Hastindapura*, the ancient Hindu capital on the Ganges above Meerut.]

## XXII.—HIPPOSTRATUS.

## 1.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king, to the right, with fillet.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Standing figure of Demeter, with crested helmet, right hand extended, the left supports a cornucopia.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Tradatasa Hipastratasa.*

Monogram, No. 85.

Mr. Bayley and B.M. 'Num. Chron.,' vol. xvi., pl. p. 108, fig. 5.

## a).—Hemidrachma. Similar types. Monogram, No. 85.

Captain Hay.

## 2.—Didrachma. (British Museum coin, weight 139 gr.)

OBVERSE:—Bare head of king, to the right, with fillet.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Helmeted figure on horseback, to the right; horse in motion.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Tradatasa Mahatasa Jayatasa Hipastratasa.*

Monogram, No. 105.

Mr. Bayley, No. 105, with Arian *to* on the field. Captain Hay, 105a

with *to*, and No. 106. M. N. (?) Col. Abbott, 38a. British

Museum, No. 47c. 'Num. Chron.,' vol. xvi., pl. p. 108, fig. 4.

## a).—Hemidrachma. Similar types. Monogram, 105a.

Mr. Brereton.

## 3.—Didrachma. (British Museum coin; weight, 144·5 grains).

OBVERSE:—Device and legend as in No. 1.

REVERSE:—Horseman, motionless. Legend as in No. 2.

Monogram, No. 105, with the several adjuncts of No. 106, and the detached

Arian letters *to* and *pri*. Mr. Bayley, British Museum, etc.

## 4.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Apollo standing, to the right. Legend as in No. 1.

REVERSE:—A tripod. Legend as in No. 1.

Monogram, 85.

Mr. Bayley.

## 5.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Jove enthroned. Legend as in No. 1.

REVERSE:—Horse, standing, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Tradatasa Jayatasa Hipastratasa.*

Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xi., pl. fig. 9.

## XXIII. TELEPHUS.

## 1.—Major Cunningham has made public the only known coin of this king, ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xi., p. 133), which he describes as follows:—

OBVERSE:—'An ancient giant, full front, with snaky legs, which curl upwards on each side.'

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ ΤΗΛΕΦΟΥ.

REVERSE:—'A draped male figure standing, to the left, his head crowned with rays, and holding in his right hand a spear; to the right, a clothed female figure, with a crescent on her head.'

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa . . . kramasa Taliphasa.*

Monogram, No. 107.

## XXIV. HERMÆUS.

- 1.—Didrachma. Plate xviii., fig. 1. (Selected British Museum coins; weight, 140 and 144 grains).

OBVERSE:—Head of king, to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Jove enthroned, right hand extended.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Tradatasa Hermayasa.*

Monogram, E. I. C., Nos. 17*b*, 36, 108*b*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., fig. 3.

British Museum monograms, 32*a*, 108, 108*a*, associated with 110. Mr. Brereton, 109. Colonel Bush, 108*c*.

- <sup>a</sup>)—Hemidrachma. Similar types. Monograms, British Museum, 21, 33*b*, 48*c*, 90*a*, 111, 112. B. I. 113. Mr. Brereton, 22*b*. Captain Hay, 114. Mr. Freeling, 53*a*.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1835, i. 13. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., fig. 3.

## HERMÆUS AND CALLIOPE.

- 2.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Male and female heads, to the right.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ.

REVERSE:—Horseman, as in Antimachus' coins.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Tradatasa Hermayasa*; and at the bottom, in the reverse direction, *Kaliyapaya*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 14. Capt. Robinson, Mr. Bayley, Mr. Brereton, etc., all have the same monogram, No. 108*a*.

- 3.—○ Copper. Plate xviii., figs. 2, 3, 4. Identical in type and legends with No. 1.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., figs. 4, 5, 6.

Monograms, No. 115, with Bactrian letters *lo*, and No. 115*a*, with the several Bactrian letters classed under No. 116.

- <sup>a</sup>)—○ Copper. Small coins. Similar types.

- 4.—□ Copper. Plate xxviii., fig. 11.

OBVERSE:—Bust of king, with curiously arranged head dress.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Horse standing to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Tradatasa Hermayasa.*

Monograms, 31, 109.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., fig. 7.

- <sup>a</sup>)—Variety. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 15. Head-dress as in Amyntas' coin, pl. xxxii., fig. 1, monogram 109.

Extra Monograms of Hermæus:—20*b*, 24*b*, 36*a*, 38, 108*b*, with Arian letters *k*, *s*; 115*a*, with elongated downstroke of *r* (or 115*b*), associated with the Bactrian letters *trd*, *v*, *dh*, *sh*, and *n* (?); also 117 to 119 inclusive.



XXIV<sup>a</sup>. SU-HERMÆUS.

- 1.—○ Copper. Plate xviii., fig. 9; and pl. xxviii., fig. 10.

OVERSE:—Head of king, to the right.

LEGEND, imperfect:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΥ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Hercules standing with his club resting on the ground.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Dhama Phidasa Kujula Kasasa Kushanayatusa*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., figs. 8, 9, etc.

These coins are usually deficient in monograms. In one case I notice the Bactrian combination No. 63 on the reverse field.

Major Cunningham conjectures these mintages to have formed a portion of the issues of Kozoula Kadphises (No. xxvi.), struck during the lifetime of Hermæus.—'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' 1854, p. 709.

## XXV. MAUAS.

- 1.—Didrachma. (Weight, 151·4 grains).

OVERSE:—Male figure, to the front; right arm extended, the left supports a spear.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Victory, with chaplet, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Moasa*.

Monogram, No. 38b.

British Museum, 38b. Capt. Robinson, No. 38a. Lady Sale's coin (weight, 143 grains), monogram, No. 89.

- a) — Hemidrachma. Similar types.

Capt. Robinson, monogram 38a. Capt. Hay, No. 64.

- 2.—Didrachma.

OVERSE:—A biga, with horses at speed. The driver wears a helmet; the chief figure holds a spear, a nimbus surrounds his head.

REVERSE:—Jove enthroned, as in Hermæus' coins, with triple-pointed spear (trident?),

Monogram, No. 107a.

Capt. Robinson.

- 3.—○ Copper. Plate xiii., fig. 4.

OVERSE:—Elephant's head.

REVERSE:—Caduceus.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

Monogram, No. 89.

British Museum. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 11.

- 4.—□ Copper (small coin).

OVERSE:—Apollo, to the front, as in Apollodotus' coins: arrow in the right, and bow in the left hand.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Tripod.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrajasa Moasa*.

British Museum. Mr. Brereton.

## 5.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Female figure, to the front, with spear; crescent above the head.  
Two six-pointed stars or constellations appear in the upper part of the field, one on each side of the figure.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΤΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Victory with chaplet, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Rajadīrojasa Mahdīasa Moasa.*

Monogram, No. 120.

British Museum, and less perfect coin B. I.

## 6.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Jove enthroned, with small figure at the side.

REVERSE:—Female figure, as on the obverse of No. 5.

Monogram, No. 120.

'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 315.

Variety.

REVERSE:—Figure as above; but the crescent is strangely transformed, and the stars on the field are wanting.

Monogram 120.

Mr. Brereton.

7.—○ Copper.<sup>1</sup>

OBVERSE:—Figure clothed in skins, with nimbus.

REVERSE:—Indian bull, to the left.

British Museum. Monogram, No. 89.

Monogram, No. 52.

Mr. Bailey and Capt. Robinson.

## 8.—□ Copper. Plate xliii, fig. 11.

OBVERSE:—Male figure, with club and trident, flowing robes, etc.

Monogram, No. 121.

REVERSE:—Victory, with loose garments (similar to the figure on the obverse), and a varied style of chaplet.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 10. Monogram, 122. B. I.  
Monogram, 123.

## 9.—□ Copper. Pl. xv., fig. 11.

OBVERSE:—Elephant.

REVERSE:—Seated figure.

Monogram, No. 115*b*.

Mr. Frere.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1839.

## 10.—□ Copper. Pl. xv., fig. 7.

OBVERSE:—Male figure, to the left, in flowing garments, holding a chaplet.

REVERSE:—Indian lion, to the right.

B. I. Monogram, 112*a*.

## 11.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Hercules to the front, with club and lion-skin, the right hand rests upon the hip.

REVERSE:—Indian lion, to the left.

Monogram, No. 89.

Mr. Brereton.

<sup>1</sup> [A coin of this type is engraved in Mr. H. T. Prinsep's 'Historical Results,' pl. v., fig. 1.]

## 12.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Neptune, with trident, treading upon a prostrate figure.

REVERSE:—Figure surrounded with branches.

Monogram, No. 120.

Colonel Nuthall. Mr. Brereton, and 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 314.

## 13.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Neptune, with the right foot placed on a prostrate figure as in No. 12; the left hand rests on a trident, while the right is raised in the act of hurling the thunderbolt.

REVERSE:—As in No. 12. Monogram, illegible.

Lady Elliot.

## 14.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—As No. 13, except that Neptune holds a palm-branch in the left hand in lieu of the trident.

REVERSE:—As No. 13.

Monogram, a modification of No. 115*b*.

Mr. Bayley.

## 15.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Horseman, with a fold of his dress flying loose behind him.

Monogram, illegible.

REVERSE:—Helmeted figure, in loose garments, moving to the right, holding a garland in the right and a spear in the left hand.

Monogram, *mi*.

Mr. Bayley.

## 16.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Horseman, with spear.

REVERSE:—Winged Victory, to the left, holding a chaplet in the right hand.

Monogram, No. 115*b*.

Mr. Bayley.

## 17.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Standing male figure, to the front; right arm uplifted, in the left a club.

Monogram, No. 115*b*, with an Arian *ti*.

REVERSE:—Indian bull, to the right.

Monogram, No. 115*a*.

Mr. Bayley.

A second coin, in the possession of Mr. H. Brereton, gives the name clearly as MATOT.

## 18.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Elephant.

REVERSE:—Indian bull.

Mr. Brereton. Capt. Hay.

## XXVI. KADPHISES.

## 1.—Copper. Plate xxviii., fig. 12.

OBVERSE:—Head as in the Su-Hermæus' coins.

LEGEND:—ΚΟΡΗΛΟ [Variety, ΚΟΡΝΑΟ] ΚΟΖΟΤΛΟ ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Hercules as above.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Dhama Phidasa Kujula Kasasa Kushanayajugasa*.<sup>1</sup>

Monograms, Arian *dh* with *r*. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xi., figs. 10, 11.

<sup>1</sup> [Major Cunningham, in the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vii. of 1854, p. 709, transcribes this legend as follows:—*Kujula Kasasa Kushanga Yathagasa Dhamapidasa*.

XXVI<sup>a</sup>. KOZOLA KADAPHES.

- 1.—○ Copper small coin. Plate xviii., figs. 13, 14, 15; and pl. xxviii., figs. 13, 14.  
 OVERSE:—Youthful head.

LEGEND:—KOZOLAA KADAAΦEE XOPAN CT ZAΘOT.

REVERSE:—A Scythic figure.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Khashunasa Yauasa Kuyula [Kuyanla?] Kaphsasa Sachha dhani phidasa.*

Monogram, No. 124. Some specimens add the Bactrian letter inserted in the plate under No. 125.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xi., fig. 14.

XXVI<sup>b</sup>. KODES.

- 1.—Hemidrachma. Plate xiii., figs. 11, 12, 13.

OVERSE:—Barbarously executed head of king.

LEGEND:—KωΔOT.

REVERSE:—Erect figure, with flames issuing from the shoulders; the right hand rests upon a spear.

LEGEND:—PAHΘPOT MAKAP.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1834, pl. fig. 8; 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ix., figs. 1, 2, 3, 5.

- 2.—Hemidrachma. Plate xxxii., figs. 16, 17, 18.

OVERSE:—Head as above.

REVERSE:—Horse's head. KωΔ.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1834, pl. fig. 9. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ix., figs. 4, 6, 7.

## XXVII. VONONES (AND AZAS).

## CLASS A.

I understand that Major Cunningham has discovered coins with the above combination of names. The specimens are engraved in his unpublished plates, but I do not consider myself authorized to quote them in any detail beyond this notice of the interesting historical fact they suffice to substantiate.

## VONONES (AND SPALAHORES).

## CLASS B.

- 1.—Didrachma.

OVERSE:—Azas' horseman with spear at the charge, to the right.

LEGEND:—BAZIAEΩΣ BAZIAEΩN MEΓAΛOT ONONOT.

REVERSE:—Jupiter with spear and bolts.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharaja Bhṛata Dharmikasa Spalahorasa.*

Monogram, No. 53b.

Capt. Robinson.

- a) —Hemidrachma. Pl. xv., fig. 5. Similar types and legends.

Monograms, 53b, 126.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 8.

The nearly parallel epigraph on Kozola Kadaphes' money is transliterated and translated thus—*Kushanga Yathaasa Kujala Kaphsasa Sachha dharmapitasa*, 'Coin of the king of the Khushang Kujala Kaphsa, the crown of the true Dharma.']

## 2.—□ Copper. Plate xv., fig. 10.

OBSERVE:—Hercules, with club and lion's skin, right hand raised to the head.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΟΝΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Minerva, to the left, armed with shield and spear, right arm extended.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrāja Bhṛata Dhramikasa Spalahorasa*.

Monograms, No. 126. B.I. 126a.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1835, pl. ii., fig. 20. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 9.

## 3.—□ Copper.

OBSERVE:—As in No. 2.

REVERSE:—Device as in No. 2.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Spahora Bhṛata Dhramikasa Spalahorasa*.

Monogram, 126.

Mr. Brereton.

## VONONES (AND SPALAGADAMES, SON OF SPALAHORES.

## CLASS C.

## 1.—Hemidrachma.

OBSERVE:—Azas' horseman, with spear.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΟΝΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Jupiter, with spear and bolts.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Spalahora Putrāsa Dhramikasa Spalagadamasa*.

Monograms, British Museum coin, 127. Col. Sykes, 132a. Mr. Brereton, 48c, 128, 128a.

## 2.—□ Copper.

OBSERVE:—Hercules, as in No. 2, class B.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΟΝΟΥ.

REVERSE:—

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Spalahora Putrāsa Dhramikasa (Spala) gadamasa*.

Monogram, 128.

Mr. Brereton.

## SPALIRISES AND AZAS.

## CLASS D.

## 1.—Didrachma.

OBSERVE:—Azas' horseman.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΠΗΛΑΙΠΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Jove, as above.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrājasa Mahitakasa Ayasa*.

Monogram, 130.

Mr. Frere.

## \*)—Hemidrachma. Similar types.

Monogram, 129, with Bactrian letters, *si*.

Mr. Brereton.

## 2.—○ Copper.

OBSERVE:—Azas' horseman.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΠΗΛΑΙΠΙΟΥ.

REVERSE:—A bow and arrow.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrājasa Mahitakasa Ayasa*.

Monogram, 127b.

Mr. Bayley.

## CLASS Ca.

## XXVIII. SPALYRIOS OR SPALAGADAMES (alone).

THE BROTHER OF THE KING.

- 1.—□ Copper. Pl. xv., fig. 9; pl. xxviii., fig. 6.

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman.

LEGEND:—[ΧΑΛΥΡΙΟ] ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ[.]

REVERSE:—Hercules seated on a rock.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Spalahora putrdsā Dhramiasa Spalagadamasa.*

Monograms, Nos. 48c, 127c, 128. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 13.

## CLASS Da.

## XXIX. SPALIRISES (alone).

- 1.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman; spear at the charge.

LEGEND imperfect:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΒΑ . . . . ΠΗΛΙΠΙ[.]ΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Neptune to the front, with trident and bolts.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa . . . . . Spalirisa.*

Monogram, 48e.

Capt. Hay.

- 2.—□ Copper. Plate xv., fig. 6; pl. xxviii., fig. 7.

OBVERSE:—Female figure, to the left.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΠΗΛΙΠΙ[.]ΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Jove enthroned.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Mahatataka Spalirisa.*

Monograms, Nos. 131, 131a, and 131b.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 12.

## XXX. AZAS.

- 1.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE:—The standard Azas' type of horseman, to the right; the spear point slightly depressed.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.

REVERSE:—Female figure, with palm-branch in the left, and a four-pointed object in the right hand, somewhat after the nature of the Scythian monograms, No. 169, etc.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Ayasa.*Monogram, Captain Robinson, 132, with Arian letters, *mi*.'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., fig. 12. 'Jour. des Sav.,' 1835, ii., 16, monogram, 133 with *san*.

- a).—Hemidrachmas.

Monograms, No. 133, with Arian letters *bh* and *dh*; No. 133, with the word *san*; No. 38a, with severally *53b* and an Arian *t*; No. 38a, with a Greek A and an Arian *t*; No. 38a, with an Arian *t* alone; No. 134, with an Arian *st*; No. 134, with *dh* and *mi*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vi., fig. 18.

- 2.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE:—Horseman, as above.

REVERSE:—Minerva Promachos, to the left.

Monograms 85; 85, with Arian *s* on obverse; 85 simple with 132; 133, with the Arian word *san*, and No. 63a.

## a).—Hemidrachma.

Monograms, British Museum, 85 ; Captain Robinson, 85 simple with 132.

## 3.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE :—Horseman, as above.

REVERSE :—Jupiter, with spear and bolts.

Monograms, Capt. Robinson, 132*a* with *bh*. British Museum, 132*a* with *dh*.

## 4.—Variety of No. 3. Didrachma.

OBVERSE :—Horseman, as above, with the Arian letters *Pri* below the horse.

REVERSE :—Jove, with the spear or sceptre, triple-pointed, the points diverging from one centre ; nimbus encircles the head.

Monogram, No. 85.

## 5.—Hemidrachma.

OBVERSE :—As above.

Monogram, Arian letters *hi*.

REVERSE :—Jove, with triple-pointed sceptre ; but the right hand is elevated in the act of throwing the thunderbolt.

Monograms, No. 85*a*, with an Arian *a*.

Captain Robinson.

## a).—Hemidrachma. Variant.

OBVERSE :—As above.

REVERSE :—Jupiter rayed, to the front, leaning on a spear ; the bolts are held in the right hand low down.

Monogram, No. 135.

Captain Robinson.

## 6.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE :—The Azas' horseman, to the right, without the spear ; the right hand of the figure is extended above the horse's head.

Monogram, an Arian *s*.

REVERSE :—Minerva, to the right, helmeted and armed with buckler ; right hand extended.

Monograms, Captain Robinson, 52, with *a*. Lady Elliot, double monogram, 138 and 139, without the Bactrian adjunct of the latter. Mr. Carne's collection, monogram, No. 141, with the several Arian letters *san*, *si*, *pi*, or *dh*.

## (6).—Variety.

OBVERSE :—Horseman, as above, with whip in the right hand and bow behind the saddle.

REVERSE :—As in No. 6.

Monogram, 85 simple, with 133*h*.

## a).—Hemidrachma.

Monogram 85.

Mr. Bayley.

## v).—Variety.

REVERSE :—Minerva, to the left.

Monograms, obverse, Arian *so* ; reverse, 85.

Mr. Brereton.

## 7.—Didrachma. Plate xvii., fig. 17 (?).

OBVERSE:—Horseman, as above, with whip in the right hand, bow at the back of the saddle.

REVERSE:—Standing figure, with spear, holding a small statue of Victory.

‘Ariana Antiqua,’ pl. vi., figs. 15, 16 (?), 17.

British Museum, monograms, 38*a* with 53, and Arian letters *t*, *bu*, *dh*, etc.; others, with *t*, omit No. 53. B.I., monogram, obverse, Arian *ji*; reverse, 134*a* associated with 53*b* and 63; a second, reverse, No. 42 with 136, and an Arian *dh*. Mr. Brereton, obverse, monogram, *san*; reverse, as in the first cited B.I. coin.

## a).—Hemidrachma.

Monograms, No. 137, with *san*; a second; No. 138, with *dh* and *s*. Lady Elliot. Mr. Brereton, 38*a* with Arian *t*; a second, obverse, Arian *s*; reverse, 38*a* with 139.

## 8.—Didrachma. Plate xvii., fig. 15.

OBVERSE:—Horseman, as above.

Monogram, Arian *ti*.

REVERSE:—Minerva, with spear, to the right; bare head, and right arm extended.

Monogram, 85 simple with 133*a*. B.I., obverse, monogram, Arian *ti*; reverse, 85*b* with 133*b*.

‘Ariana Antiqua,’ pl. vi., fig. 13.

## (8).—Variety. Billon.

REVERSE:—Similar figure, with triple-pointed spear.

Monogram, Arian *si* and 134*b*.

## 9.—Didrachma. Billon. Plate xvii., fig. 16.

OBVERSE:—As above.

REVERSE:—Neptune, with trident, to the front.

Monogram, No. 140, with *si*.

‘Ariana Antiqua,’ pl. vi., fig. 14.

## 10.—Hemidrachma. Plate xvii., fig. 18.

OBVERSE:—Horseman, as above, with bow and whip.

REVERSE:—Minerva, to the front, armed with spear and shield, the right arm upraised.

Monograms 135*a*, with *ssh*; 135*b* and Arian monogram 142, *sa shi*? 135*b* with 39*a*. Another: obverse, monogram *a*; reverse, 140*a*, with an indistinct symbol like 132. Miscellaneous: obverse, mint-marks Arian letters *s*, *l*, *g*, and *sd*.

‘Ariana Antiqua,’ pl. vi., fig. 19.

## 11.—Drachma.

OBVERSE:—King, standing, to the left; right hand extended, and sloped spear on his left shoulder.

REVERSE:—Winged figure of Victory, to the right, holding out a chaplet.

Monogram, No. 64.

## 10.—□ Copper. Plate xvii., fig. 14.

OBVERSE:—Neptune, treading on a prostrate figure. Legend as above.

REVERSE:—Female figure, surrounded by branches. Legend as above.

Monogram, No. 64.

‘Ariana Antiqua,’ pl. vii., fig. 5.



Mr. Brereton has a superstruck piece of this class, offering the peculiarity in that the obverse legend exhibits portions of the epigraph of two distinct dies: it may be represented in its present state thus—ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ βασιΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΤ' ΑΖΟΤ.<sup>1</sup>

11.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—King, riding on a Bactrian camel.

REVERSE:—Thibetan yâk (or long-haired bull).

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 6.

12.—□ Copper. Plate xvi., fig. 9.

OBVERSE:—King on horseback, with spear sloped.

REVERSE:—Indian bull, to the right.

Monograms, No. 85; 85 simple, with *t*, and the four variants classed under No. 143. Another: obverse, *san*; reverse, 134 with *si*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 12.

13.—□ Copper. Plate xv., fig. 8.

OBVERSE:—Hercules, to the front, with chaplet upraised in his right hand, and club in the left, after the manner of the reverse devices of Demetrius.

Monogram, 53*b*.

REVERSE:—Horse, free, to the right.

Monogram, *mi*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 7.

14.—○ Copper. Plate xvi., figs. 4, 5.

OBVERSE:—Elephant, to the right.

REVERSE:—Indian bull, to the right.

Monograms, Nos. 52 with Arian *a*; 85; 85 simple with 142*a*; 85 simple with 132.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 10.

15.—○ Copper. Plate xvi., figs. 1, 2, 3.

OBVERSE:—Humped bull, to the right.

REVERSE:—Indian lion, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Rajadhirajasa Mahatasa Ayasa*.

Monograms, 132 with 145*a*, 135*a* with 39*a*, 135*b* with 39*a*, 143*b* with 39*a*, 144 with 138, 145 with 138, 145 with 146, 135*b* with 142, 85*b* with 133, 134*b* with *si*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 8.

a)—Small coins. Similar types.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 9.

b)—□ (?) 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 3. Monogram, *a*. Rev. monogram, *pr*.

16.—○ Copper. Plate xvi., fig. 10.

OBVERSE:—Demeter, seated on a throne.

REVERSE:—Hermes, standing.

Arian legend as in No. 1.

Most common monogram, No. 135*b* associated with 142.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 12.

<sup>1</sup> [Some months ago (1857) Mr. Bayley read an interesting paper, on the subject of the superstruck coins of Azes, at one of the meetings of the Numismatic Society.]

## 17.—○ Copper. Plate xvi., fig. 12.

OBVERSE:—Figure, seated cross-legged.

REVERSE:—Hermes, standing.

ARIAN LEGEND, as in No. 15.

Monograms, the combinations entered in plate xi.c from No. 147 to 153.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., figs. 13, 14.

a) — Small coins, ditto.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. vii., fig. 15.

## 18.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Female figure, clothed in Indian garments, standing to the front; the right arm is raised towards the head, and the left hand rests upon the hip.

REVERSE:—Humped bull, to the right.

Mr. Brereton, monogram 154. Mr. Bayley, monograms indistinct.

## 19.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—A lion, sejant.

LEGEND, blundered and unintelligible.

REVERSE:—Rude figure of Demeter, seated.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa* . . . . . *Ayasa*.Monogram, No. 31a, with *ti*.

Mr. Bayley.

## 20.—○ Copper. Minute coin. Types similar to No. 7.

Monograms, Obv. No. 155, and *mi*. Rev. No. 38a and *san*. Mr. Bayley.

## 21.—○ Copper. Types similar to □ Copper, No. 12.

Monogram 85.

Mr. Brereton.

## 22.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—King on horseback, with the right hand extended.

Monogram 124a.

REVERSE:—Indian lion to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND, imperfect:—*Mahdrajasa Mahatasa* . . . . *Ayasa*.

Monogram indistinct.

Col. T. Bush.

## 23.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman with whip and bow.

Monogram, 157.

REVERSE:—Minerva, to the right; with sloped spear and right hand extended.

ARIAN LEGEND, as in No. 15.

Monograms, group 158.

## 24.—○ Copper. Plate xvii., fig. 22.

OBVERSE:—Horseman, with right hand raised.

Monogram 124a.

REVERSE:—Demeter, standing, to the front; right arm extended, the left supports the cornucopia.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahdrajasa Mahatasa Dhramikasa Rajadirajasa Ayasa*.Monograms, No. 156, 156 with *dh*, 156a, 156b, 156c, with variants of miscellaneous Bactrian letters on the field.

25.—Plate ii., figs. 11, 12.

OBVERSE :—Indian lion, to the right.

REVERSE :—Demeter, standing, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Māhārājasa Rajatirājasa Mahatasa Ayasa.*

'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. ix., p. 876.

### SUB-AZAS (ASPAVARMA).

1.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Azas' horseman, with right hand holding a whip.

LEGEND :—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ.

Monogram, No. 157 (*Agaj*?).

REVERSE :—Minerva, helmeted, with spear and shield, to the right; the right hand supports a small figure of Victory.

ARIAN LEGEND :<sup>1</sup>—*Indra Varma Putrāsa Aspavarmasa Strategasa Jayatasa* (General Aspavarma, son of Indra Varma, the victorious).

Monograms, No. 159, with 132, and the several Arian letters entered in the plate under No. 160.

As this catalogue does not profess to follow any authoritative serial distribution of the monarchs comprehended in the general list, I insert in this place, as most suitable, in obedience to typical order, certain obvious derivatives from the standard devices of Azas' mintages, which bear exclusively the names and titles of Satraps who may be supposed to have succeeded to the possession of local divisions of his once extensive dominions, but who refrained from arrogating to themselves the style and dignity of absolute monarchy.

### ZEIONISAS.

1.—Didrachma. Plate xxviii., fig. 5.

OBVERSE :—Azas' horseman, with right hand extended, and bow at the back of the saddle.

LEGEND illegible. Monogram 159.

REVERSE :—King, standing, to the front; supported by two figures in the act of placing a chaplet on his head.

ARIAN LEGEND, imperfect at the bottom :—*Jihaniasa.*

Monogram 161.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1839, p. 102. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 17.

Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc., Beng.,' 1854, pl. xxxv., fig. 1.

2.—Hemidrachma. Unique.

OBVERSE :—Horseman as above.

LEGEND, corrupt :—οΝΝΙΛΑΙΥ ΤΙΟΥΤ ΚΑΤΡΑΠ ΖΕΙΩΝΙΣΟΥ.

Monogram 159.

REVERSE :—Standing figure of the king receiving a chaplet from Demeter?

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Manigulasa Chatrapasa Putrasa, Chatrapasa Jihaniasa.*

Monogram, No. 162.

Mr. Bayley. See also Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, pl. xxxv., fig. 2.

<sup>1</sup> [Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' 1854, p. 696. *Strategas* is identified with the Greek Στρατηγος.]

## 3.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Indian bull, to the right.

LEGEND, corrupt and imperfect:—ΤΙ:ΑΙΤ ΤΙΤ ΛΑΤΡΑΠ.

Monogram, No. 159, with *san*.ARIAN LEGEND:—... *gula Putrasa Chatrapasa JIHANAYASA*.

Monogram 163.

British Museum, two coins, from Major Cunningham's collection.

## 4.—□ Copper. Unique. Plate xlii., fig. 8.

OBVERSE:—Elephant.

LEGEND, corrupt and imperfect:—ΑΗΙΖΙΟΑΔΙ . . . . . ΖΞΙΩΝΙΓ.

Monogram, Π.

REVERSE:—Bull, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Muni* . . . . . (Ji) *hancasa*.

Monogram as in the plate.

Col. T. Bush.

## 5.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman.

LEGEND, imperfect. Combination obtained from six specimens gives no more satisfactory result than the following:—ΓΑΤΟΤ ΤΟΤ ΧΑΡΑΝΩΓ

Α - ΕΙΛΑ.

Monogram indeterminate.

REVERSE:—*Sinha*, or Indian lion, to the right.ARIAN LEGEND, likewise imperfect and incomplete:—*Chatrapasa Bhvata Daophasa Akasa Putrasa*.Monograms, *pra*, X, etc.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 2; and Cunningham, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' 1854, p. 695.

## XXXI. AZILISAS.

## 1.—Didrachma. Plate xvii., fig. 27.

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman, with spear.

LEGEND:—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΛΛΟΤ ΑΖΙΛΙΕΟΤ.

Monogram, *ti*.

REVERSE:—Figure, to the left, holding the four-pointed object in the right, and palm-branch in the left hand.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Maharajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Ayileshasa*.Monograms, British Museum, 133 with *san* and *bh*; ditto, 134 with *si*.British Museum monogram, Ξ with *si* and *g*. Capt. Robinson, monogram134 with *si* and *s*. B. I. Miscellaneous Arian letters, *san*, *si*, *bh*, *dh*, with*ti*, and A with *san*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 5.

a) — Hemidrachma. Similar types. British Museum monogram, 132a, with *i*. Capt. Robinson, monogram Ξ, with an Arian *h*.

## 2.—Didrachma.

OBVERSE as above, with Arian letter *s* in the field.

REVERSE:—Female figure, to the left, with chaplet and palm-branch.

Monogram, No. 77.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 6.

## 3.—Didrachma. (145 grs.)

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman, to the right, with whip and the bow fixed behind the saddle.

Monogram, No. 137.

REVERSE:—Dioscuri, standing to the front, leaning on their spears.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa.*

Mr. Bayley. Col. Nuthall, Obv. monogram, 137 with *b*, and Rev. 164.

## 4.—Didrachma. (142 grs.)

OBVERSE as No. 3.

Monogram, 137*a*.

REVERSE:—Single figure, bearded, clothed in skins, to the front; the right hand grasps a spear, the left rests upon the sword hilt.

Monogram, No. 165.

Mr. Bayley. Mr. C. M'Leod.

## 5.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Standing figure, to the front (indistinct), with right arm extended, and mantle on the left.

Monogram, 30*a*.

REVERSE:—Lion, as in Azas' coins.

Monogram, No. 166. A second coin has *mī* (?)

Mr. Bayley. Capt. Robinson.

## 6.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman, with spear sloped downwards.

REVERSE:—Bull, to the left. Arian legend as in No. 1.

British Museum monogram, 132 with *mī*, and traces of monogram 125*a*.

## \*)—Plate xvii., fig. 28.

REVERSE:—Bull, to the right.

## 7.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman.

REVERSE:—Elephant.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa.*

Monogram, variety of No. 124, with *si*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. viii., fig. 7.

## 8.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Horseman.

REVERSE:—Hercules, seated, with club, and as in Spalyrios' coins. (C*a*.)

ARIAN LEGEND, as in No. 7.

Monogram, No. 134.

Mr. Bayley.

And a second piece, 167. Ordinary monogram, No. 134, with Arian *s*, *si*, or *ti*.

## 9.—□ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Standing figure, to the right, with the right arm extended horizontally, and holding a chaplet.

REVERSE:—Figure in short tunic, with loose veil-like garments around the head, etc.

ARIAN LEGEND, imperfect:—... *jasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa.*

Mr. Bayley.

## XXXII. SOTER MEGAS.

## 1.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Bust of king, with crested helmet, to the left; the right hand holds an arrow.

Monogram, No. 168, with the Arian letters *ti*, in front of the profile.

REVERSE:—Azas' type of horseman, elevating a small object like a cross.

LEGEND:—BACIAEV BACIAEVON CΩTHP MEFAC.

Monogram, No. 168.

Mr. Bayley.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ix., figs. 8, 10.

## 2.—○ Copper. Plate xvii., fig. 26.

OBVERSE:—Bust of king, with rayed head; the right hand holds either a javelin with pennons, or a simple dart.

Monogram, No. 168.

REVERSE:—As above.

Monogram, No. 168.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ix., figs. 11 to 19.

There are numerous subordinate varieties of this type of coin, which it is needless to particularize in this place. But I may notice that the degraded Greek sigmas, which have heretofore usually been rendered by a square  $\Sigma$ , are, in these mintages, indifferently interchanged with the equally debased C on the different specimens.

## 3.—○ Copper. Plate xvii., fig. 23.

OBVERSE:—King on horseback, to the right.

LEGEND:—BACIAEV BACIAEVON CΩTHP MEFAC.

REVERSE:—A male figure, with flat helmet and fillet, casting incense upon a small altar.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhrajasa Rajadirajasa Mahatasa Tradatasa.*

Monogram, *ti*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. ix., figs. 20, 21, 22.

## 4.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Head, with fillet, to the right.

Monogram, No. 168.

REVERSE:—Standing figure, to the left, holding a staff or spear in the left hand, and what may possibly be intended for the thunderbolt in the right.

GREEK LEGEND (imperfect).

Mr. Bayley.

XXXII<sup>a</sup>. KADPHISES.

## 1.—Gold. Unique.

OBVERSE:—King, seated after the Oriental fashion (cross-legged) on clouds. He holds a club in his hand, and small flames ascend from his shoulders; he wears a Scythic cap surmounted by a single-centred trident.

LEGEND:—BACIAETC OOHMO KAAΦICHC.

Monogram, 169.

REVERSE:—Siva and his bull (Nandi); flames rise from the divinity's head; he holds a trident in his right hand.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhrajasa Rajadirajasa sarvaloga Imastasa Mahimastasa hapinasasa.*

Monogram, 159.

Captain Robinson.

## 2.—Gold.

OBVERSE:—King, seated on an Eastern throne, with a flower in his right hand.

Legend and monogram as above.

REVERSE:—Device as No. 1.

Monogram, ditto.

'Jour. des Sav.,' 1834, pl. fig. 7. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. x., fig. 5, and pl. xxi., fig. 17.

I do not propose to enter into any detail of the coins of Kadphises in this place, as they scarcely belong to the Bactrian series. It will be sufficient to refer to the types already figured and described by Prinsep,<sup>1</sup> and the additional specimens engraved in the 'Ariana Antiqua.'<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that these and other Indo-Scythian coins are known only in gold and copper, the single supposed silver specimen in the E.I.H.<sup>3</sup> having proved to be of copper plated over!

XXXIII. GONDOPHARES.<sup>4</sup>

## 1.—○ Copper. Plate xliii., fig. 15.

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman, to the right.

LEGEND:—BACIAEΩC BACIAEΩN ΓΟΝΔΟΦΑΡΟΤ.

Monogram, No. 170.

REVERSE:—Figure, with trident.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Mahārāja Rajarāja Mahātasa Gadapharasa.*<sup>5</sup>

British Museum coin. Monogram, No. 171.

'Ariana Antiqua' (billion coin), pl. v., fig. 16.

<sup>1</sup> [Pl. viii., fig. 4; pl. xxii., figs. 1, 2, 3.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Ariana Antiqua,' pl. x., figs. 7 to 21.]

<sup>3</sup> ['Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xi., fig. 9.]

<sup>4</sup> [An enquiry of considerable interest has been raised with reference to the name preserved on these coins, so long veiled from European intelligence, in virtue of the almost literal identity it bears to the designation of the king mentioned, in certain old church legends, as the ruling potentate of India at the period of the mission of St. Thomas the Apostle. The coincidence in the appellation is certainly remarkable, though there is a defect in the primary authority for the statement, a difficulty in regard to the correspondence of the site of the kingdom, and a doubt as to the needful accordance of the epochs of the legendary and the numismatically-certified monarchs, the latter of whom seems to belong to a date prior to our era; but, for the reconciliation of this last obstacle, there is a fairly open margin afforded by the successional coins, which in themselves suggest the question as to whether the name of Gondophares was not posthumously elevated into the rank of a dynastic title. The following heads of sentences will indicate the leading combinations deposited to by the 'Legenda Aurea,' p. 33:—'Thomas apostolus cum esset apud Cæsaream, apparuit ei dominus dicens: rex India Gundoforus, etc., p. 35. Post hæc autem apostolus et Abbanes ad regem India pervenerunt . . . Gad frater regis, etc., p. 37. Post hoc autem in superiorem Indiam abiit.'—'Jacobi a Voragine Legenda Aurea,' Dresden, 1846. Cf. also 'Lombardica Historia' (1490), Kercher; pp. 122 and 91 severally of the French and Latin editions of his 'China,' etc.; also Assemain's erudite rectifications, pp. 30 and 591, vol. iii. (2nd part).]

<sup>5</sup> [The Arian orthography of this name varies considerably, not only in the different mintages of diverse types, but even in pieces having similar standard devices: among the latter, belonging to class No. 1, I note *Gandaphrata*—*Gudupha*, etc.]

## 2.—○ Copper.

OBSERVE:—As above.

LEGEND:—ΒΑCΙΑΕΩC ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΤΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡΟΤ.

REVERSE:—Minerva, armed, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhāraja Rajadīraja Tradata . . . Gadapharasa.*

Monogram, No. 134c with 172.

Mr. Brereton. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., fig. 17.

## 3.—○ Copper.

OBSERVE:—As above.

REVERSE:—Male figure, with spear, to the right.

Monograms, No. 134c with 173 (*t* and *phre*), No. 171 with 155a.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., fig. 18.

## 4.—□ Copper. (Type as in pl. xxviii., fig. 15; and pl. xxxii., fig. 14).

OBSERVE:—King, on horseback; to his front is seen Victory, presenting a chaplet.

LEGEND:—ΒΑCΙΑΕΩ . . . . ΦΑΡΟΤ (?). ['Ariana Antiqua' coin, ΦΑΡΟΤ  
μεΓΑΛΟΤΥΝΔΑΑ.]

REVERSE:—Centre device, the monogram figured under No. 170, pl. xid.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhā . . . Dhaga . . . sa Apratihata sa Ja . . . sa  
Gudapharasa.*Monograms, Arian letters, No. 63 and *san*.

Mr. Bayley. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. xxi., fig. 16.

5.—○ Copper.<sup>1</sup>

OBSERVE:—Head of king, to the left; the contour similar to the Pakores' busts.

LEGENDS imperfect. B. B., etc.

REVERSE:—Victory, with chaplet.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārajasa Rajadīrajasa Mahatasa Gudaphara . . . .*Monogram, *gu*, and an indistinct Arian letter.

Mr. Bayley.

## 6.—○ Copper. Plate xviii., figs. 5–8.

OBSERVE:—Head of king, to the right, greatly barbarised. [ΤΗΡΟC ΤΥΝΔΟΦΕΡΡ.]

REVERSE:—Victory, as in No. 5.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārajasa Godapha . sa Tradatasa.*

Mr. Brereton.

## 7.—○ Copper. Small barbaric coin.

OBSERVE:—Rude filleted head, to the right.

Abbreviated Greek legend, ΒΑCΙ ΒΑC . . . Τ.

REVERSE:—Rude figure of Thessalian Minerva, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Rajadīrajasa Mahatasa Godapharasa.*Monogram, Arian *stri* and *hd* or *ho*.

## XXXIV. ABDALGASES.

## 1.—○ Copper.

OBSERVE:—King's bust to the right, as in the Pakores' type.

LEGEND:— . . . ΙΑΕΙΙC CΥΤΗΡΟC Α . . . .

REVERSE:—Figure of Victory, to the right (of good execution).

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Tradatasa Māhārajasa Abdagašasa.*

Mr. Brereton.

<sup>1</sup> [There is an interesting coin in the British Museum, brought from India by Captain Hollings, typically connected with the above, which deserves mention in this place.—○ Copper. *Obv.*—Bust of king to the left, wearing the Parthian tiara. Imperfect legend, in corrupt Greek, ΒΑCΙΑΕΤ. *Rev.*—Figure of Victory, as in No. 6. Greek



## 2.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Azas' horseman, to the right, with flat cap and flowing fillet; hand upraised.

LEGEND, corrupt:—BAΣIAETONTOI BAΣIAEONT ABAΓAΣOT.

Monogram, 170.

A coin in the B. I. gives the name ABAΓAΣOT. Rev. monogram, 39b with 174b, etc.

REVERSE:—Erect figure, to the right; head-dress as on the obverse, with spear, hand extended.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Godophara Bhrada Putrasa Māhārājasa Abdagaśasa.*

[Coin] 'of Gondophara's brother's son, Māhārāja Abdagases.'

Capt. Robinson, 39b with Arian monogram, No. 174 (*Sakre* or *Saphre*).

Some of the coins of this series modify the obverse legend. It is usually in corrupt and bungled Greek, and difficult to make sense of; but it clearly accords with the substance conveyed in the Arian legend above transcribed, in defining the nepotal relationship of Abdagases. A collation of three specimens (B. I.) produces the following imperfect version—BAΓIAEYA □AAA ΓYNΔIΦEPO AΔEAΦIAEYI. The Reverse legend is also uncertain in the different specimens, adding, at times, the titles of *Tradatasa* and *Dhramiasa* after the Māhārāja. Monogram, 176.

## 3.—○ Copper. Similar types.

LEGENDS, imperfect [IOIΦEPO AΔEAΦI] with the addition of the title of *Tradatasa* before the name on the reverse. Mr. Brereton.

## 4.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Horseman, to the left.

REVERSE:—Figure as in No. 1, without the cap. Major Cunningham.

a) — Small coin. Mr. Bayley.

## 5.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—As No. 2. Monogram, No. 145 with *t*.

REVERSE:—Erect figure, holding a small statue of Victory, to the left.

Monogram, No. 134c, with Greek ΔP and Bactrian *t*. Mr. Bayley.

## SUB-ABDAGASES SASAN.

## 1.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE:—Horseman, as in No. 2. Legend imperfect.

Monogram, No. 170, with *p*. My 'Cabinet,' 170, and *b*.

REVERSE:—Figure as above, No. 2.

ARIAN LEGEND:—*Māhārājasa Mahatasa Tradatasa . . . .*<sup>1</sup> *Godaphrasa Sasasa.*

Monogram, No. 159, with *γ* and small letters, *p*, *sh*, etc, in the field. Mr. Bayley, *p*, *p*, etc. 'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., fig. 20.

legend imperfect, but the name or title reads clearly CANABAPOY. Cf. Ælii Spartiani—Lugduni Bat. MDCLXI, p. 23; and Kercher, pp. 80, French edit., 59, Latin edit. *Psammossires*?

<sup>1</sup> [Major Cunningham renders the doubtful word here omitted as *Deva-hadasa* (Sanskrit, देव हृद्य *Deva-hridya*), God-hearted, θεορπος. 'Jour. A. Soc. Beng.,' 1854, p. 713.]

## 2.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Azas' horseman.

REVERSE :—Jupiter, holding a figure of Victory, to the left.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Māhārajasa Saccha Dha (māpidasa) Sasasa* [Cunningham].

Monogram, No. 134*e*, with Greek ΔΡ and Arian *t*.

'Ariana Antiqua,' pl. v., figs. 19, 20.

## XXXV. ARSACES.

I extract the following notice of the coins of Arsaces from Major Cunningham's paper in the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xi., 1842, p. 135.

## 1.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE :—A horseman, to the right.

LEGEND :—BACIAE VONTOC BACIAEΩN ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΡΧΑΚΟΥ.

REVERSE :—Type obliterated.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Māhārajasa Rajarajasa Mahatasa Ashshakasa Tradatasa*.

## 2.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE :—A horseman, to the right.

LEGEND, imperfect ;—BAΣΙ . . ΟΥ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ.

REVERSE :—Male figure, to the left, holding a small figure in his right hand.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Māhārajaraajasa . . . A (shshakasa)*.

## XXXVI. PAKORES.

## 1.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Bearded head, to the left; the hair is elaborately curled and arranged after the Persian fashion.

LEGEND :—BACIAEYC BACIAEΩY ΠΑΚΟΡΗC.

REVERSE :—Victory with chaplet, to the right.

ARIAN LEGEND :—*Māhārajasa Rajadīrajasa Mahatasa Pakurasa*.

Monograms, Nos. 177, 178, composed of Bactrian letters, with the additional foot-stroke peculiar to the style of writing in use on these coins.

'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. xi., pl. fig. 11.

## XXXVIII. ORTHAGNES.

## 1.—○ Copper.

OBVERSE :—Head of king, to the left; the hair is arranged after the Persian fashion on the Pakores' device.

LEGEND (corrupt) :—BACIAEYC BACIAEΩN METAC OΘAΓNHC.

REVERSE :—Victory, to the right, holding out a fillet.

LEGEND (imperfect) :—(*Māhārajasa* ?) *Mahatasa Gudupharasa . . .*

British Museum. Bactrian monograms, *gu* and *go*.

## COINS AND RELICS FROM BACTRIA.

[Article XXI. completes the series of James Prinsep's original essays. The subjoined paper by his brother, Mr. H. T. Prinsep, is reproduced from the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' December, 1838, as introductory to, and partially illustrative of, my author's latest artistic contribution to Indian numismatics,—an engraving which he himself was not spared to comment on in the text of the Journal for whose pages it was designed.<sup>1</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> [The severance of this connexion, at the time deemed only temporary, is recorded in the subjoined proceeding of the 'Asiatic Society of Bengal,' which, however intentionally complimentary, does but scant justice to the position James Prinsep achieved for the Society itself, in association with the journal of which he is here recognised as the editor] :—

Extract from the proceedings of the 'Asiatic Society of Bengal,' Wednesday evening, the 14th November, 1838. The Hon. Sir Edward Ryan, President, in the chair.—Before proceeding to the general business of the meeting, the President rose and stated that he held in his hand a letter from the Secretary, Mr. James Prinsep, the substance of which must be a source of deep regret to every member of the Society, for every one must feel the loss the Society had suffered in the departure of its Secretary, Mr. James Prinsep. He assured the meeting, however, and he spoke on the authority of a conversation he had with Mr. Prinsep, before his departure, that this gentleman's absence from India would be but for a short period, and that on his return he would be ready to take the same interest, and to display the same zeal and anxiety, which had so honorably distinguished his discharge of the important duties he had undertaken in connexion with the Society. The President said that the objects of the Society had, under Mr. Prinsep's able superintendence, been prosecuted with a vigour which had added largely to its credit and reputation; and that the results produced in every department of science and literature, for which the Society was indebted chiefly to its Secretary's activity and varied powers, had sustained its character in a manner rivalling the periods when it derived renown from the labours of a Jones, a Colebrooke, and a Wilson. The President took occasion to add, that, in the time of Mr. James Prinsep, and on his proposition, the name of the Society had been associated with a monthly periodical, established by the late Captain Herbert, originally under the name of 'Gleanings in Science.' The work was afterwards extended and ably conducted by Mr. Prinsep himself; and at his suggestion it was resolved, in 1831, that so long as this periodical should be conducted by a Secretary of the Society, it should bear the title of 'Journal of the Asiatic Society;' under that name it had been since continued by Mr. Prinsep with very distinguished success to the present day. The Society had no property in the 'Journal,' and no right to prevent Mr. Prinsep from separating it again from the Society, and conducting it on his own account; but he had no such intention. He (Sir E. Ryan) had ascertained that Mr. James Prinsep had made arrangements for its being continued to the end of the present year from materials in hand; and after that he meant that *his* series should be closed; but he had no objection to the Society's continuing the periodical by the same name, under other management, as a concern quite inde-

It has been already announced in the pages of this Journal, that the extensive collections of coins and other relics made by Mr. Masson, by Sir Alexander Burnes, and Dr. Lord, were on their way to Calcutta, and were likely to fall shortly under the examination of the Editor. He felt it as a great compliment that was paid to his efforts to restore the lost portions of Indian and Bactrian history by means of the coins and inscriptions still extant in the language and with the superscriptions and dates of the rajas of those times, that collectors in all parts of India were in the habit of submitting to his inspection whatever they lighted upon as unusual, and sought his reading and interpretation of the legends, emblems, and inscriptions, which baffled the learning and ingenuity of the pandits and antiquarians of the vicinity. As a consequence of the happy discoveries made by him in this line, coins and transcripts of inscriptions came in from all quarters, from Assam and Ava to Bokhara and Sindh, and from Ceylon northward to Nepal. The possession of the rich store of materials thus accumulated gave facilities

pendent. Now, he (the President) believed that all the members of the Society would regret exceedingly that a periodical so established, and which had acquired such credit and consideration, should be discontinued. He trusted that it would be resumed by Mr. J. Prinsep himself when he returned to India; but, in the meantime, he should submit to the meeting the propriety of taking into consideration the possibility of making some arrangement to carry it on during Mr. Prinsep's absence. Having premised thus much, the President stated that he should read to the meeting Mr. James Prinsep's letter, placing the situation of Secretary at their disposal: but, as he had no doubt it would be the unanimous feeling of the meeting to desire to retain Mr. Prinsep in official connection with the Society, he should not consider this letter as an absolute resignation, but should propose a resolution, and submit arrangements founded upon it, which would enable Mr. Prinsep to resume the office on his return to India. The President then read the following letter:—

*To the Hon. Sir EDWARD RYAN, Kt., President of the Asiatic Society.*

HON. SIR,

Being compelled by ill-health to proceed to sea and eventually to Europe, I have taken my passage on board the 'Herefordshire,' with the intention of being absent from the country for two or perhaps three years. I am thus under the necessity of placing at the disposal of the Society the situation of its Secretary, which I have filled for five years.

It is with great reluctance and regret that I thus separate myself from a body with whom I have been associated in labours of much interest and utility, whose favour has encouraged my zeal, and through whose credit and reputation in the world I have obtained the means of making generally known my own humble efforts in the cause of science, and my not unsuccessful endeavours to explore the antiquities of the country to whose service we are devoted.

But the disability of sickness is an accident to which we are all liable, and from which there is no resource, but in temporary departure to a better climate. I am thus compelled to leave my incomplete labours to be perfected by others, and to relinquish the place I have held in the Society, that provision may be made for its competent discharge under the failure of my own power of longer rendering useful service.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(Signed)

JAMES PRINSEP.

1st November, 1838.

Proposed by the President, seconded by Mr. Currin, and unanimously resolved: That the resignation of Mr. James Prinsep be not accepted; but the Society hope that he will return to resume the situation of Secretary, which he had filled so much to the credit of the Society for a period of five years.—Resolved: That the President communicate to Mr. James Prinsep the desire of the Society, that he shall not consider himself as having vacated the situation of Secretary; and express the hope that, on his return to India, he will resume the situation of Secretary.

of comparison and collation which were doubtless a main cause of his success; but the study and exertions required for the satisfaction of these numerous references to his individual skill, although entered upon with a zeal participated only by those who have achieved much, and feel that there is yet more within their reach which ought to be the result of their own discoveries, were too severe for the climate of India, and the Editor's robust constitution sunk at last under the incessant labour and close attention given to these favorite studies at the very moment when the richest collection of inscriptions, coins, and relics, that had ever been got together in India, were actually on their way to Calcutta, as materials for maturing the results he had achieved. The collections of Mr. Masson were forwarded from Bombay in the *John Adam*, which reached Calcutta only in the course of the past December. There are of these coins from four to six thousand, besides the contents of several topes, and casts of figures of Budh, with various other remains of the period antecedent to the Muhammadan invasion of Bactria and Afghanistan. The whole of this collection was by order of Government laid upon the table of the Asiatic Society at the meeting of January, 1839; but the members present felt that, in the absence of their late Secretary, and likewise of Capt. Cunningham, Mr. V. Tregear, and Colonel Stacy, there were no persons in Calcutta to whom the examination, arrangement, and report upon the coins and relics could be committed with confidence. They came therefore to the unanimous resolution to recommend their being forwarded without delay to England, where the Honorable Court would have the opportunity of submitting them to the inspection of the late Secretary of the Asiatic Society, jointly with Dr. Wilson, the librarian at the East India House, and so the ends of science and of antiquarian research would be most effectually answered.

The care of this magnificent collection, which is large enough to supply all the museums in Europe, has been kindly undertaken by Mr. Cracroft, a very zealous member of the Asiatic Society, and there is ground for hoping that under his superintendence a catalogue may yet be made before he takes his final departure for England. The articles have come round in bags without any separate lists, and in one bag there are about two thousand copper coins.

But, independently of Mr. Masson's collection, another numbered by thousands has been brought to Calcutta by Dr. McLeod, the Inspector General of Hospitals to Her Majesty's forces in India. This consists partly of coins of all metals, but there are also several seals and gems of different stones cut with a great variety of emblems and devices. All these are the property of Sir A. Burnes, and have arrived

for deposit and custody as well as for inspection; they are therefore still available for the curious, and will continue so until Sir A. Burnes shall send instructions as to their disposal. We cannot ourselves undertake the particular examination of these relics so as to give the detailed description they deserve. A selection from the coins had, however, previously been made at Simla, and those deemed most curious being forwarded by the dawk arrived fortunately before the departure of our Editor. Amongst them is that most curious coin of Dr. Lord, with the head of Eucratides on one side, and of both his parents on the other, a drawing of which is exhibited in plate xlii. From the other selected coins thus transmitted, a plate was prepared by the Editor, which was intended to be illustrative of an article he designed giving in our last October number. The plate remains, and we attach it to this article, that the curious who have followed our Editor to the length of his past researches may see the objects which he deemed worthy of fresh illustration in the field of Indo-Bactrian numismatology. If the 'Herefordshire,' the ship in which he took passage, had touched at Madras, or had put into Mauritius, or had met a vessel at sea, we might have hoped for the comments promised on this, as on two other plates which we also intend to give, and shall separately refer to. But the time approaches when the issue of the last number of our series will be expected, and we can no longer defer the publication, under the doubtful expectation of receiving the desiderated paper from the Cape of Good Hope. Of the coins and gems therefore in Sir Alexander Burnes's collection we can at present make no use, but we hold them in deposit for the examination of others, and to await his further instructions. We must be content at present to give the plate referred to, which it will be seen is numbered xliii., together with such brief reading of the names, as a Tyro of Indian numismatics might be expected with the aid of the alphabets to supply. The plate is of Indo-Bactrian coins of date antecedent to the introduction of Grecian art, with the Grecian alphabet, into the mints of that country. The legends are in the ancient No. 1 character of the then universal Pálí language, with Bactrian characters in some instances on the obverse, or intermixed. The names and emblems on these coins are well worth the study of the learned.

Along with Sir A. Burnes's coins, Dr. McLeod brought to Calcutta a very singular relic obtained by Dr. Lord at Badakhshán, and which is, we believe, destined for the British Museum. The relic in question is an ancient patera of silver, embossed in the interior in very high relief, and representing, with all the usual adjuncts of classic mythology, the procession of Bacchus. The god himself sits in a car drawn by two

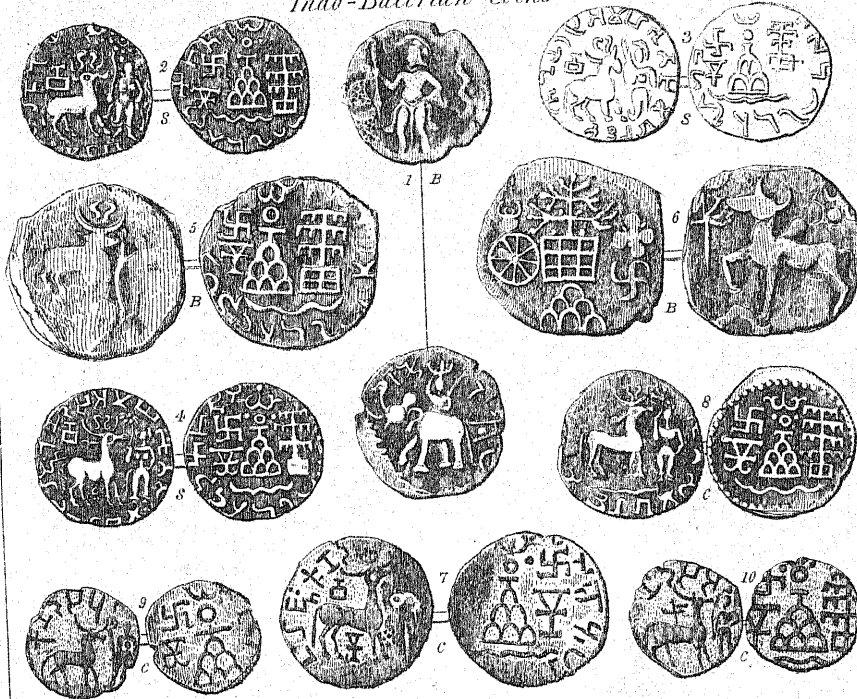
harnessed females with a drinking cup in his hand. A fat infant, Silenus, stands in front, and there is a female figure sitting on the after corner of the car, which, from its disproportionate size, we imagine to be the carved elbow of the seat on which the god reclines. There are also two winged cupids in attendance, one flying with a wand in his hand, to which a fillet is attached, the other end of which is held by the infant Silenus; and the other on the foreground behind the wheel of the car, as if employed in pushing it on. The car is followed by a dancing Hercules, distinguishable by the club and lion skin. The heads of this figure and of the Bacchus are both wanting, owing probably to their having been of gold, or thought so, while the rest of the patera, being only of silver gilt, has escaped similar violation. The gilding, however, is mostly worn away from long use, and in one part the side of the cup is actually worn through. Independently of the circumstance of the main figure being represented with a cup in hand, its identity with the Grecian Bacchus is proved by the vines circumpendent, and by the figure of a tiger standing prominently out in the fore-ground and drinking out of a wine jar.

This patera is the property of Dr. Lord, who is also the fortunate owner of the double-headed coin of Eucratides, the original apparently from which the plate of a similar coin is given in Dr. Vincent's 'Periplus;' but the double head is there represented as being on both sides of the coin. With a liberality deserving of particular notice, both these unique relics have been gratuitously appropriated by the finder, or are intended to be so, in the manner deemed by him most conducive to the ends of science, Dr. Lord not desiring to retain them as isolated trophies of his own good fortune in the field of research and discovery.

I fear we must not look upon this piece of plate as affording evidence of the state of the arts in Badakhshán, where it was found, at any particular epoch. That it is of high antiquity is quite apparent from the condition of the metal, as well as from the design; but in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea, published amongst Arian's works, it is distinctly stated that ἀργυρόματα, i.e. articles of silver plate, were a staple import from the west, for exchange against the productions of India. At Minnagarh, upon the Indus, it is further stated by the author of that treatise that he himself presented to the rája Βασιλίμα ἀργυρόματα, valuable pieces of plate, in order to secure his favor, and the grant of certain privileges of trade. There is thus reason to believe that the patera must have been brought from Greece or Asia Minor, and either presented in like manner, or sold to some sovereign of Bactria, by a merchant desiring similar privileges of trade in that country. That it has been in use for centuries is evident from the



## Indo-Bactrian Coins



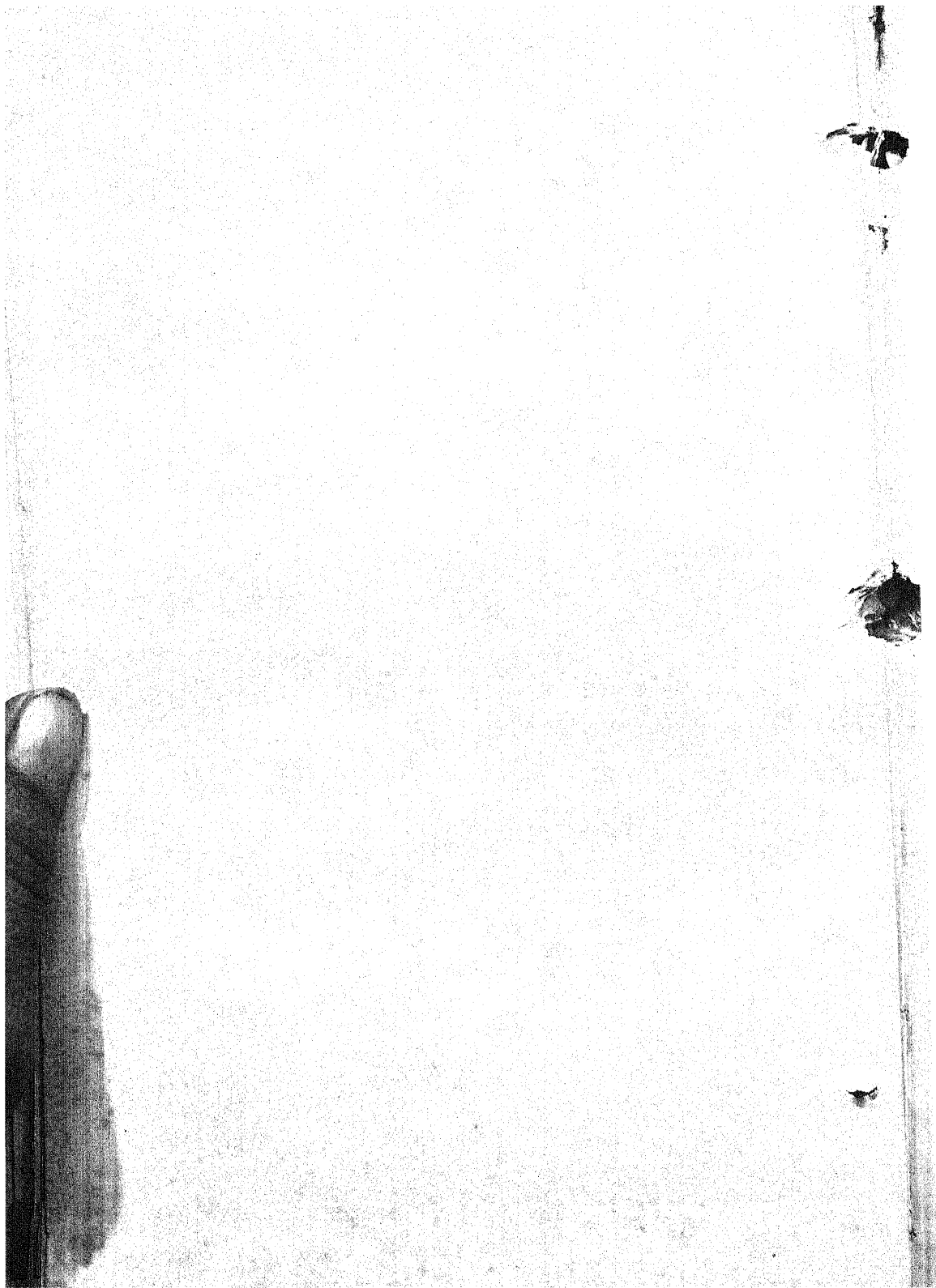
## Buddhist Satrap Coins.



Brinno sc.

Pub by Stephen Austin, Hertford.





worn condition it now presents; but for how many it was in use, and for how many it lay treasured in royal or other repositories, is more than may now be conjectured.

#### INDO-BACTRIAN COINS.

Specification of coins in plate xlv.

1. OBVERSE: Armed figure standing with a club or spear; no inscription.  
REVERSE: Elephant with rider. Bactrian inscription, *Rajasa*; rest not decipherable.
2. OBVERSE: Woman and deer, with inscription not legible: emblem, etc.  
REVERSE: Tree and mountain; with emblems. [See *ante*, vol. i., p. 201.]
3. OBVERSE: Man and bull; same emblem as No. 2; and *Mahdrājasa Mahabhatasa* in old Pāli clearly legible, but the name to the left baffles us.  
REVERSE: Same device and emblems as No. 2, and *Mahdrājasa* clearly legible in Bactrian at the bottom.
4. OBVERSE: Same device as No. 2, and same emblem; *Rajna Rajasa Maghadatasa* in old Pāli.  
REVERSE: Same device and emblems as No. 2; *Mahdrājasa* in Bactrian; the rest not legible.
5. A larger coin; the same device on both sides as No. 3; obverse defaced.  
REVERSE: *Mahdrājasa* in Bactrian characters.
6. OBVERSE: Bull and emblem; no letters.  
REVERSE: Same emblems as Nos. 2, 3, and 4, with addition of a wheel: very peculiar.
7. OBVERSE: Deer and man, with emblems; *Rajna Kunandasa* in old Pāli.  
REVERSE: Same as Nos. 2, 3, 4, etc.
8. OBVERSE: Deer and woman; *Mahdrājasa* in Pāli.  
REVERSE: Same as No 2; no inscription.
9. OBVERSE: Deer and man; *Kunandasya* in Pāli.  
REVERSE: Same as No. 2.
10. Same precisely. Pāli inscription, *Nandasa*, the last letter being an initial  $\eta$  *d*.

#### BUDDHIST SATRAP COINS.

11. OBVERSE: Horse caparisoned.  
REVERSE: *Rajasa*, in Bactrian, with various marks.
12. OBVERSE: Horse.  
REVERSE: Standing figure with bow. Inscription in Pāli, *Sarba tdpasa patamapasa*. [*Khatrapasa P(H?)agdmashasa*.]
13. The same indistinct.
14. OBVERSE: The same worn.  
REVERSE: Inscription in lines. *Tamapasa* legible in Pāli. [*Khatrapasa pagdmasa P(H?)agdmashasa*.]
15. Nothing distinct.
16. OBVERSE: Horse's tail and hind quarter.  
REVERSE: Figure standing. *Lagdmapasa* in Pāli.
- 17, 18, 19. OBVERSE: Bull.  
REVERSE: Standing figure, with inscription *Rajnapadasa*. Centre one in Bactrian.

20. OVERSE: Standing figure. Páli inscription, *Paghugapasa*. [*Khatapasa Raja* . . ]  
REVERSE: Figure. No inscription.  
21. Nothing made out.  
22. OVERSE: Figure in speaking attitude. *Rajna Raghundm*  
23, 24, 25. Not deciphered.

N.B.—These latter are classified as of the Satrap group—first, because of the title Rája or Mahárája not being found in any of them; secondly, because of the names having so evidently an ancient Persian aspect; and lastly, because of the horse emblem, which probably had its origin in the circumstances which attended the accession of Gushtasp, Darius Hystaspes.

END OF ESSAYS.

USEFUL TABLES,  
ILLUSTRATIVE OF  
THE COINS, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES  
OF  
BRITISH INDIA;

TOGETHER WITH  
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES AND GENEALOGICAL LISTS,

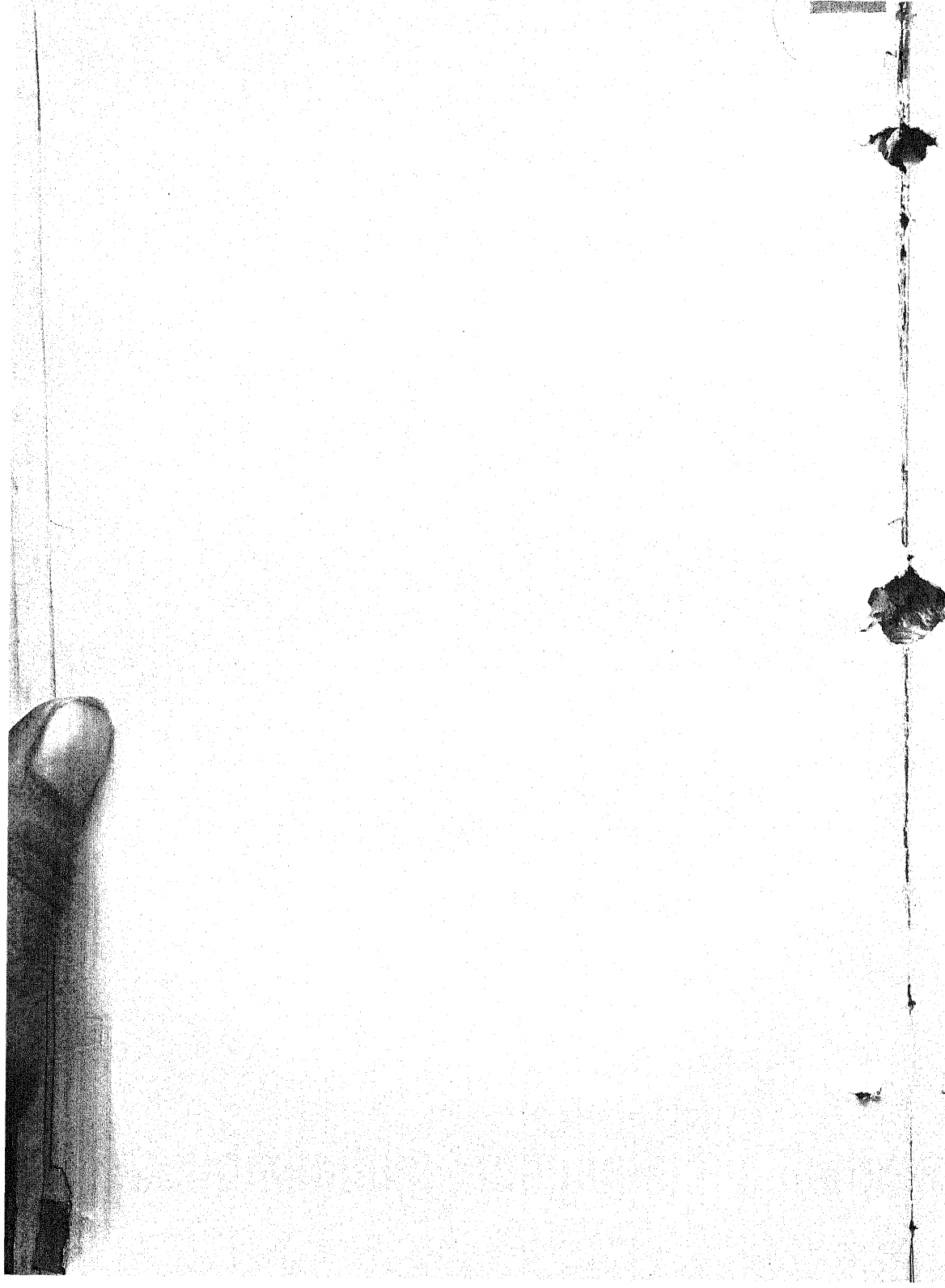
HAVING REFERENCE TO  
INDIA AND OTHER KINGDOMS OF ASIA.

BY THE LATE  
JAMES PRINSEP, F.R.S.,  
SECRETARY TO THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

EDITED,  
WITH NOTES, AND ADDITIONAL MATTER,

BY  
EDWARD THOMAS,  
LATE OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE; MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF CALCUTTA,  
LONDON, AND PARIS.

LONDON:  
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.  
1858.



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## PREFACE.

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IN putting forth this New Edition of Prinsep's Useful Tables, I may confidently appeal to the sterling value of the work, and the appreciation with which it has previously been received by the public in India, as evinced in reprints, partial and entire, issued at Calcutta and elsewhere.

My task as Editor has been limited to bringing up the Monetary Tables to the latest possible date, the occasional insertion of Notes, and the incorporation of such additional Dynastic Lists as chanced to be accessible in this country. The orthography of the Oriental names has usually been reproduced *literatim* after the original printed text, wherein they are found to vary to the extent that might have been anticipated consequent on the assemblage of the component materials from the works of various European commentators, who each followed his own method of transliteration, and who, for the most part, wrote before we had arrived at even the present indeterminate stage in the system of the transcription of Eastern tongues which Sir William Jones so meritoriously inaugurated.



## USEFUL TABLES,

ETC.

### BRITISH INDIAN MONETARY SYSTEM AS ESTABLISHED BY REGULATION VII. OF 1833 [OF THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT.]

Silver is the legally constituted medium of exchange in all money transactions throughout the British Indian possessions. Gold coin is a legal tender, at a fixed value of sixteen rupees<sup>1</sup> for the gold muhr<sup>2</sup> of Calcutta, and fifteen rupees for the gold muhr of Madras and Bombay; but it is not demandable in payment, and is left to find its current value in the market. Copper coin is only a legal tender at the established rate of sixty-four paisá<sup>3</sup> to the rupee, on payments falling short of one rupee.

The rupee is, then, the unit or standard measure of value throughout India, and by the Regulation lately passed, a perfect assimilation in weight and fineness has been effected in this unit of currency of the three Presidencies, so that the rupee of Upper India, of Madras, and of Bombay are now identical in value. From this uniformity are excepted the three provinces of Bengal Proper, Bahár, and Orissa; in which the Murshidábádí or sikká<sup>4</sup> rupee still continues to be the legal currency; but the relation of one coin to the other is now reduced to great simplicity, one Farrukhábád, Madras, or Bombay rupee being precisely equal to fifteen ánáś<sup>5</sup> sikká.

<sup>1</sup> H رُوپیہ rūpiya. S रुपय rūpya, 'silver.' <sup>2</sup> H مہر muhr, 'a seal.'

<sup>3</sup> H پيسا paisa. <sup>4</sup> P سیکہ sikkā, 'a coining die.' H סכר.

<sup>5</sup> S आना and. H आना and.



The following table exhibits the scheme of the British Indian monetary system :

GOLD MUHR.	RUPEE.	ÁNÁ.	PAISÁ.	PÁ'Í. <sup>1</sup>
CALCUTTA ..... 1	16	256	1024	3072
MADRAS AND BOMBAY.... 1	15	240	960	2880
	1	16	64	192
		1	4	12
			1	3

Small shells, called *kaurís*,<sup>2</sup> are also made use of for fractional payments, and are reckoned as follows : but their value is subject to considerable fluctuation, and they are now nearly superseded by the copper currency.

4 Kaurís make .....	1 Gaṇḍa. <sup>3</sup>
20 Gaṇḍas .....	1 Pan. <sup>4</sup>
5 Pans.....	1 Áná.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE CURRENT COINS.

##### GOLD AND SILVER.

The inscriptions upon the Company's gold and silver coins are in Persian, as follows :

OVERSE of the sikká rupee struck at the Calcutta mint.

حامی دین محمد سایه فضل اله سکة زد بر هفت کشور شاه عالم بادشاه  
 "Defender of the Muhammadan faith, Reflection of Divine excellence, the Emperor Sháh 'Álam has struck this coin to be current throughout the seven climes."

REVERSE : ضرب مرشد آباد سنه ۱۹ جلوس میمنت مانوس.

"Struck at Murshidábád in the year 19 of his fortunate reign."

The rupee of the Western provinces, coined at the late mints of Farrukhábád and Benáres, and now at the mint of Ságara, bears the same inscription on the obverse. On the reverse the date and place of coinage are different :—

ضرب فرخ آباد سنه ۴۵ جلوس میمنت مانوس

"Struck at Farrukhábád in the year 45 of his prosperous reign."

The several varieties of coin, produced by modifications of weight, standard, or die, from time to time in the Calcutta and subordinate mints of the Bengal Presidency, from their all bearing the same legend and date, are not easily recognized but by an experienced money-changer. As, however, different regulations regarding deficiency of

<sup>1</sup> H پائی *pa'i*. s पाइ *paḍa*, 'a quarter.' <sup>2</sup> H कौड़ी *kaurī*.

<sup>3</sup> H گنده *ganda*. गण्डक (Elliot.) <sup>4</sup> H پن *pan*. s पण *pana*.

weight, etc., apply to the coins of the old and new standard, it is convenient to point out a mode of discriminating them.

1. The old standard sikká rupee of 1793-1818 has an oblique milling.

2. The new standard sikká rupee of 1818-1832 has a straight milling.

3. The new sikká rupee, struck under the present regulation, has a plain edge, without milling, and a dotted rim on the face.

The distinctions of the oblique and straight milling apply also to the old and new gold muhr. Of the up-country or Farrukhabád coins :—

4. The old standard Farrukhabád rupee (or '45th Sun Lucknow rupee' of Reg. XLV. 1803) has an oblique milling.

5. The Benáres rupee, coined 1806-1819, has also an oblique milling.

6. The new standard Farrukhabád rupee, coined at the Farrukhabád mint, 1819-24, and at the Benares mint, 1819-30, and now at the Sagar mint, has an upright milling.

7. The Farrukhabád rupee, coined under the new regulation at the Calcutta mint, has a plain edge, and a plain rim on the face.

The coins struck before 1793, at the old mints of Patna, Murshidábád, and Dacca, the Benares rupee anterior to 1806, and the coins of all the Native independent states, are known by their having no milling. The Company's coin up the country is thus generally called *kaldár*<sup>1</sup> 'milled, or made by machinery', in contradistinction to the unmilled or native coins, which are fashioned and stamped with the hammer and anvil.

The Madras rupee has a dotted rim on the face, and an indented cord-milling : that coined in Calcutta has an upright milled edge : it has the symbol of a rose on the obverse. The inscriptions are as follows :—

سکہ مبارک بادشاہ غازی عزیزالدین محمد عالم گیر

"The auspicious coin of the noble Monarch, Azíz-ud-dín Muḥammad 'Álamgir !" (the father of Sháh 'Álam.)

ضرب اترکات سنہ ۲۰ جلوس میمنت مانوس

"Struck at Arkát in the 20th year of his propitious reign."

The Bombay coin has now a plain edge and the following legend :

سکہ مبارک شاہ عالم بادشاہ غازی ۱۲۱۵

"The auspicious coin of the great Emperor, Sháh 'Álam, 1215."

ضرب سورت سنہ ۱۲۶ جلوس میمنت مانوس

"Struck at Súrat in the 46th year of his propitious reign."

<sup>1</sup> کلدار *kaldár*.

## COPPER COINS.

The inscription on the Calcutta paisá is, on the OVERSE:  
 سنه جلوس ۳۷ شاه عالم بادشاه

"In the 37th year of the reign of the Emperor, Sháh 'Álam."

On the REVERSE: एक पाई सिक्का    یک پای سکه    एक पाई सिक्का  
 "One pá'í sikká."

In Bengálí, Persian, and Nágari characters. Serrated rim on the face and plain-edge milling.

The new double-paisá or half-áná piece has on one side merely the words 'half-áná,' in English and Bengálí: on the reverse, the same in Persian and Nágari. The pá'í or third of a paisá has in the same manner merely the name 'one pá'í,' which makes it liable to be confounded with the 'one pá'í sikká,' and on this account, perhaps, it has not found ready currency. The natives reckon only sixty-four paisá to the rupee, while English accounts divide the áná into twelve pá'í; to distinguish them, this latter (hitherto an imaginary coin), was called the pá'í of account.

At Madras and Bombay an English device has been introduced for the copper coinage; on one side, the East India Company's arms; on the other, in the Bombay coin, a pair of scales, surmounted with the name of the coin in English; below, the word عدل '*adal*,' 'justice,' in Arabic, and the Hijra date also in Arabic numerals. The Madras paisá coined in England in 1803, has, on the reverse, its value according to the old system 'XX. cash;'<sup>1</sup> and in Persian, بیست کاس چهار *bist kás chahár fals ast*, 'twenty *kás* make four *fals*.' It weighs 180 grains (one *tolá*<sup>2</sup>), and the half and quarter in proportion.

The principal object in this place being to shew the present state of the currency and the existing mint regulations, it is unnecessary to detail the various alterations which have been made from time to time in the monetary systems of the three Presidencies, of which a sketch will hereafter be given as an introduction to the General Table of Indian Coins.

The adoption of a general pictorial impression for all the coins of the British possessions in India, in lieu of the present anomalous system, has frequently engaged the attention of the Government here and at home; and it is hoped, now that the new mints of Calcutta and Bombay are perfectly capable of executing such a design, and the prior measure of equalizing the standards of the three Presidencies has been carried into effect, that the unhappy tissue of mis-statements as to

<sup>1</sup> s कांख or कंस *kansya* or *kans*.

<sup>2</sup> s تولا *told*. (तोला)

names, places, and dates, exposed in the above list, will give place to a device at once worthy of the British name, and affording better security against fraudulent imitation.

## WEIGHT AND ASSAY OF THE COINS.

## GOLD COINS.

The privilege of coining gold in the Bengal Presidency is limited to the mint of Calcutta, where gold muhrs of two standards are now coined: the ashrafi<sup>1</sup> or Murshidábád gold muhr, which maintains a high degree of purity ( $99\frac{1}{4}$  touch) has a weight of 190·895 grains troy. The new standard gold muhr of 1819 contains one-twelfth of alloy. The absolute quantity of pure metal was then reduced in a trifling degree to adjust the ratio of its value to that of silver as fifteen to one.<sup>2</sup> The new gold muhr therefore weighs sixteen-fifteenths of a rupee, and passes by authority for sixteen rupees, but the ratio of gold to silver has been of late years higher in the Calcutta market, especially for the purer coins, so that the new muhr generally passes for sixteen

<sup>1</sup> ر اشرفی *ashrafi*.

<sup>2</sup> In the English coins the ratio is 14·287 to 1—in the French money as 15·5 to 1.

[In continuation of this subject, I extract from the 'Numismatic Chronicle' some remarks of my own, in regard to the relative value of gold and silver in India, at the commencement of the Moghul rule: 'The authoritative reform of the coinage, effected by Shír Sháh (A.H. 946—952=A.D. 1539 to 1545), appears by internal evidence to have been accompanied by a revision and re-adjustment of the relative value of the lower metals, silver and copper. There are no positive data to show at what rate silver exchanged against gold in the time of Shír Sháh; but an examination of Abúl-fazl's description of the coin rates of the great Akbar, who succeeded to the throne in 1556, A.D., discloses the very unexpected proportion of gold to silver as 1 to 9·4! I obtain this result from a comparison of the intrinsic contents assigned to four several descriptions of gold coins in the 'Ayn-i Akbari,' as contrasted with the corresponding total weight of the silver money defined by the same authority as their exchangeable value. I understand both gold and silver to have been pure. Actual assay shows Akbar's gold coins to have been totally unalloyed, and Abúl-fazl himself directly asserts that the silver used in his master's coinage was pure.

I append an outline of my data on this head:—

1st.—Chagal, weight in gold T. 3, M. 0, R.  $5\frac{1}{4}$ =30 Rs. of  $11\frac{1}{2}$  máshas each : 549·84 ::  $172\cdot5 \times 30$  (5175·0) : 1 :: 9·4118.

2nd.—Áftábí, gold, weight T. 1, M. 2, R.  $4\frac{3}{4}$ =12 Rs. : 218·90 ::  $172\cdot5 \times 12$  (2070·0) : 1 :: 9·4563.

3rd.—Iláhi, gold, weight M. 12, R.  $1\frac{3}{4}$ =10 Rs. : 183·28 ::  $172\cdot5 \times 10$  (1725·0) : 1 :: 9·4118.

4th.—'Adl Gutkah, gold, weight 11 máshas=9 Rs. : 165 ::  $172\cdot5 \times 9$  (1552·5) : 1 :: 9·40909.

(The common tolá of 180 gr., másha of 15 gr., and rati of 1·875 gr. have been used in these calculations).

Annexed are the relative proportions of these several denominations of coins, as given by Abúl-fazl—extracted verbatim from an excellent MS. of his 'Ayn-i Akbari.' And to complete the original details of the entire subject for those who may desire to

to seventeen, and the old gold muhr for seventeen to eighteen, sikká rupees. When originally coined, both of these moneys were at a discount.

The proportion of fifteen to one is also adopted in the gold rupees of Madras and Bombay, which are coined of the same weight as the silver money of those Presidencies, and pass current for fifteen silver rupees.

The weights and purity of the gold coins are as follows:—

DENOMINATION.	Pure gold.	Alloy.	Weight in gold.	Weight in tolas.	Legal value.
Old Calcutta muhr, <sup>1</sup> with an oblique milled edge	189.4037	1.4913	190.895	1.060	} 16 sikká rupees.
New standard gold muhr, with a straight milling	187.651	17.059	204.710	1.137	
Madras and Bombay new gold rupee .....	165	15	180	1.000	15 rupees.

examine them, I also subjoin the Rupee equivalents, further determining the actual value of the silver coins.

چگل بضم چیم وکاف فارسی و سکون لام چهار گوشه سه تولچه  
و پنج سرخ و ربع قیمت سے روپیہ  
آفتابے گرد - بوزن یکتولچہ دو ماشہ و پنج سرخ ربع کم \* بیا \*

دوازده روپیہ  
الہی [لعل جلالی] گرد \* دوازده ماشہ دو سرخ ربع کم  
آفتابے منقوش اربع دہ روپیہ

عدل گتکہ بفتح عین و سکون دال و لام و ضم کاف فارسی و سکون  
تای فوقانے ہندی و فتح کاف و ہاء مکتوب یازدہ ماشکی قیمت نہ روپیہ  
روپیہ سیمین نقدیست گرد یازدہ و نیم ماشکی در زمان شیر  
خان پدید آمد \* \* از چہل دام اگرچہ نرخ افزون و کم شود  
لیکن در مواجب این قیمت اعتبار رود

جلالہ چہار گوشہ \* \* در وزن و نقش چون نخستین  
روپیہ سه گونه روای داشت اول چہار گوشہ پاک سیم بوزن  
یازدہ و نیم ماشہ جلالہ نام ارز چہل دام [E.T. . . . .]

<sup>1</sup> This coin is inserted, contrary to rule, because its fabrication is still permitted at the Calcutta mint, for the convenience of the merchants; as it bears a higher value, proportionally, in the market than the new muhr.

Half and quarter gold muhrs are coined of proportionate weight to the above.

The pagoda of Madras and the old gold muhr of Bombay will find their place in the General Table of Coins.

## SILVER COINS.

The weight, fineness, and relative value of the silver coins established by the new regulation are as follows:—

DENOMINATION.	Pure silver. Troy grains.	Alloy. Troy grains.	Weight in troy grains.	Weight in tolás.
Calcutta sikká rupee.....	176	16	192	1.0666
Farrukhabád, Sonat, <sup>1</sup> Ságar, Madras, or Bombay rupee .....	165	15	180	1.000

Eight-áná pieces (*dih-anni*<sup>2</sup>) and four-áná pieces (*súkt*<sup>3</sup> or *chau-anni*<sup>4</sup>) are struck of proportionate weight to each of the above coins.

The standard quality of the metal is eleven-twelfths of pure silver to one-twelfth of alloy.

The conversion of sikká into Farrukhabád rupees and *vice versa* may be effected in the simplest manner by the following rules, which obviate the necessity of providing tables for the purpose.

**RULE FIRST.**—To convert Farrukhabád rupees into sikká rupees:—Deduct one-sixteenth of the amount of the Farrukhabád rupees from that amount, and the result will be their equivalent in sikkás.

**RULE SECOND.**—To convert sikká rupees into Farrukhabád, Madras, or Bombay rupees:—Add one-fifteenth of the amount of the sikkás to that amount, and the result will be the equivalent in Farrukhabád, Madras, or Bombay rupees.

To avoid confusion here, the weights and values of the former currencies of the Company, which differ in a small degree from the foregoing scale, as well as those of the existing currencies of the Native States, will be inserted in the General Table before alluded to.

All silver money of the new standard (with a straight milling or a plain edge), is considered by law as of full weight until it has lost by wear or otherwise two pái in the rupee; or, in round terms, one per cent.

<sup>1</sup> سنَوَات sanawát, pl. of سنة sanat, 'year.'

<sup>2</sup> دیھ آنہ آئی dih-anni. <sup>3</sup> سوکي súkt, or سوکا súká. <sup>4</sup> چو آئی chau-anni.

Coins of the old standard (with the oblique milling) remain subject to the provision of Regulation LXI., 1795, which allows them to remain a legal tender until they have lost only six *ánás* per cent.

The limits of weight are, therefore, as follows :—

	Original weight.	Allowance for wear.	Minimum weight.	Min. weight of 100 rupees.
Old sikká or Murshidábád rupee	179.666 grs.	6 <i>ánás</i> per ct.	179 grs.	99.44 <i>tolás</i>
New sikká rupee...	192 grs.	2 <i>pá'i</i> p. rup.	190 grs.	105.55 <i>tolás</i>
Farrukhábád, old rupee	173 grs.	6 <i>ánás</i> p. ct.	172.352	95.75 <i>tolás</i>
„ new rupee	180 grs.	2 <i>pá'i</i> p. rup.	178.125	99. <i>tolás</i>

Light-weight rupees are received by Government officers as bullion, the deficiency from standard weight being made good by the payer.

#### COPPER COINS.

The copper coins of Bengal and Bombay are now equalized in weight, and are as follows :—

	Troy grains.	Value.
The half- <i>áná</i> piece .....	200	6 <i>pá'i</i> of account
The <i>paisá</i> (marked one <i>pá'i</i> sikká).....	100	3 ditto
The <i>pá'i</i> of account .....	33 $\frac{1}{3}$	1 ditto

By Regulation XXV. of 1817, Sect. 5, copper *paisá*, struck at the Benares mint, weighing 98 $\frac{1}{4}$  grains, which were intended at first (*vide* Reg. VII. 1814), for circulation in the province of Benares only, and were distinguished with a trident or *trisul*,<sup>1</sup> the symbol of Siva, were made current throughout the Bengal provinces at par with the Calcutta and Farrukhábád *paisá*.

#### COINAGE DUTY OR SEIGNORAGE.

All the Company's mints are open to the reception of gold<sup>1</sup> and silver bullion for coinage on private account. The following is the course of proceeding adopted in the Calcutta mint:—after examination by the processes of cutting and burning, to ascertain that there is no fraudulent admixture, the proprietor takes a receipt from the Mint-Master for the weight of his bullion.—A specimen is then taken for assay, and after that operation the mint receipt is exchanged, at the Assay Office, for a certificate of the standard value of the bullion in gold or silver money. This certificate is convertible into cash at the Treasury as soon as the new coin may be transmitted thither from the mint.

<sup>1</sup> त्रिशूल (विशूल)

<sup>2</sup> Except the Sagar Mint, which coins silver only.

A deduction is made from the assay produce of bullion to cover the expenses of coinage, which vary at the different mints as follows :

	On Gold Bullion.	On Silver Bullion.
At the Calcutta mint.....	2 per cent.	2 per cent.
At the Sagar mint.....	2 ditto.	2 ditto.

[If required in halves and quarters, an additional duty of one per cent. is levied at these Mints.]

At the Madras mint <sup>1</sup> .....	3 per cent.	4 per cent. }	} now 2 per cent.
At the Bombay mint <sup>1</sup> .....	2½ ditto.	3 ditto.	

On the re-coinage of rupees struck at the Company's mints of the Bengal Presidency, a charge of one per cent. only is levied.

The rates of seignorage at Bombay and Madras include the charge for refining; for which a separate charge is made in the Calcutta and Sagar mints, on under-standard bullion only, at the rate of 0.4 per cent. per pennyweight of worseness in the assay: (unless such inferior bullion is required for the purposes of alligation at the mint, when the charge may be remitted on the authority of the Mint Master).

The following is a table of refined charges :—

Assay.	Refining charge per cent.	Assay.	Refining charge per cent.	Assay.	Refining charge per cent.	Assay.	Refining charge per cent.
<i>dwts.</i>		<i>dwts.</i>		<i>dwts.</i>		<i>dwts.</i>	
0½ Wo.	0.02	6½ Wo.	0.26	12½ Wo.	0.50	18½ Wo.	0.74
1 Wo.	0.04	7 Wo.	0.28	13 Wo.	0.52	19 Wo.	0.76
1½ Wo.	0.06	7½ Wo.	0.30	13½ Wo.	0.54	19½ Wo.	0.78
2 Wo.	0.08	8 Wo.	0.32	14 Wo.	0.56	20 Wo.	0.80
2½ Wo.	0.10	8½ Wo.	0.34	14½ Wo.	0.58	20½ Wo.	0.82
3 Wo.	0.12	9 Wo.	0.36	15 Wo.	0.60	21 Wo.	0.84
3½ Wo.	0.14	9½ Wo.	0.38	15½ Wo.	0.62	21½ Wo.	0.86
4 Wo.	0.16	10 Wo.	0.40	16 Wo.	0.64	22 Wo.	0.88
4½ Wo.	0.18	10½ Wo.	0.42	16½ Wo.	0.66	22½ Wo.	0.90
5 Wo.	0.20	11 Wo.	0.44	17 Wo.	0.68	23 Wo.	0.92
5½ Wo.	0.22	11½ Wo.	0.46	17½ Wo.	0.70	23½ Wo.	0.94
6 Wo.	0.24	12 Wo.	0.48	18 Wo.	0.72	24 Wo.	0.96

And so on for silver of inferior quality. By the practice of the Calcutta mint, the charge for refining is usually remitted up to 6 Wo.; at the Sagar mint, it is levied on all denominations of bullion inferior to standard.

The next two tables, for calculating the intrinsic or assay produce of bullion, are applicable to all the Company's mints, where the tola weight has been adopted.

<sup>1</sup> These two are inserted on the authority of Kelly's 'Cambist;' it seems very advisable that the charges should be equalized at the three Presidency mints, as otherwise the desired uniformity of value cannot be maintained.



TABLE of the *Intrinsic or Assay Produce of Silver Bullion in Farrukh-  
ābād and Calcutta rupees, from the 1st of May, 1833.*

Weight of bullion- in tolas or new weight.	Assay Report.	Touch, or fine silver, in 100 parts.	Produce in Farru- khābād, Madras, or Bombay Rs.	Produce in Calcutta or sikkā rupees.	Weight of bullion- in tolas or new weight.	Assay Report.	Touch, or fine silver, in 100 parts.	Produce in Farru- khābād, Madras, or Bombay rupees.	Produce in Calcutta or sikkā rupees.
100	<i>dwts.</i>				100	<i>dwts.</i>			
	20 Br.	100.000	109.091	102.273		5 Wo.	89.583	97.727	91.689
	19½ Br.	99.792	108.864	102.060		5½ Wo.	89.375	97.500	91.406
	18 Br.	99.583	108.636	101.846		6 Wo.	89.167	97.273	91.193
	19½ Br.	99.375	108.409	101.633		6½ Wo.	88.958	97.045	90.980
	18 Br.	99.167	108.182	101.421		7 Wo.	88.750	96.818	90.767
	17½ Br.	98.958	107.955	101.208		7½ Wo.	88.542	96.591	90.554
	17 Br.	98.750	107.727	100.994		8 Wo.	88.333	96.364	90.341
	16½ Br.	98.542	107.500	100.781		8½ Wo.	88.125	96.136	90.127
	16 Br.	98.333	107.273	100.568		9 Wo.	87.917	95.909	89.915
	15½ Br.	98.125	107.045	100.355		9½ Wo.	87.708	95.682	89.702
	15 Br.	97.917	106.818	100.142		10 Wo.	87.500	95.455	89.489
	14½ Br.	97.708	106.591	99.929		10½ Wo.	87.292	95.227	89.275
	14 Br.	97.500	106.364	99.716		11 Wo.	87.084	95.000	89.062
	13½ Br.	97.292	106.136	99.502		11½ Wo.	86.875	94.773	88.850
	13 Br.	97.083	105.909	99.290		12 Wo.	86.667	94.545	88.636
	12½ Br.	96.875	105.682	99.077		12½ Wo.	86.458	94.318	88.423
	12 Br.	96.667	105.455	98.864		13 Wo.	86.250	94.091	88.210
	11½ Br.	96.458	105.227	98.650		13½ Wo.	86.042	93.864	87.998
	11 Br.	96.250	105.000	98.437		14 Wo.	85.834	93.636	87.784
	10½ Br.	96.042	104.773	98.225		14½ Wo.	85.625	93.409	87.571
	10 Br.	95.833	104.545	98.011		15 Wo.	85.417	93.182	87.358
	9½ Br.	95.625	104.318	97.798		15½ Wo.	85.208	92.955	87.145
	9 Br.	95.417	104.091	97.585		16 Wo.	85.000	92.727	86.932
	8½ Br.	95.208	103.864	97.372		16½ Wo.	84.792	92.500	86.719
	8 Br.	95.000	103.636	97.159		17 Wo.	84.583	92.273	86.506
	7½ Br.	94.792	103.409	96.946		17½ Wo.	84.375	92.045	86.292
	7 Br.	94.583	103.182	96.733		18 Wo.	84.167	91.818	86.079
	6½ Br.	94.375	102.955	96.520		18½ Wo.	83.958	91.591	85.867
	6 Br.	94.167	102.727	96.306		19 Wo.	83.750	91.364	85.654
	5½ Br.	93.958	102.500	96.094		19½ Wo.	83.542	91.136	85.440
	5 Br.	93.750	102.273	95.881		20 Wo.	83.333	90.900	85.227
	4½ Br.	93.542	102.045	95.667		20½ Wo.	83.125	90.682	85.015
	4 Br.	93.333	101.818	95.454		21 Wo.	82.917	90.454	84.801
	3½ Br.	93.125	101.591	95.241		21½ Wo.	82.708	90.227	84.588
	3 Br.	92.917	101.364	95.029		22 Wo.	82.500	90.000	84.375
	2½ Br.	92.708	101.136	94.815		22½ Wo.	82.292	89.773	84.162
	2 Br.	92.500	100.909	94.602		23 Wo.	82.083	89.545	83.955
	1½ Br.	92.292	100.682	94.389		23½ Wo.	81.875	89.318	83.736
	1 Br.	92.083	100.455	94.176		24 Wo.	81.667	89.091	83.523
	½ Br.	91.875	100.227	93.963		24½ Wo.	81.458	88.864	83.310
	Standard.	91.667	100.000	93.750		25 Wo.	81.250	88.636	83.097
	½ Wo.	91.458	99.773	93.537		25½ Wo.	81.042	88.409	82.884
	1 Wo.	91.250	99.545	93.323		26 Wo.	80.833	88.182	82.671
	1½ Wo.	91.042	99.318	93.111		26½ Wo.	80.625	87.955	82.463
	2 Wo.	90.833	99.091	92.898		27 Wo.	80.417	87.727	82.244
	2½ Wo.	90.625	98.864	92.685		27½ Wo.	80.208	87.500	82.032
	3 Wo.	90.417	98.636	92.471		28 Wo.	80.000	87.273	81.819
	3½ Wo.	90.208	98.409	92.258		28½ Wo.	79.792	87.045	81.605
	4 Wo.	90.000	98.182	92.046		29 Wo.	79.583	86.818	81.392
	4½ Wo.	89.792	97.955	91.833		29½ Wo.	79.375	86.591	81.179
						30 Wo.	79.167	86.364	80.972

And so on of bullion of inferior quality.

TABLE of the *Intrinsic or Assay Produce of Gold Bullion in Calcutta gold muhrs and Bombay gold rupees.*

Weight of bullion in tolas.	Assay in carats and grains.	Touch, or pure gold in 100 parts.	Intrinsic produce in tolas and Bombay gold muhrs.	Produce in new Calcutta gold muhrs of 90.710 grains.	Produce in old gold muhrs of 100.870 grains.	Weight of bullion in tolas.	Assay in carats and grains.	Touch, or pure gold in 100 parts.	Intrinsic produce in tolas or in Madras and Bombay gold muhrs.	Produce in new Calcutta gold muhrs of 90.710 grains.
100	c. 0 Br.	100.000	109.091	95.923	95.035	100	c. 0 Wo.	87.500	95.454	83.831
"	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Br.	99.740	108.861	95.674	94.787	"	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	87.239	95.170	83.683
"	1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ Br.	99.470	108.523	95.423	94.540	"	1 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	86.979	94.886	83.433
"	1 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ Br.	99.219	108.239	95.173	94.293	"	1 0 $\frac{1}{8}$ Wo.	86.719	94.602	83.183
"	1 3 Br.	98.958	107.954	94.924	94.045	"	1 1 Wo.	86.458	94.318	82.933
"	1 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ Br.	98.698	107.670	94.674	93.798	"	1 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	86.198	94.034	82.683
"	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Br.	98.437	107.386	94.424	93.550	"	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	85.937	93.750	82.434
"	1 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ Br.	98.177	107.102	94.174	93.303	"	1 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	85.677	93.466	82.184
"	1 2 Br.	97.917	106.818	93.924	93.055	"	1 2 Wo.	85.416	93.182	81.934
"	1 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ Br.	97.656	106.534	93.675	92.808	"	1 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	85.156	92.898	81.684
"	1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Br.	97.396	106.250	93.425	92.560	"	1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	84.896	92.614	81.434
"	1 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Br.	97.135	105.966	93.175	92.313	"	1 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	84.635	92.329	81.185
"	1 1 Br.	96.875	105.682	92.925	92.065	"	1 3 Wo.	84.375	92.045	80.935
"	1 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ Br.	96.615	105.398	92.675	91.818	"	1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	84.115	91.761	80.685
"	1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ Br.	96.354	105.114	92.426	91.570	"	1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	83.854	91.477	80.435
"	1 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ Br.	96.094	104.829	92.176	91.323	"	1 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	83.594	91.193	80.185
"	1 0 Br.	95.833	104.545	91.926	91.075	"	2 0 Wo.	83.333	90.909	79.936
"	0 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ Br.	95.573	104.261	91.676		"	2 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	83.073	90.625	79.686
"	0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Br.	95.313	103.978	91.426		"	2 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	82.812	90.341	79.436
"	0 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ Br.	95.052	103.693	91.177		"	2 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	82.552	90.057	79.186
"	0 3 Br.	94.792	103.409	90.927		"	2 1 Wo.	82.291	89.773	78.936
"	0 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ Br.	94.531	103.125	90.677		"	2 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	82.031	89.489	78.687
"	0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Br.	94.271	102.841	90.426		"	2 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	81.770	89.204	78.437
"	0 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ Br.	94.010	102.557	90.177		"	2 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	81.510	88.920	78.187
"	0 2 Br.	93.750	102.273	89.928		"	2 2 Wo.	81.250	88.636	77.937
"	0 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ Br.	93.489	101.989	89.678		"	2 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	80.990	88.352	77.687
"	0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Br.	93.229	101.704	89.428		"	2 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	80.729	88.068	77.438
"	0 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Br.	92.969	101.420	89.178		"	2 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	80.469	87.784	77.188
"	0 1 Br.	92.708	101.136	88.928		"	2 3 Wo.	80.108	87.500	76.938
"	0 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ Br.	92.448	100.852	88.679		"	2 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	79.948	87.216	76.688
"	0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ Br.	92.187	100.568	88.429		"	2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	79.687	86.932	76.438
"	0 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ Br.	91.927	100.284	88.179		"	2 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	79.427	86.648	76.189
"	Standard.	91.667	100.000	87.929		"	3 0 Wo.	79.166	86.364	75.939
"	0 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	91.406	99.716	87.679		"	3 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	78.906	86.079	75.689
"	0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	91.156	99.432	87.430		"	3 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	78.646	85.795	75.439
"	0 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	90.886	99.148	87.180		"	3 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	78.385	85.511	75.189
"	0 1 Wo.	90.625	98.864	86.920		"	3 1 Wo.	78.125	85.227	74.940
"	0 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	90.365	98.579	86.680		"	3 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	77.864	84.943	74.694
"	0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	90.104	98.295	86.430		"	3 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	77.604	84.659	74.440
"	0 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	89.844	98.011	86.180		"	3 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	77.344	84.375	74.190
"	0 2 Wo.	89.583	97.727	85.931		"	3 2 Wo.	77.083	84.091	73.940
"	0 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	89.323	97.443	85.681		"	3 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	76.823	83.807	73.691
"	0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	89.062	97.159	85.431		"	3 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	76.562	83.523	73.441
"	0 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	88.802	96.875	85.181		"	3 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	76.302	83.239	73.191
"	0 3 Wo.	88.541	96.591	84.932		"	3 3 Wo.	76.042	82.954	72.941
"	0 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	88.281	96.307	84.682		"	3 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ Wo.	75.781	82.670	72.691
"	0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	88.021	96.023	84.432		"	3 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wo.	75.521	82.386	72.442
"	0 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	87.760	95.739	84.182		"	3 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ Wo.	75.260	82.102	72.192
"						"	4 0 Wo.	75.000	81.818	71.942

Gold of inferior quality is not receivable for coinage in old standard muhrs.

And so on of bullion of inferior quality.

The refining charges on under-standard gold as applied at Calcutta are as follows:—

	car.	gr.			car.	gr.	
From .....	0	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	Wo.	to	1	1	Wo. $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
From .....	1	1	Wo.	to	2	2	Wo. 1 per cent.
From .....	2	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	Wo.	to	3	3	Wo. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.
From .....	3	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	Wo.	to	5	0	Wo. 2 per cent.
From .....	5	0 $\frac{1}{4}$	Wo.	to	7	2	Wo. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., etc.

For old standard muhrs, merchants are obliged to bring their gold already refined to the requisite degree of purity.

The produce of any weight, in tolás, of assayed bullion is found by multiplying it by the number opposite to the assay in the proper column (of sikká or Farrukhábád rupees, or new or gold muhrs, as the case may be), and dividing by 100. To find the pure contents, the number in the third column 'or touch,' must be taken as the multiplier. For example:—

I. 5432 tolás of refined cake silver reported, on assay, to be 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  dwts. Br. yield in sikká rupees,  $5432 \times 100.355 \div 100 = 5451.254$ , or sá. rupees 5451 4 1.

II. 1200 tolás of dollars at 5 Wo. contain of pure silver  $1200 \times 89.583 \div 100 = 1075$  tolás pure.

III. 100 twenty franc-pieces, weighing 55.319 tolás, at 0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  c. grs. Wo. yield  $55.319 \times 86.430 \div 100 = 47.812$  new gold muhrs.

These tables, and, indeed, all that are inserted in the present paper, express the fractions of the rupèe, or of the tolá, in decimals. For converting this expression into the ordinary division of áná's and pá'ís, and *vice versa*, the following table will be found very convenient, and of constant application in monetary calculations.

TABLE for reducing Áná's and Pá'ís into decimal parts of a Rupee.  
1 áná = 0.0625.

ÁNÁ'S.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11 pái
0	.0000	.0052	.0104	.0156	.0208	.0260	.0312	.0365	.0417	.0469	.0521	.0573
1	.0625	.0677	.0729	.0781	.0833	.0885	.0937	.0990	.1042	.1094	.1146	.1198
2	.1250	.1302	.1354	.1406	.1458	.1510	.1562	.1615	.1667	.1719	.1771	.1823
3	.1875	.1927	.1979	.2031	.2083	.2135	.2187	.2240	.2292	.2344	.2396	.2448
4	.2500	.2552	.2604	.2656	.2708	.2760	.2812	.2864	.2917	.2969	.3021	.3073
5	.3125	.3177	.3229	.3281	.3333	.3385	.3437	.3489	.3542	.3594	.3646	.3698
6	.3750	.3802	.3854	.3906	.3958	.4010	.4062	.4115	.4167	.4219	.4271	.4323
7	.4375	.4427	.4479	.4531	.4583	.4635	.4687	.4740	.4792	.4844	.4896	.4948
8	.5000	.5052	.5104	.5156	.5208	.5260	.5312	.5365	.5417	.5469	.5521	.5573
9	.5625	.5677	.5729	.5781	.5833	.5885	.5937	.5990	.6042	.6094	.6146	.6198
10	.6250	.6302	.6354	.6406	.6458	.6510	.6562	.6615	.6667	.6719	.6771	.6823
11	.6875	.6927	.6979	.7031	.7083	.7135	.7187	.7240	.7292	.7344	.7396	.7448
12	.7500	.7552	.7604	.7656	.7708	.7760	.7812	.7865	.7917	.7969	.8021	.8073
13	.8125	.8177	.8230	.8281	.8333	.8385	.8437	.8490	.8542	.8594	.8646	.8698
14	.8750	.8802	.8854	.8906	.8958	.9010	.9062	.9115	.9167	.9219	.9271	.9323
15	.9375	.9427	.9479	.9532	.9583	.9635	.9687	.9740	.9787	.9844	.9896	.9948

## EXCHANGES.

For the conversion of the rupee into the equivalent currency of other nations, it is necessary to take into consideration the fluctuating relative value of the precious metals *inter se*, from the circumstance of gold being in some, and silver in others, the legal medium of circulation.

It is also necessary to take account of the mint charge for coining at each place, which adds a fictitious value to the local coin. The 'par of exchange' is, for these reasons, a somewhat ambiguous term, requiring to be distinguished under two more definite denominations. 1st, the 'intrinsic par,' which represents that case in which the pure metal contained in the parallel denominations of coins is equal. 2nd, the 'commercial par,' or that case in which the current value of the coin at each place (after deducting the seignorage leviable for coinage) is equal: or in other words, 'two sums of money of different countries are commercially at par, while they can purchase an equal quantity of the same kind of pure metal.'<sup>1</sup>

Thus, if silver be taken from India to England, it must be sold to a bullion merchant at the market price, the proprietor receiving payment in gold (or notes convertible into it). The London mint is closed against the importer of silver; which metal has not, therefore, a minimum value in the English market fixed by the mint price: although it has so in Calcutta, where it may always be converted into coin at a charge of two per cent. On the other hand, if a remittance in gold be made from this country to England, its out-turn there is known and fixed: each new Calcutta gold muhr being convertible into 1.66 or  $1\frac{2}{3}$  sovereigns nearly; but the price of the gold muhr fluctuates as considerably in India as that of silver does in England, the natural tendency of commerce being to bring to an equilibrium the operations of exchange in the two metals.

The exchange between England and India has, therefore, a two-fold expression; for silver, the price of the sikká rupee in shillings and pence:—for gold, the price of the sovereign in rupees. To calculate the out-turn of a bullion remittance in either metal, recourse may be had to the following

## TABLES OF ENGLISH AND INDIAN EXCHANGES.

The data for the calculation of these tables are:—

1st. One *man*<sup>2</sup> (or 100lbs. troy) of silver (one-twelfth alloy) is coined into 3,200 Farrukhábád rupees, or into 3,000 sikká rupees, of which sixty-four and sixty respectively are taken as mint duty, being at the rate of two per cent.

<sup>1</sup> Kelly's 'Cambist,' iii., 13.

<sup>2</sup> A *man* or *mam*. מנה

2nd. 100lbs. troy of English standard silver (18-240ths alloy) are coined into 6,600 shillings, of which 400 are taken as seignorage or mint duty, being 4s. per lb., or nearly six per cent.; but the mint is not open to the holders of silver bullion, which is only purchased through the bank when required for coinage.

3rd. The sovereign (1-12th alloy) weighs 123.25 grains troy, and no duty is charged on its coinage. 100 lbs. of pure gold yields 5098.3 sovereigns, = 3069.5 new gold muhrs, = 3041.4 old gold muhrs, = 3490.9 Madras and Bombay muhrs.

TABLE showing the produce of 100 sikká rupees and of 1 sikká rupee in shillings sterling at London, for different quotations of the price of silver in the London price current.

At the London price of silver per troy ounce.		100 sikká rupees will produce	Exchange per sikká rupee.		Remarks.
at	s. d.	Shillings.	s.	d.	
	5 6	218.018	2	2.2	Intrinsic par of coins. { (2s. 1.64d.) Calcutta mint price of silver. { (2s. 1.07d.) commer- cial par of exchange. { (2s. 0.58d.) London mint price of silver. (5s. 2d.)
	5 5	214.714	2	1.8	
	5 4	211.411	2	1.4	
	5 3	208.108	2	1.0	
	5 2	204.805	2	0.6	
	5 1	201.501	2	0.2	
	5 0	198.198	1	11.8	
	4 11	194.895	1	11.4	
	4 10	191.591	1	11.0	
	4 9	188.288	1	10.6	
	4 8	184.984	1	10.2	
	4 7	181.681	1	9.8	
	4 6	178.378	1	9.4	

TABLE showing the produce of 100 Farrukhabád, Sagar, Sonat, Madras, or Bombay rupees (or 100 tolas) of Bengal standard silver (one-twelfth alloy), in shillings and the consequent rate of exchange.

London price of silver per troy ounce.		100 Farrukhabád, Madras, or Bombay rupees will produce	Exchange per Farrukhabád rupee.		Remarks.
s.	d.	Shillings.	s.	d.	
5	6	204.390	2	0.5	Intrinsic par of coins. { (2s. 0.04d.) Calcutta mint price of silver. { (1s. 11.51d.) commer- cial par of exchange. { (1s. 11.04d.) London mint price of silver. (5s. 2d.)
5	5	201.293	2	0.15	
5	4	198.196	1	11.8	
5	3	195.099	1	11.5	
5	2	192.002	1	11.1	
5	1	188.905	1	10.7	
5	0	185.809	1	10.3	
4	11	182.712	1	10.0	
4	10	179.615	1	9.6	
4	9	176.518	1	9.2	
4	8	173.421	1	8.8	
4	7	170.324	1	8.44	
4	6	167.228	1	8.06	

The exchange which a bullion remittance from England to India will yield at the London prices of the first column may be found by adding two per cent. to the columns of produce: thus, at 5s. an ounce,  $185.8 + 3.7 = 189.5$  shillings invested in silver bullion, will produce 100 Farrukhabád rupees, and give an exchange of 1s.  $10\frac{3}{4}$ d. per Farrukhabád rupee. The same remark applies to the above table for sikká rupee exchanges.

TABLE shewing the produce of a remittance to London in gold bullion or coin, and the corresponding exchange in Calcutta, Farrukhabád, Madras, and Bombay rupees.

Calcutta price of Gold Muhr.		Calcutta price of English Sovereign.	Calcutta price of standard Gold Bullion per 100 tolas.	Intrinsic produce of 100 Sagar rupees thus invested in England.	Intrinsic produce of 100 Farrukhabād, Madras, or Bombay rupees ditto.	Exchange per sikkā rupee.		Exchange per Farrukhabād, Madras, and Bombay rupee.	
<i>Rs.</i>	<i>An.</i>	<i>Sd. Rs.</i>	<i>Sd. Rs.</i>	<i>Shillings.</i>	<i>Shillings.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
16	0	9 633	1406.868	207.616	194.640	2	0.91	1	11.35
16	2	9.708	1417.859	206.006	193.131	2	0.72	1	11.17
16	4	9.783	1428.850	204.422	191.646	2	0.52	1	10.99
16	6	9.858	1439.841	202.861	190.183	2	0.33	1	10.82
16	8	9.934	1450.832	201.325	188.743	2	0.15	1	10.64
16	10	10.009	1461.823	199.811	187.323	1	11.97	1	10.48
16	12	10.084	1472.814	198.329	185.924	1	11.79	1	10.31
16	14	10.160	1483.805	196.850	184.547	1	11.62	1	10.16
17	0	10.235	1494.797	195.403	183.190	1	11.44	1	9.98
17	2	10.310	1505.788	193.977	181.853	1	11.27	1	9.82
17	4	10.385	1516.779	192.571	180.535	1	11.10	1	9.66
17	6	10.462	1527.770	191.185	179.236	1	10.94	1	9.50
17	8	10.536	1538.761	189.820	177.956	1	10.77	1	9.35

[The old Calcutta gold muhr is omitted in this table, because it bears an artificial value, 14 or 15 ánas higher than the new standard muhr.]

The above tables give intrinsic results; that is, they exclude all calculation of charges, insurance, freight, commission, etc., which are of a variable nature. It may be generally assumed, however, that four per cent., or one penny in the rupee, will cover all expenses of remittance to England, from which may be deducted a saving of six months' interest, when comparing the transaction with mercantile bills of twelve months' date.

The par of exchange with other countries may be estimated from the intrinsic and mint produce of their coins, thus:—assuming the Spanish dollar to weigh 416 grains troy, and to be five dwts. worse in assay, we have for

#### SPAIN AND AMERICA.

100 DOLLARS { = 231.111 tolas in weight,  
 { = 225.858 Fd. rupees, } or deducting duty { 221.341 Fd. rupees.  
 { = 211.742 sikká rupees, } of 2 per cent. { 207.508 sikká Rs.

The Spanish dollar forms also the currency of the Straits of Malacca

and of Manilla; and it is extensively known in the colonies of England, Ceylon, the Cape, Australia, etc.

For the British colonial possessions, however, an Order of Council was promulgated on the 23rd March, 1825, extending to them the circulation of British silver and copper money, and directing all public accounts to be kept therein. Where the dollar was, either by law, fact, or practice, still a legal tender, it was to be accounted equivalent to 4s. 4d., and *vice versa*. For the Cape of Good Hope, where the circulation consisted of paper rix-dollars;—and Ceylon, where it consisted of silver and paper rix-dollars, as well as a variety of other coins;—it was provided that a tender and payment of 1s. 6d. in British silver money should be equivalent to the rix-dollar. The sikká rupee was to be allowed circulation at 2s. 1d. and that of Bombay at 1s. 11d., and the five-franc piece at 4s. These regulations are still in force in Ceylon, Australia, Van Diemen's Land, the Cape, Mauritius, and St. Helena.

## FRANCE.

The French kilogramme of standard silver (1-10th alloy) is coined into 200 francs, and the kilogramme weighs 85.744 tolás; therefore

$$100 \text{ FRANCS} \begin{cases} = 42.872 \text{ tolás in weight,} \\ = 42.092 \text{ Fd. rupees,} \\ = 39.462 \text{ sikká rupees,} \end{cases} \text{ or deducting duty } \begin{cases} \{ 41.250 \text{ Fd. rupees.} \\ \{ 38.673 \text{ sikká rupees.} \end{cases} \text{ of 2 per cent.}$$

The coinage duty on silver at Paris is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., or  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. less than in India; hence it will be found that,

100 sikká rupees realize almost precisely 250 francs at the Paris mint.

Minted gold in France is worth  $15\frac{1}{2}$  its weight of minted silver, or the kilogramme is coined into 155 napoleons or twenty-franc pieces: the seignorage on gold is only  $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent.

One kilogramme of pure gold yields 81.457 gold muhrs, or (deducting 2 per cent. mint duty) 79,828 ditto, therefore

$$100 \text{ NAPOLEONS} \begin{cases} = 55.319 \text{ tolás in weight,} \\ = 47.315 \text{ old gold muhrs,} \\ = 47.757 \text{ new ditto,} \\ = 54.313 \text{ Madras and Bom-} \\ \quad \text{bay gold rupee,} \end{cases} \text{ or deduct-} \begin{cases} \text{ing duty } \{ 46.369 \text{ old gold mrs.} \\ \{ 46.802 \text{ new ditto.} \\ \text{of 2 per } \{ 53.227 \text{ Madras and} \\ \text{cent.} \quad \text{Bombay gold rupee.} \end{cases}$$

## CHINA.

As the Chinese have no gold or silver coins, but make payments in those metals by weight, it is sufficient to state the value of the tael of the sycee and dollar silver usually current with them.

$$\begin{aligned} 100 \text{ tael of} & \begin{cases} = 322.135 \text{ tolás in weight} = (120 \text{ oz. } 16 \text{ dwts. English).} \\ \text{Sycee silver av. } & = 344.108 \text{ Fd. rupees,} \\ 15 \text{ dwts. Br. } & = 322.602 \text{ sikká rupees,} \end{cases} \text{ or deducting duty } \begin{cases} \{ 337.226 \text{ Fd. rupees.} \\ \{ 316.150 \text{ sá. rupees.} \end{cases} \text{ of 2 per cent.} \\ 100 \text{ tael of} & \begin{cases} = 314.811 \text{ Fd. rupees,} \\ \text{dollars } 5 \text{ Wo. } & = 295.135 \text{ sá. rupees,} \end{cases} \text{ or deducting duty } \begin{cases} \{ 308.515 \text{ Fd. rupees.} \\ \{ 289.233 \text{ sá. rupees.} \end{cases} \text{ of 2 per cent.} \end{aligned}$$

The par of exchange with other places may in a similar manner be found from the table of coins.

## GENERAL TABLE OF INDIAN COINS.

When it was said, at the commencement of this paper, that the rupee was the universal unit of currency throughout India, a reservation should have been made for those parts of the Peninsula where the Pagoda and Fanam still circulate. There are, in fact, two distinct systems still prevalent, the Hindú and the Musalmán; and although the former has become extinct throughout the greater part of Hindústán by the predominance of the Muhammadan power, it is traceable in the old coins found at Kanauj, and other seats of ancient Hindú sovereignty, which agree nearly in weight with the coins still extant in the several petty Hindú States of Southern India.

## HINDÚ SYSTEM.

The unit of this system was of gold, and the old specimens found are of sixty or one hundred and twenty grains in weight: showing an evident connection with the Grecian drachma and didrachma of gold (or χρυσος and διχρυσος) and confirming the testimony afforded by the device and symbols of old Hindú coins, of a direct descent from their Bactrian prototype.

As the Muhammadan power never gained an entire ascendancy in the Peninsula, the same system of currency continued to be issued from the mints of a number of petty Rájships in Malabar and the Carnatic. The principal of these were at Bangalor and Maisúr, under the Ikkerí Rájá, who coined the Sadasiva huns,<sup>1</sup> so called from a former Rájá. They bore the figures of Siva and Párvatí on one side, and a temple on the reverse. During the usurpation of Hyder 'Alí and Tipú, Bahádurí and Sultání huns were struck in Maisúr; the former are distinguished by a  $\zeta$  the initial of Hyder's name. At Travancore also a mint has existed for a very long period, coining Ánandrái huns, so called from a prince of that name. The Ikkerí and Travancore mints are the only two now in existence.

The name of this coin among Europeans is 'Pagoda,' a Portuguese appellation derived from the pyramidal temple depicted on one side of it. The proper Hindú name is Varáha,<sup>2</sup> 'wild boar,' and doubtless originated in a device of the Boar Incarnation, or Avatár, of Vishnu upon the ancient coinage of the Carnatic; for the same figure appears as the signet of the Rájás of that country, on some old copper grants of land in the Mackenzie collection.<sup>3</sup> The Hindú name probably

<sup>1</sup>

ہون

<sup>2</sup>

वराह

<sup>3</sup> The Varáha also appears on some ancient silver coins of Orissa. See Wilson's account of coins of this type, 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvii. p. 586.



varied according to the image on the coin; thus we find the Rámātanka having the device of Ráma and his attendants; and the Matsya<sup>1</sup> hún of Vijayanagar with four 'fish' on the obverse. Other pagodas have Vishnu, Jaganáth, Venkateswar, etc. on them; those with three Swámís, or figures, are of the best gold, and are valued ten per cent. higher than the common pagoda.

'Hún' is the common term used by the Muhammadan writers, and indeed generally by the natives, for the pagoda. It signifies 'gold' in the old Carnatic language.

The hún was subdivided into 'fanams' and 'kás.' Fanam, or more properly panam,<sup>2</sup> is identical with the word pan, known in this part of India as one of the divisions of the Hindú metrical system, now applied chiefly to a certain measure of kaurís and copper money. The old fanam was of gold only, and was one-sixteenth of a hún. In the 'Lilávati' we find sixteen pana = one dharan,<sup>3</sup> sixteen dharan = one nishk;<sup>4</sup> where the dharan (or dharam) seems to accord with the hún, which, as before said, is identical in weight with the Greek drachma. The Ikkeri pagoda still contains sixteen fanams: that of Virarái and Anandrái, fourteen; and the Kalyan pagoda, twenty-eight. The division adopted by the English was forty-two.

'Kás' may be a corruption of the Sanskrit word Karsha,<sup>5</sup> which is mentioned in Colebrooke's 'Essay on Indian Weights,' as the same with the pan: 'a Karsha, or eighty raktikás<sup>6</sup> (ratís) of copper is called a pana, or Karsha-pana.'<sup>7</sup> It is now the eightieth part of a pan, but similar discrepancies are common throughout, and the simple word is all that can be identified as having survived the changes of system.

As accounts were formerly kept at Madras in this currency, the following particulars extracted from Kelly's 'Cambist' will be found useful for reference:

'According to the old system, accounts are kept in star-pagodas, fanams, and kás.

8 kás = 1 fanam.

336 kás = 42 fanams = 1 pagoda.

The Company reckon twelve fanams to the Arcot rupee, and three and a half rupees to the pagoda. The bázár exchange fluctuates from thirty-five to forty-five fanams per pagoda, the latter being a gold coin, and the former of silver; but fanams were also coined of base gold. Copper i-, v-, x-, and xx-, kás pieces were coined in England, by contract, for Madras so early as 1797; the xx-kás is also called 'dodo' and 'falás.'<sup>8</sup>

The star-pagoda weighs 52.56 grains, and is nineteen one-fifth carats fine: it is, therefore, intrinsically worth 7s. 5½d. sterling; but it is commonly valued at 8s. Many varieties of the pagoda circulate on the Coromandel coast, which will find their places in the General Table.

<sup>1</sup> मत्स्य

<sup>2</sup> पण

<sup>3</sup> धरन्

<sup>4</sup> निष्क

<sup>5</sup> कर्ष

<sup>6</sup> रक्तिका

<sup>7</sup> कर्षपण

<sup>8</sup> فُلُوس plural of فُلْس

In 1811 a coinage from Spanish dollars took place, consisting of double rupees, rupees, halves, and quarters; and pieces one-, two-, three-, and five-, fanams; the rupee weighed 186·7 grains. A silver coinage of half- and quarter-pagodas of dollar fineness also then took place; the half-pagoda weighed 326·73 grains troy, and was equal to  $1\frac{3}{4}$  Arcot rupees. By a proclamation of 7th January, 1818, the silver rupee of one hundred and eighty grains was constituted the standard coin, and all accounts and public engagements were ordered to be converted at the exchange of three hundred and fifty rupees per hundred pagodas.

The proportion between the old and new currency is therefore now  $3\frac{1}{2}$  rupees per pagoda; and in copper seventy-five kás old currency=fourteen paisá new currency.\*

## MUSALMÁN SYSTEM.

The Musalmán system, of which the muhr and the rupee are the characteristic denominations of coin, assumes at the present day a multifarious appearance from the great variety in weight and value of the rupees current in different parts of India. That they have a common origin; and, in fact, that most of the rupees now issued from the Native mints of Central India are of modern date, is easily proved, since they almost all bear the impress of Sháh 'Alam, like our own coin.

The silver rupee was introduced, according to Abú'l-fazl, by Shír Sháh, who usurped the throne of Dihlí from Humáyun in the year 1542. Previous to his time, the Arabic dirham<sup>1</sup> (silver drachma), the gold dínár<sup>2</sup> (denarius auri), and the copper falús<sup>3</sup> (follis) formed the currency of the Moghul dominions. Shír Sháh's rupee had, on one side, the Muhammadan creed; on the other, the emperor's name and the date in Persian; both encircled in an annular Hindí inscription. Since 'the same coin was revived and made more pure' in Akbar's reign, we may assume the original weight of the rupee from Abú'l-fazl's statement, to have been eleven and a quarter máshas<sup>4</sup>; Akbar's square rupee, called from its inscription the Jakálí,<sup>5</sup> was of the same weight and value. This coin was also called the Chahár-yári,<sup>6</sup> from the four friends of the prophet, Abu-bakr, Omar, Osman, 'Alí, whose names are inscribed on the margin. This rupee is supposed by the vulgar to have talismanic power.

Concerning the weight of the másha some difficulty prevails, as this unit now varies in different parts of India. Mr. Colebrooke makes it seventeen grains and three-eighths nearly; but the average of several gold and silver jakálís of Akbar's reign, found in good preservation, gives 15·5 grains, which also agrees better with the actual másha of

<sup>1</sup> درهم<sup>2</sup> دينار<sup>3</sup> This name is still preserved on the Madras paisá or Kás pieces.<sup>4</sup> माष, ماشه<sup>5</sup> जाली<sup>6</sup> چهار یاری

many parts of Hindústán.<sup>1</sup> By this calculation the rupee originally weighed 174.4 grains troy, and was of pure silver (or such as was esteemed to be pure). The same standard was adopted by the Emperor Akbar, and accordingly we find coins of Akbar's reign dug up in

<sup>1</sup> The following are the másha weights sent home for examination in 1819, as published in that highly useful work, Kelly's 'Cambist':

Jálma másha .....	15.373 grs.	The Patna másha is called...	18.5 grs.
Bellary .....	14.687	The Benáres from several	
Málwá .....	15.833	specimens .....	17.7
Sárat .....	15.600	The Calcutta másha, by	
Ahmadnagar .....	15.700	Kelly .....	32.0
Puna .....	15.970	But probably this was a double másha.	

The average of all these agrees nearly with the Akbarí másha.

A gold jaláli of Láhor, rather worn, weighs 186.6: this may be the 12½ másha coin mentioned by Abú'l-fazl, which would give fifteen grains for the másha.

[I annex some incidental information on the subject of Shír Sháh's coin-weights and values, which I had occasion to draw up some years ago. I insert the entire passage in this place as further illustrative of the true weight of the másha.

"I have previously ('Coins of Pathán Kings of Dehli,' Preface, p. vii.) assumed, from existing specimens of the silver money of Shír Sháh, that the original mint standard of his rupees was calculated at an average weight of 178 grains, if not more. Abú'l-fazl's statement on the point, scrutinized more critically than it has heretofore been, affords a singularly close confirmation of this inference. I find it recorded in no less than four excellent copies of the original Persian 'Ayin-i Akbari,' that the rupee of Akbar, which was based upon that of Shír Sháh, weighed eleven and a half máshas; the same weight is assigned in these copies of the MS. to Akbar's jaláli, which is avowedly identical in value with the former." I mention this prominently, as Gladwin, in his translation (I. pp. 29, 35, etc.) has given eleven and a quarter máshas as the weight of each of these coins; and Prinsep, in accepting Gladwin's figures, was led to place the weight of the old rupee at nearly four grains below its true standard.

"There is some doubt as to the exact weight we are to allow to the másha, which varied considerably in different parts of India. Prinsep has determined the Dehli másha to be 15.5 grains, and admitting this, the result shows Shír Sháh's rupee to have weighed 178.25 grains of what was esteemed pure silver.

"The assignment of 15.5 grains to the Shír Sháhí másha is equally well borne out in the test afforded by Akbar's own coins. In order to avoid the very probable error of mistaking the identical class, among three but little varying denominations of the gold coinage, to which any given specimen within our reach should belong, I confine my reference to the silver money of Akbar, which, though differing in its various mintages, in types and legends, was preserved, in effect, uniform in weight and value. Marsden has contributed an example (No. DCCCXXIV.) of a square jaláli of this Pádsháh, weighing 176.5 grains: had the tolá at this time been fixed at 180 grains, this coin would contain four grains more than the law required; as it is, even allowing for wear, it shows a return of 15.3 grains to each of the 11½ máshas of 15.5 grains, which should, under the higher scale of weights, originally have constituted its total on issue from the mint.

"The adoption of this 15.5 grain másha as a standard, necessitates a concurrent recognition of a proportionately increased weight in the tolá as then in use; we can scarcely suppose the twelve máshas composing the tolá to have aggregated 186 grains, while the tolá itself remained at the 180 grains modern usage has assigned it. We have fortunately at hand a second means of proving the question, in the due determination of the intrinsic contents of the pieces composing the lower currency of the period, and the result will be found to show sufficient confirmation of the theory which places the másha of Shír Sháh at 15.5, and the tolá at 186 grains troy.

<sup>2</sup> Gladwin, 'Ayin-i Akbari,' I. 62, 59, 70. See also note <sup>2</sup>, p. 5.

various places, and worn, weighing from one hundred and seventy to one hundred and seventy-five grains.

Cabinet specimens of the coins of Jahángír, Sháh Jahán, and Aurang-zib have also an average weight of one hundred and seventy-five

Forty dams of copper, we are told, were in Akbar's time equivalent in account, and ordinarily in exchange, to one rupee, and the dam of copper is itself defined at 5 tanks, or 1 tolá 8 máshas and 7 ratis in weight. The measure of value thus specified is likewise distinctly stated to be a continuation of a previously existing species of money, which at the moment when Abú'l-fazl wrote, went by the name of 'Dám.' There can be but little hesitation in admitting, almost *prima facie* on the evidence available, that the copper pieces classed under Nos. 185, 186, Vol. xv., 'Numismatic Chronicle,' were the identical coins of Shír Sháh, to which the succeeding dams of Akbar were assimilated; or, in other words, that they were in weight and value (whatever their name) the dams of the Afghán Sultán. It is a nicer point to determine the precise contents in grains attending the original mint issue of these coins; but first taking the figures now proposed for máshas and tolás, we obtain from 1 tolá 8 máshas and 7 ratis, at 186 per tolá, a sum of 323.5625 grains; and then testing this return of the actual present weight of extant coins, we obtain a very reasonably close approximation to our figured result. It is true that the general average of the various existing provincial coins of this class minted during the reigns of Shír Sháh and his Afghán successors, would necessarily run somewhat below the rate of 323.5 grains; but we have to allow a considerable per centage for loss by wear in such heavy coins, especially composed as they are of copper, which metal would always continue more freely current, and consequently suffer far more from the abrasion incident to frequent transfers, than the more carefully guarded and less readily exchanged silver and gold. However, we may, without claiming too much margin on these grounds, fairly consider ourselves within the mark in identifying the general series of coins under review as having originally an intentional standard of 323.5 grains, inasmuch as we can at this day produce several specimens of the coinage weighing 322 grains, and in one instance of a Hissár coin, we can reckon no less than 329 grains. Added to this, we have the evidence of Ferishta that in his day there was a paisá! (or fixed weight? پول) which was rated at 1½ tolás, which, at 186 grains the tolá, gives even a higher return of 324.5 grains.

"At the same time, on the other hand, it would be impossible to reduce the coins that furnish our means of trial, to anything like so low a general average as would admit of 314 grains (or the produce of the simple 180 grains total) being received as the correct issue weight.

"Adopting, then, the rate of 323.5 grains as the legitimate weight of these copper pieces, forty of which exchanged against a rupee, we have a total of 12,940 grains of copper as equal to 178 grains of silver, which determines the relative value of silver to copper as 1 to 72.7. If this be a correct estimate, there were in each dam 9.29 chitals,\* and in the Shír Sháhi rupee 371.8 chitals, instead of the old 320 divisional coins of that name and value, which went to the lighter silver piece of former days, when also the comparative value of silver and copper stood at a more favourable ratio for the latter."—E.T.]

[Colonel William Anderson, C.B., an officer who has had extensive experience in

\* "پول" (Pehlvi, پارسى Pársi, *puhal*); 2) Obolus et res quævis obolo similis, ut squama piseis, simil. (فلوس) Borhâni Kâtiû. Inde بي پلي n.c. Pecuniæ defectus."—Vullers. See also 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' vii. 898, and Fræhn's 'Reccensio,' p. 207, etc. Abú'l-fazl says the پل of olden days was equal to four tolás.—Gladwin's 'Ayin-i Akbari,' iii. 89. Ferishta again gives 1 or 1½ tolás!

چیتل

grains pure, and the same prevails with little variation, up to the time of Muhammad Sháh, in the coins of opposite extremities of the empire ; or struck in the Súbahs of Súrat, Ahmadábád, Dihlí, and Bengal.

The following are a few examples of this agreement :

Akbarí, of Láhor.....	175·0 grains.	Sháh Jahání, of Agra .....	175 0 grains.
———— Agra .....	174·0 do.	———— Ahmadábád.	174·2 do.
Jahángirí, Agra .....	174·6 do.	———— Dihlí.....	174·6 do.
———— Alláhábád	173·6 do.	———— Súrat.....	175·0 do.
———— Kandahár.	173·9 do.	———— Láhor .....	174·0 do.

To which may be added from the Table of Coins assayed at the mint, reckoning pure contents only :

Dihlí Sonat .....	175·0 grains.	Dacca, old.....	173·3 grains.
———— 'Alamgír ...	175·5 do.	Muhammad Sháhí .....	170·0 do.
Old Súrat rupee .....	174·0 do.	Ahmad Sháh .....	172·8 do.
Murshidábád .....	175·9 do.	Sháh 'Alam (1772) ..	175·8 do.
Persian rupee of 1745	174·5 do.		

The above quotations are sufficient to show that the Moghul emperors maintained a great uniformity in the currency of their vast empire. They were also tenacious of their privilege of coining, and we find from Abú'l-fazl that gold was only allowed to be minted at Agra, Bengal, Ahmadábád (in Gujarát), and Kábul. Ten other cities were allowed to coin silver, namely, Allahábád, Súrat, Dihlí, Patna, Kashmír, Láhor, Multán, and Tándá : while, besides the former, twenty-eight towns of minor note were permitted to fabricate copper money, viz., Ajmír, Oudh, Attak, Alwar, Badáon, Benáres, Bhakar, Bhara, Patan, Jaunpúr, Jálándhar, Saháranpúr, Sárangpúr,

connexion with Indian weights and measures, has favoured me with the subjoined independent results of his calculations on the general question.

"I am inclined to consider that the weight of the ratí may be assumed, perhaps as an extreme proportion, as high as 1.93 grains, and the másha at 15.44 grains, which will give the following return for the gold, silver, and copper coins of Akbar's time :

Aftábí.....	225 grains.
Jalálí .....	187 do
Round muhr .....	169 do
Rupee (silver) .....	177 do
Dám (copper).....	307 do "

The result tabulated in correspondence with these data appears as follows :

1 Ratí	=	1.93 grains.
8 Ratís	=	1 Másha = 15.44 "
4 Máshas	=	1 Tánk = 61.76 "
3 Tánks <sup>a</sup>	=	1 Tolá = 185.2 "
1.666 Tolás	=	1 Dám <sup>b</sup> = 307.4 "
30 Dáms	=	1 Ser = 9222.0 "
40 Sers <sup>c</sup>	=	1 Man = 368,880.0 "

The relative values of the metals are estimated by Colonel Anderson—

Gold to silver .....	9.4 to 1
Silver to copper .....	70.0 to 1 —E.T.]

\* s टङ्क तानक also r تنكه 'gold, money, a particular species of coin.'

<sup>b</sup> H دام

<sup>c</sup> s سير (سيرك)

Sambhal, Kanauj, Rantanbhor, Hardwár, Hissár, Kálpi, Gwáliár, Gorakhpúr, Kalánor, Lukhnow, Mandan, Nágor, Sirhind, Sialkot and Saronj.<sup>1</sup>

The whole of the discrepancies which we now find in the rupees of various places seem to have arisen out of the disturbances and breaking up of the empire in the reigns succeeding Muhammad Sháh, when numerous mints were established by ministers and by the viceroys of the principal Súbahs who were assuming independence; and the coin was gradually debased as the confusion and exigencies of the time increased. The Maráthí and other Hindú states also established mints of their own, retaining, for form's sake, however, the Emperor's name and superscription, as a titular avowal of Dihlí supremacy.

We may thus trace with tolerable accuracy the causes of the difference in the currencies of our own provinces, and the happy chance which brought those of Madras, Bombay, and Farrukhábád to such close approximation.

The extent to which the irregularities of the mints had proceeded in the turbulent reign of Sháh 'Alam is thus described in the preamble of Regulation XXXV., 1793, the first which treats of mint matters:— 'The principal districts in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa had each a distinct silver currency, consisting either of nineteenth sun Moorshedabadees, or old or counterfeit rupees of various years coined previous or subsequent to the Company's administration.' The circumstance of the date of coinage being inserted on the coin enabled the shroffs<sup>2</sup> to recog-

<sup>1</sup> [As likely to assist those who would desire to trace these names on the original coins, I subjoin an alphabetical list of Akbar's mints in the Persian character, extracted from MSS. of Abú'l-fazl's 'Ayin-i Akbari.'

33 کلانور	23 سرونج	12 بهکر	1 اثک
34 گوالیار	24 سرهند	13 بهره	2 اجمیر
35 گورکھپور	25 سنہیل	14 پٹن	3 احمد آباد
36 لاہور	26 سورت	15 بٹنہ	4 آگرہ
37 لکھنؤ	27 سہارنپور	16 ٹانڈہ	5 الور
38 مٹھرا	28 سیالکوٹ	17 جالندھر	6 الہ باس
39 ملتان	29 قنوج	18 جونیپور	7 اودہ
40 منڈو	30 کابل	19 حصار (فیروزہ)	8 اوجین
41 ناگور	31 کالپی	20 دہلی	9 بداون
42 ہردوار	32 کشمیر	21 رنتھنبھور	10 ینارس
[E.T.—		22 سارنگپور	11 بنگالہ

<sup>2</sup> صترف *sarráf*, 'a money-changer.'

nize each, and so to apply the battá<sup>1</sup> to which the known debasement of each entitled it: it was rather a convenience therefore to restrict the circulation of one species to one district, although so much deprecated in the Regulation in question. In exchanges from one place to another, there however, might be, as stated, room for much abuse among the money-dealers. The Company resolved to remedy this evil in 1793, by declaring that all rupees coined for the future should bear the impression of the nineteenth year of Sháh 'Alam, and thus, by its adoption at that early period, it has happened that the sikká rupee is the only one of their coins which retains the full value of the original Dihlí rupee at the present day.

The Súrat rupee of the Moghul Emperor was in like manner about the same time adopted as the currency of the Bombay Presidency: it weighed 178.314 grains, and contained 172.4 pure, being thus nearly equal to the Dihlí rupee. By an agreement of the English government with the Nawáb of Súrat, the rupees coined by both were to circulate at par, and they were mutually pledged to preserve its standard. The Nawáb's rupees, however, were soon found to contain 10, 12, and even 15 per cent. of alloy; in consequence of which, the Bombay rupees were melted down and re-coined at Súrat; the coinage of silver in the Bombay mint was suspended for twenty years, and the Súratís alone were seen in circulation. At length, in 1800, the Company ordered the then Súrat rupee to be struck at Bombay, and thenceforth it became fixed at 179 grains weight, 164.74 pure. The muhr was also equalized in weight thereto.<sup>2</sup> Lastly, in 1829, under orders from the Home Government, the currency of the West was equalized with that of Madras, by the adoption of the one hundred and eighty grain rupee and muhr.

The Arcot rupee, according to our Assay Tables, in 1788, still retained one hundred and seventy grains of pure silver, and subsequently, when coined at the mint of Fort St. George, it had a weight of 176.4 grains, or 166.477 grains pure, until the new system was introduced in 1818, and the Madras one hundred and eighty grain rupee was established. From some reason or other, perhaps from commerce between the places, the Chittagong and Dacca currency formerly consisted of Arcot rupees; and they were for some time coined expressly for those districts at the Calcutta and Dacca mints; the average of many of various denominations still circulating in Chittagong agrees closely with the Farrukhábád rupee.

It would be a difficult task to unravel the progress of deterioration of the currency in the Upper Provinces, the more immediate seat of revolutions in the eighteenth century. But one instance may be given,

<sup>1</sup> बट्टा *battá*, 'difference or rate of exchange.'

<sup>2</sup> Kelly's 'Cambist,' vol. i. p. 94.

in the Najibábád rupee, as an example of the conduct of all the other mints. One hundred specimens of this species of rupee, of different dates, now current in Murádábád, were selected by the Collector of Bijnor for examination, in 1832. It may be observed, *en passant*, that many of the discrepancies in our Tables between coins of one denomination are doubtless owing to the neglect of noting the dates of their fabrication when sent for assay; the knowledge of the variation in value of the coins of various years, as before stated, led to the system of battá early introduced and fostered by the money-changers, to the perplexity of accounts and money transactions, and the nullification of legislative enactments.

The Najibábád mint was established by Najib-ud-daula, the Rohilla chief who exercised so powerful a sway on the fortunes of the last monarchs of Dihlí. The Barellí and Chandausi mints were also under his control. The rupees struck by him and by Zábíta Khán were originally of the Dihlí standard: few of these are now met with, as they are in demand for silver ornaments, etc. From the year 26 of Sháh 'Alam (1784-5) to 43 (1801-2) they evince a gradual deterioration, both in weight and fineness. The province of Rohilkhand was, during the whole of this time, annexed to the Súbah of Oudh, as shewn by the symbol of a rohu<sup>1</sup> fish on the field of the coin. The three first assays in the list are from single coins, the remainder are averages.

*Weight, Assay, and Value of the Najibábád rupee, from A.D. 1778 to 1801-2.*

Inscription, the usual Sháh 'Alam distich, year of reign, and Hijra date. Symbols, a fish on the obverse, a crescent on the reverse.

By whom coined.	San or year of reign.	Weight Troy.	Assay.	Value of 100 in Pd. Rs.
Najib-ud-daula.....	20	173.8	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ Br.	101 9 8
	22	173.6	13 Br.	102 2 4
	23	172.2	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ Br.	102 2 6
	24	173.3	12 Br.	101 8 6
Zábíta Khán.....	25	172.4	10 Br.	100 2 0
	26	172.4	9 Br.	99 11 0
	29	171.1	10 Br.	99 6 0
	30	171.0	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Br.	97 10 6
Ghulám Kádir .....	32	169.5	8 Br.	97 9 6
	33	170.0	7 Br.	97 7 0
	34	170.2	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Br.	96 14 8
	36	170.0	7 Br.	97 10 0
	37 39 40	171.1	5 Br.	97 3 6
	41	169.5	3 Br.	95 7 2
	42	169.3	1 Br.	94 7 9
	43	169.0	Stand.	93 14 3

<sup>1</sup> s रोहित, روہو



Thus, in the course of twenty-three years, a deterioration of nine per cent. was effected. So gradual a change, however, should rather be ascribed to the malpractices of the mint officers, than to any fraudulent intention of the government.

The Nawáb-Vazír of Oudh had mints also at Lukhnow, Benáres, and Farrukhábád: in these the same process was going forward, until arrested by the successive acquisitions of the English.

The Benáres mint had been established by Rájá Balwant Singh, under a Sanad<sup>1</sup> from Muhammad Sháh, in 1730. It remained under Native management for twenty years after the province was ceded to the Company in 1775. The rupee had the full weight of one hundred and seventy-five grains, and was  $2\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. better than the present rupee, or about equal to the Dihlí rupee of that date. It fell in value subsequently about four *ánás* per cent., and there, of course, remained under English management until it was abolished in 1819, and the Farrukhábád rupee substituted in its stead.

The Lukhnow rupee struck at the Fatehgarh mint had in like manner gradually diminished to 165.2 grains pure, when the Doáb was ceded to the British in 1802, and when it was assumed as the standard rupee of the new territory<sup>2</sup> under the designation of the Lukhnow forty-fifth *san sikká*, more commonly called the Farrukhábád rupee.

We have thus endeavoured to trace briefly the origin of the three, or rather four, coins chosen for the circulation of the Company's territories, and have explained how it happened fortuitously that the Bombay, the Madras, and the Farrukhábád (or Sonat) rupee are nearly of the same intrinsic value.

	Pure contents.
Arcot rupee .....	165 grains.
Bombay .....	164.7 „
Farrukhábád .....	165.2 „

The alteration of the standard of purity, in 1818, did not affect the proportion of pure metal, but the facility of equalizing the three coins had been observed both in England and in India; and had been the subject of frequent Minutes by the Court, by the Indian Government, by the Mint Committee, and the officers of the mint; and when Sagar mint was established in 1825, it was ordered to coin new Farrukhábád rupees of one hundred and eighty grains weight, the same as the standard of Madras, or containing one hundred and sixty-five grains pure.

The Benáres mint alone continued to coin Farrukhábádis of 180.234 grains until its abolition in 1829: and the Calcutta mint since coined

<sup>1</sup> *sanad*, 'a grant, warrant, charter.'

<sup>2</sup> Reg. XI. 1805.

them of the same weight, until the opportunity was taken finally of equalising the whole by Regulation VII. 1833.

A few words are now necessary to explain the progress of debasement in the coinage of Haidarábád, Nágpúr, Ságar, the Rajpút and other states of Central India, as far as the imperfect data at our command will permit: they are chiefly derived from the reports of the government officers in Ajmír, Málwá, and the Narbadda provinces, to queries circulated through the Mint Committee in 1818 and 1823, when the important question of equalising the coinage of Central India was under agitation.

We have before remarked, that none of the coins now forming the circulation of Hindústán bear any other name than that of Sháh 'Alam, and although we have no perfect information of the origin or date of the mints of Puna, Nágpúr, or of the principal states of Rájputána, still we may safely assume that, until the authority of Dihlí was annihilated, the representative of the monarch in the various Súbahs, or provinces, alone exercised the privilege of coining: and that even when it was assumed by chieftains already in actual independence, the form of a sanad or permission from the Emperor was obtained by purchase or extortion. The petty Rájá of Dattiah, for instance, was indignant at the supposition that he had opened his mint without authority,<sup>1</sup> and of all the chiefs within Lieut. Moody's agency, Rájá Pratáp Singh of Chatrapúr was the only one who could not produce his authority. The chiefs of Jhánsí and Jálaon cited the sanction of the Peshwá: the Tahrí Rájá, the tacit permission of the English. No notice, however, of mints was found in any of the sanads or treaties to which that officer had access.

When first established, the mints were no doubt in most cases made the source of fraudulent profit to the government, by the issue of a debased coin, which was supported at an enhanced nominal value, through the interdiction of the purer standards of neighbouring districts. A Hindú prince, or the minister who rules for him, is in general a money-dealer; thus at Kotá the executive authority has a shroff in each town, and participates in all the benefits arising out of money operations in the market. In Jaipúr and Kotá there exists an usage that the currency should suffer a depreciation of one per cent. on the third year after its issue, and continue at that rate during the reign of the sovereign: on the accession of his successor, it suffers a further annual fractional depreciation, which operates to bring the whole of the circulating medium into the mint for re-coinage.<sup>2</sup> This rule does

<sup>1</sup> Report of Lieut. T. Moody, agent at Bangál and Kantál, 17th February, 1284.

<sup>2</sup> Major J. Caulfeild, Political Agent in Hároutí, 1st August, 1823.

not, however, extend to the other Rájput states, nor does any debasement appear in the Kotá rupee to warrant a censure of the system there prevailing. It is such a measure as Tantia Sindia's, who abolished the standard Ajmír currency, and instituted the debased Srisáhi rupee in 1815, on a false supposition of increasing his revenue, that is so pernicious in its effects: or the more inexcusable conduct of the Gwáliár government, which, while maintaining the currency of the capital at a good standard, issues inferior coin at its provincial mints of Chándéri, and even coined debased Bálásáhi rupees at Garrah-Kotá, in imitation of the currency of Sagar.<sup>1</sup>

The list of mints which have sprung up in central India is so formidable that it is difficult to attempt any classification of them.

Mr. Wilder, in 1819, enumerates the following rupees current in Ajmír: old Ajmír, Srisáhi, Kishnagarh, Kochanam, Chitter, Jaipúr, Hálí, Jodhpúr, Oudipúr, Sháhpúrah, Pratápgarh, Kotá, Búndí, and Bhilwára. Mr. Maddock furnishes an equally long list from the Nabadda:—Panná, Chatrapúr, Saronj, Jhánsí, Chanda, Srínagar, Nágpúr, Garrah-Kotá, Bálásáhi, Ráthgarh, Tahrí, Bhopál, Sohágpúr, Sudhauráh, Jálaon, Ujjain, Isagarh. The difficulty is also increased by the threefold appellations given to coins: first from the place of fabrication, as Indor, Ujjain, Sagar proper, etc.; second, from the person issuing them, as Sindiasáhi from Sindia; Bálásáhi, from Báláji Pandit; Gaursáhi from 'Alí Gaur, afterwards Sháh 'Alam; Mutí-sáhi, a well-known Allahábád coin of Mr. Achmuty; third, from some distinguishing symbol impressed on the field, as Trisúli, from the 'trident' of Siva; Shamshírí, from the figure of a 'sword' on the Haidarábád coin; the Machhlísáhi, and Shírsáhi, from the 'fish' and 'tiger' of the old and new Lukhnow rupee, etc. There are also other titles common to different localities, as Chalan, 'current'; Hálí 'of the present time'; and the distinction into Sans, or different years of Sháh 'Alam's reign. It should be remarked that Sháhi and Sáhi attached to the designation of a coin have totally different meanings; the former denoting 'king,' the latter merely 'impress or stamp.'<sup>2</sup>

The following notes concerning the origin of particular mints, and the amount of their issue, are derived, as before stated, from the reports of Messrs. Wellesley, Molony, Wilder, Maddock, Macdonald, Caulfeild, and Moody, between 1819 and 1823.

In Ajmír the Srisáhi rupee, coined by Tantia, formed in 1815 the principal currency; it has been partially supplanted by the Farrukh-

<sup>1</sup> Maddock, 12th June, 1819.

<sup>2</sup> It is, however, doubtful whether the terminal *sáhi* is not a mere vulgar application of *sháhi*, the original distinction of rupees being solely into those of different sovereigns.

ábád rupee since the province came into our possession. In Kotá there are three mints, at Kotá, Jantia Patan, and Gangroun, coining on an average thirty-six lákhs per annum : the currency is not debased.

The Holkar currency of Indor, Hardá, and Maheswar, and the Ujjain rupee, are nearly at par with the Farrukhábad, but they maintain an unequal contest with the Sálímsáhi rupee, coined by the Rájá of Pratápgarh, of which there are three kinds, the jurmurea, 150 grs. pure; the murmurea, 145 grs. pure, coined in 1810; and the melah of 1820, only 137 grs. pure.<sup>1</sup> The Rájá engaged in 1821 to reform his coinage, but it has never been done.

The Búndí debased rupee is also current about Ujjain. It seems by the Assay Table to have been reformed in 1825.

The northern parts of the Narbadda territories were supplied with a base currency struck at Jabalpúr, by Nána Ghatka, in 1800; this mint was suppressed on cession to the English. The southern part (Dakhantír) had a rupee of still lower value struck at Sohágpúr, where a mint was established in 1810; it was abolished in 1818 by Mr. Molony.

These rupees passed at par with Chanda and Nágpúr rupees, the chief issue of Berár.

The Ságár mint was set up in 1779, by the Peshwá's officer at Garrah Mandlah, and coined about seventeen lákhs of Bálásáhi rupees per annum. Its operation continued under Mr. Maddock, who, to counteract the forgery going on at Garrah, inserted the word 'Sagar' in small English characters on the die. The new Ságár mint, erected in 1824, is now rapidly removing all the old coins from circulation.

The standard of the Maráthí Government of Nágpúr, to which all the neighbouring mints were, doubtless, intended to conform, presents, itself, one of the worst examples of irregularity and depreciation. Even after the establishment of a British Residency, having a nominal control over such matters, a further debasement to the extent of eight per cent. is proved to have been effected, owing to the vicious policy of farming the mint to a native contractor for an annual sum of 35,000 rupees.

In the Haidarábád country, the government of the Nizám, or of his Hindú minister, has not been behind hand with its Maráthí rivals in the adulteration of the local currency. The weight of the rupee (174 grains) shews its original agreement with the Dihlí standard, but the pure metal is gone down to 147 grains; and by way of introducing greater confusion and vexation, there is a superior currency for the Palace and the Residency, an inferior for the city, and a hukm chalaní,

<sup>1</sup> A. Macdonald, 13th August, 1823.

or forced token, the precise nature of which is dubious; the worst species are struck at Nārāyanpat.

In Bandalkhand, the circulation consisted chiefly of Bálá Ráo's rupee, struck at Srínagar, near Panná. This mint issued at the time of its institution, in 1794, about eighteen lákhs per annum; but after 1819, the coinage fell to four lákhs. The same prince set up a mint at Jálaon, his capital, in 1809: its issue was, at first, six lákhs, and is now diminished to one-third of that amount.

The Hansí mint of Ráo Rám Chand dates from 1780: it issued three lákhs. Kuár Pratáp Singh's at Chatrapúr dates from 1816. It is said that Chatra Sál used formerly to coin there.

The mints of Panná (1780) and Samter (of 1808) were on a most insignificant scale, and have been put down. The Dattiah mint, already mentioned, dates from 1784.

With a view to the reform, in part, of this complicated system, of which a few points only have been brought to view, the Government resolved on the 10th September, 1824, to abolish the Panná, Hansí, Jálaon, Urcha, and Chatrapúr mints, and to effect a reform of that of Pratápgarh; the order was enforced in December, 1826. The Bhopál Nawáb also engaged to equalize his rupee with that of Indor and Ujjain, and to abolish the Bálásáhi mint. It was thought too great a step to attempt a restoration of the Nágpúr and Haidarábád currencies; and as the silver in them averaged 144 grains, while that of our rupee was 165, it was proposed to engage the Nágpúr Rájá to coin fourteen-áná pieces; and the Narbadda Commissioner was empowered to do the same for Jabalpúr and Ságár: but he had already made an arrangement,<sup>1</sup> which, while it relieved the ryots, served to introduce the new sixteen-áná rupee with facility: this was to receive, for all settlements made in the local currency, 100 Farrukhábád rupees for every 120 Nágpúris<sup>2</sup>; their intrinsic equivalent being 118½. Were the same principle acted upon in the Nágpúr and Haidarábád states, there could be no difficulty in accomplishing the object so much desired. As for the numerous tributary and subsidiary states, there could be no injustice in refusing them the privilege, which is of little profit, and which is in general a modern usurpation on their parts: at any rate they might be obliged to conform to the universal standard. 'We are too apt,' says Mr. H. Mackenzie, 'to let the mere exemption from the printed code be taken as an exemption from all law, and to deny to a large portion of India the benefits it would derive from the just discharge of the duties belonging to the paramount power.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maddock, 3rd February, 1827.

<sup>2</sup> The same rate is used in paying the Bombay troops at Aurangábád, in the Govind Bakhsh, or Haidarábád currency.

<sup>3</sup> Mint Committee Records, September, 1824.

The standard of Panná, under the Peshwá, was called the Ankusi rupee, from ánkus,<sup>1</sup> the instrument used by the mahout to guide the elephant; probably a symbol marked on the coin. This rupee appears from Kelly's tables to have been extensively adopted as an unit in the estimation of value and weight, probably wherever the Maráthí ascendancy prevailed. It is current through the Dakhan and the Konkan. The Chanda rupee of Khándish circulates at par with it. In Gujarát there are several denominations of rupees, but the principal is the Bálásáhi, coined at Baroda.

It is not necessary to allude to the Patiyálá, Bhartpúr, Díg, and many other rupees, the names of which denote their origin and their place in the General Table. Still less need we advert to the Korá, Allahábád, Agra, Saháranpúr, Barellí, Kálpí, Atáwi, Mathurá, Pánípat, and other rupees, which belong more immediately to the Dihlí group, coined only on particular occasions or for short periods, and the mints of which have long since disappeared from our list.

There are, however, to the eastward in Assam a distinct class of coins bearing, in a Bengálí inscription, the name of the Rájás of that province, since the time of Rájá Rudra Singh. They present an example of good faith in these rude people, being in weight and purity equal to the former Arcot rupee of Dacca, and some degree better than the present Farrukhábád rupee.

The circulating medium of Nepál is also essentially Hindú, and of such interest on that account, that we gladly avail ourselves of the permission to insert an account of the coinage of that state, drawn up by Doctor J. M. Bramley, in 1831.

#### COINAGE OF NEPÁL.

"The conquest of Nepál by the Goorkhas took place in the Newar year 888, corresponding with A.D. 1768. Prior to this epoch, the valley of Kathmandu was divided into three sovereignties, Patan, Bhatgaon, and Kathmandu, each governed by a Rájá: hence on the Newar coins the three series of Rájás' names are found. Those of Bhatgaon are generally (though not always) distinguished by a shell, those of Patan by a tirsool, and those of Kathmandu by a sword.

"It was formerly the custom for all money current north of the valley of Nepál, so far as the boundaries of Chinese Tartary, to be coined by one or more of the Nepál Rájás, which was a source of considerable profit to them: the Bhoteahs giving them weight for weight in silver and gold dust; but this was discontinued during the reign of

<sup>1</sup> अङ्कुश (Ankush)

Ranjit Mal, the last reigning Rájá of Bhatgaon, who sent them such base coins as to occasion a decrease of nearly one-half of their intrinsic value, which was no sooner discovered by the Bhoteahs than a desertion of the mint took place, and there has been no more Bhoté coinage made in Nepál.<sup>1</sup> The amount contracted for on this occasion was ten lákhs of silver mohurs, exactly similar to those current in Nepál. The Bhoteahs, who now visit Nepál for trade, profit by this spurious coin, which they take in exchange for their goods at five gandas per muhr, and they pass off in their own country as of full value, or ten gandas. As the Bhoteahs have no other currency, they are compelled to cut them into halves, quarters, and eighths. They are the only coin current in Lassa.

"The old coins of the 'Mals,' or Newar Rájás, are much valued for their purity, and are worn by the women, strung to necklaces or armlets, as tokens in memory of their ancestors.

"Since the Goorkha conquest, the Vikrama era has superseded that of Newar for ordinary purposes; and the Sáká, commonly used in Hindústán, has been introduced upon the coins. Rájá Prítinarain is the first Goorkha sovereign, from whose accession a regular series may easily be obtained. The inscriptions on the present prince's coins are *Sri Sri Sri Rájendra Vikrama Sah Deva*, 1738; and on the reverse, *Sri Sri Sri Gorakhnáth Sri Bhavaní*.

"The gold and silver coins have the same names and divisions differing only slightly in weight.

Takka.		Mohur.		Sooka.		Annee.		Pysa.		Dam.
1	=	2	=	4	=	16	=	80	=	400
		1	=	2	=	8	=	40	=	200
				1	=	4	=	20	=	100
						1	=	5	=	25
								1	=	5

"The mohur or eight-anna piece is the principal coin in use: it weighs 87 grains, and is therefore evidently identical with the Muhammadan half-rupee, but the quality of the metal has been much adulterated.

"The Nepálese procure all their silver from China, in the form of stamped lumps, as they are current in Lassa: for the Tibetans generally follow the Chinese custom in their money transactions of paying and receiving by weight, and the merchants carry scales with them for the purpose."

There are a few specimens, however, among Dr. Bramley's collection

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Csoma de Kőrös states that the English rupee circulates freely through Western Tibet.

of a Tibetan silver coinage struck at Lassa, having an inscription in both Chinese and Tibetan characters. Mr. Csoma de Körös interprets the purport of the Tibetan legend on one of these to be *G'tsang pahu*, 'pure piece;' or, as 'G'tsang' is the name of a large province in Tibet, lying next to Nepál, it may mean 'Tsang money.' It likewise bears a name, variable on different specimens, of former Emperors of China, B'chah-H'ehhin and Chhan-lung. Besides this, in letters also, the date (25, 59, 60, etc.) of the Tibetan or Chinese cycle of sixty years.

The common Chinese brass money, with a square hole in the centre, is likewise current in Lassa, as generally through the whole of the Chinese empire.

Although not quite relevant to the subject of Indian coin, still, as Chinese silver forms so considerable a portion of the bullion importation of Calcutta, we may be permitted to insert a brief account of the Chinese system, from that useful compendium, the 'Companion to the Anglo-Chinese Kalendar,' for 1832.


## CHINESE CURRENCY.

Sycee silver, in Chinese 'Wan-yin,' is the only approach to a silver currency among the Chinese. In it the government taxes and duties, and the salaries of officers, are paid; and it is also current among merchants in general. The term Sycee is derived from two Chinese words, *Se-sze*, 'fine floss silk,' which expression is synonymous with the signification of the term 'Wan.' This silver is formed into ingots (by the Chinese called shoes<sup>1</sup>), which are stamped with the mark of the office that issues them, and the date of their issue. The ingots are of various weights, but most commonly of ten taels each.

Sycee silver is divided into several classes, according to its fineness and freedom from alloy: the kinds most current at Canton are the five following:—

1st. Kwan-heang, 'the Hoppo's duties,' or the silver which is forwarded to the imperial treasury at Peking. This is ninety-seven to ninety-nine touch. On all the imperial duties, a certain per-centage is levied for the purpose of turning them into Sycee of this high standard, and of conveying them to Peking without any loss in the full amount. The Hoppo, however, in all probability increases the per-centage far above what is requisite, that he may be enabled to retain the remainder for himself and his dependants.

2nd. Fan-koo or Fan-foo, 'the treasurer's receipts,' or that in which the land-tax is paid. This is also of a high standard, but inferior to that of the Hoppo's duties, and being intended for use in the

<sup>1</sup> By the natives of India  *khuri*, or 'hoofs.'



province, not for conveyance to Peking, no per-centage is levied on the taxes for it.

3rd. Yuenpaou or Une-po, literally 'chief in value.' This kind is usually imported from Soochow, in large pieces of 50 taels each. It does not appear to belong to any particular government tax.

4th. Yen or Eem-heang, 'salt duties.' It is difficult to account for these being of so low a standard, the salt trade being entirely a government monopoly. This class is superior only to

5th. Mut-tae or Wuh-tae, the name of which, signifying 'uncleansed or unpurified,' designates it as the worst of all. It is seldom used, except for the purpose of plating, or rather washing, baser metals.

The tael of Sycee in the East India Company's accounts is reckoned at 6s. 8d. sterling. When assayed in London, this metal is frequently found to contain a small admixture of gold. Mercantile account sales give the following average out-turn of China bullion remittances to London, Calcutta, and Bombay; that

100 taels of Sycee yield { £ 316., at 5s. an oz. (including  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for gold.  
 { 3078 sikká. Rs., or with charges 3062 Rs., at Calcutta.  
 { 3335 Bombay Rs., or „ 3302 Rs., at Bombay.

#### AVA SPECIE.

The Burmese, it is well known, have no coined money, but, like the Chinese, make their payments in the precious metals by weight. Like the latter nation, also, they make use of decimal divisions in estimating the value or purity of gold and silver, and their systems of weights and measure follow the same convenient scale. We are indebted to Major Burney, Resident at Ava, for the following particulars:

Vis, Tikal, and Moo are the general terms used in the transactions of commerce and accounts: their subdivisions and multiples are—

1 pe or be.  
 2 = 1 moo.  
 $2\frac{1}{2}$  = 1 mat.  
 5 = 2 = 1 hkwe.  
 10 = 4 = 2 = 1 kyat or tikal.  
 1000 = 400 = 200 = 100 = 1 peiktha or vissom.  
 (100 tikals are precisely equal to 140 tolás).

The expressions employed by the goldsmiths in declaring the quality of bullion require a knowledge of the Burmese numerals, and a few other words:

NUMERALS.		METALS.	ASSAY TERMS.
1. Ta.	6. Khyouk.	Shwe, gold. (Shwenee, red or pure gold.)	Det, better or above.
2. Nheet.	7. Khwon.	Ngwe, silver.	Mee, differing $\times$ or —.
3. Thoun.	8. Sheet.	Ge or khe, lead or alloy.	Meedet, better in assay.
4. Le.	9. Ko.	Nee, copper.	Mee shyouk, worse ditto.
5. Nga.	10. Tshay.	Byoo, tin.	Ma, adulterated.

The usual weight of the small lumps of silver current in the place of coin is from twenty to thirty tikals (thirty or forty tolás): they bear a variety of names from their quality and appearance, the figures given by the action of the fire upon a thick brown coating of glaze (of the oxydes of lead and antimony) answering, in some degree, the purpose of a die impression.

*Ban*<sup>1</sup> signifies 'pure' or 'touch,' and is the purest obtainable of the Burmese process of refining.

*Kharoobat*, 'shelly' or 'spiral circled,' is applied to a silver cake, with marks upon its surface, produced by the crystallization of the lead scoria in the process of refinement: it is supposed to denote a particular fineness, which, by Burmese law, ought to be ten-ninths yowetnee in value, *i.e.*, nine tikals of kharoobat pass for ten of yowetnee silver; or it should contain nineteen and a quarter ban and three-quarters copper.

*Yowetnee*, 'red-leaved' flower or star, silver, is so named from the starry appearance of the melted litharge on its surface. Yowet is a corruption of *rowek*, 'leaf,' and the word is sometimes written by Europeans rowanee, rouni, roughanee, etc. Yowetnee is the government standard of Ava, and contains by law eighty-five ban and fifteen alloy per cent. Taking it at nine-tenths of purity of kharoobat, which last is 94.6 touch, its quality will be 85.2 fine; which closely accords with the legal value. The average of 60,000 tolás of yowetnee in the late Ava remittance turned out two dwts. worse (90.8), but there was a loss of more than one per cent. in melting, from the exterior scoria.

*Dain*, the most common form of bullion met with in circulation, is so called from an assessment, levied during the late king's reign, upon villages and houses: *dain* signifying 'a stage,' or distance of two miles. These cakes also weigh from twenty to thirty tikals each. Their prescribed legal quality is ten per cent. better than yowetnee, which puts this species of silver on a par with kharoobat. In practice, however, the quality varies from one to ten per cent. better (five Br. to thirteen and a half Wo.) than Calcutta standard. The average of fifty-two lákhs of dain turned out three pennyweights Br.

There is an adulterated dain silver, stated by Major Burney to be similar in quality to yowetnee, but in reality much worse (forty-two and a half pennyweights worse) lately introduced and extensively circulated: it is made by admixture of lead, and is called Ma-dain.

The following will serve as examples of the mode of evaluating bullion:

<sup>1</sup> This word is synonymous with the 'Bani' of the 'Ayin-i Akbari': Banwári is the Indian name of the touch needles used in roughly valuing the precious metals.

Dain, ko-moo-det, is Dain nine per cent. better. (See previous explanation.)

„ nga-moo-det, „ five per cent. better.

Yowetnee, „ standard. (Eighty-five touch.)

„ Kyat-ge, or ta-tshay-ge, one tikal or tenth of alloy (meaning one-tenth weight of alloy added to standard).

„ Kyouk-tshay nga-kyat-ge, six tens five tikal alloy (meaning sixty-five per cent. of alloy added).

„ gyan, half yowetnee (and half alloy).

**GOLD.** The purity of gold is expressed by moos or 'tenths' only: ten moos, 'tshay moo,' (one hundred touch) being esteemed pure gold.

'King's gold,' or standard, is called Ka-moo-ta pe-le-yowe (nine moos, one pe, four seeds), or nine and three-quarter moos fine.

'Merchants' gold' is Ko-moo-ta-be, nine and a half moos fine. Gold muhrs are called eight and a half moos fine by the Ava assayers.

The out-turn of the Ava specimens will be given as an Appendix to the General Table.

Having now adverted to most of the groups and denominations of money, which are comprised in the following tables, it remains merely to explain the sources whence the materials for them have been collected. For the coins of the West of India, Mr. Noton's table, published at Bombay, in 1821, has been consulted, and, for India generally, the table published in Kelly's 'Cambist,' from the assays of Mr. Bingley, at the Royal Mint; but the principal portion is derived from the table printed, but not published, by Mr. H. H. Wilson, Assay Master at Calcutta, in 1833, from his own assays: indeed, almost all the coins inserted in the table have been frequently assayed, and generally in large parcels, at the Calcutta, Benáres, and Sagar mints.

As Mr. Wilson's table gives the value in sikká rupees (of 191.916 grains troy), it has been necessary to recalculate the whole column of produce, which now, in the Silver Table, expresses the value of one hundred of each species of coin in the general standard British rupee of one hundred and eighty grains. To find their value in sikká rupees (of one hundred and ninety-two grains) it is only requisite to divide the Farrukhabád value by sixteen, and deduct the product, as explained in page 7.

The weight and pure contents are expressed in troy grains. The standard or assay is given both according to the decimal system and in the usual terms of assaying; viz., in carats, grains, and quarters, for gold,—and in pennyweights and halves for silver,—better or worse than the standard of the Company's coins, namely, eleven ounces fine and one ounce alloy.

The silver pound is divided into twelve ounces, or two hundred and forty pennyweights, or four hundred and eighty halves.

The gold pound into twenty-four carats, or ninety-six carat grains, or 384 quarters.

The 'intrinsic value' of the coins is the relative value of their pure metal, as compared with the pure contents of the gold muhr and the rupee. The mint price is two per cent. less, besides the charge for refining, according to the quality of metal, as stated in pages 9 and 12.

To find the value of any number of rupees, follow the rule before laid down; namely, multiply by the figures in the column of produce and divide by one hundred. For gold coins, if required in rupees, multiply further by the Regulation value, sixteen for the Calcutta, or fifteen for the Madras muhr; or if the bazar price be wanted, by the bazar price of the gold muhr for the time being. The decimal parts of the muhr and rupee may be converted into *ánás* and *pá'ís* by the Table, page 12.

It should be remarked, that the following tables are not intended as an authoritative list of the rates at which the various coins are received by Government, but solely to shew their average intrinsic produce when brought to the mint as bullion to be converted into Farrukhábád rupees. Particular rules have been at different times promulgated, fixing the exchange at which military and other payments were to be made, and revenue to be received, in different currencies.

Such was the list published in Regulation III., 1806, which is now obsolete, being inconvenient in application, from its specifying the value by weight, and not by tale.

The following rules are still in force at the Government treasuries of the Bengal Presidency: the first has reference to the old current rupee of account, of which one hundred and sixteen were equal to one hundred sikkás: this imaginary money is now disused, except in the valuation of some few articles of the English market in the price current.

In the payment of troops and others connected with the Military Department,

111 sikká rupees, = 116 Sonát or Farrukhábád rupees.

325 " = 350 Madras and Bombay rupees.

In payments to others not in the military service,

100 sikká rupees, = 104½ Farrukhábád or Sonát rupees.

The established rates of battá on local currencies, fixed for the guidance of revenue officers, are as follows:

Benáres and Gaursháhi rupees, at par with Farrukhábádis.

104 Bareilly rupees,	= 100 Farrukh. Rs. under Gov. Orders,	1st July, 1833
103¼ Old Farrukhábád,	= 100 " " "	29th Jan. 1833
103¼ Dhlí, 38th san,	= 100 " " "	"
101 Muhammadsháhi,	= 100 " " "	"
101 Old Lukhnow,	= 100 " " "	"
106 Najibábád,	= 100 " " "	1st July, 1833
106 Chandausi,	= 100 " " "	"

120	Chanda rupees,	= 100 Farrukh. Rs. ....	Under Government
		{ Mehrú, Nishandár, Dobúndyá, Jabrá, Manjhúlá, 7 san, Chhapá, Old Biná-san,	{ Orders, 19th August, 1833. The receipt of these coins at this rate, however, is limited to the public treasuries in the Baitúl, Seoní, and Hoshangábád districts.
120	Nágpúr Rs. viz.	= 100 do.	
120	Jabalpúr rupees,	= 100 Fd. rs. ....	
100	Arkát rupees,	= 88½ sikká rupees, ....	{ For Chittagong and Ballúah, 22nd Jan., 1833.
120	Haidarábád rupees,	= 100 Bombay rupees, for payment of troops, etc.	
100	„	= 83 r. 14 a. 3 p. sikká, ...	{ For adjustment of accounts of Haidarábád Residency.
100	The Ikkerí, Bhol, Bholpádi, Bahádurí, and Farrukhí pagodas are taken at 387.2 Ankusí rupees at the Pána treasury. <sup>1</sup>		
100	Gaddopádi, Tadak, Kadvanajá, Hálí, Modápadí, and Bangalore pagodas, at 375 Ankusí rupees.		
100	Muhammadsháhi and Venkatapati, at 387.2 ditto.		
100	Rájáram Ikkeri pagodas,	= 381 „	
100	Bhatorí .....	= 325 „	
100	Tomancein .....	= 203 „	
100	Harpanháli .....	= 343.3 „	

## NATIVE COPPER COINS.

Our information regarding the copper coin in circulation throughout Central India is very limited, but it is well known that as much perplexity exists in the varieties of paisá, and in the greater range of their value, as in the coins of the more precious metals; so that every town and village almost has its separate currency, and its established nirkh,<sup>2</sup> or, rate of exchange, with the rupee, to the great inconvenience of the traveller and of the poorer classes. In weight they vary from 280 grains (the Jaipurí, etc.) to 34 grains (the Maiwári): the former passing at about 35, the latter at 378, paisá for a rupee. From the small advantage of melting up copper money, it happens that much of the circulation in this metal is of very great antiquity; and not only many ancient Hindú coins are met with, but Bactrian and Roman copper coins are also frequently procurable at fairs and in the neighbourhood of old towns in Upper India.

The paisá was in some cases adopted as the unit for determining the larger weights of the bázars, as the Gorakhpúr paisá, of which 530 were held equal to a passerí<sup>3</sup> (five sers) at Gházípur, and generally through the Benáres province. 2881 'chalans'<sup>4</sup> of Fatehgarh in like

<sup>1</sup> Noton's table, 4th Aug., 1821. He states, however, that the rates may have varied since 1812, when they were established.

<sup>2</sup> P. نرخ

<sup>3</sup> پانچ سیر

<sup>4</sup> s. चलन

manner were assumed as the weight of a *man* in that district. The Dihlí paisá, coined till 1818, was twelve máshas or one tolá in weight.

The Table at page 62 contains such a list of copper coins as the scanty materials at hand enables us to supply. Most of the native paisá contain more copper in proportion to their value than the present Company's coin, which was, however, originally one tolá in weight, and was gradually reduced to one hundred grains (as shown in the table); it is at present in fact a government token, worth, intrinsically, less than its nominal value.

Within the Ceded Territories the native coins still predominate, but the Company's paisá is now gradually spreading to westward, and the Sagar mint has for several years been employed in converting the native copper money into Benáres or trisúli paisá of one hundred grains weight, and sixty-four to the rupee. At Bombay, the old paisá have been bought up by Government, for the purpose of removing them entirely from circulation, and substituting the new coin (described in page 4). The Bengal Government have also recently adopted a measure tending to withdraw the trisúli paisá (see page 8) from circulation, in consequence of their becoming much depreciated in public estimation from a large admixture of spurious coin, and other causes; the Calcutta mint being ordered to grant sixty-four new paisá for seventy-two trisúlis, for an amount not under twenty rupees in value brought for exchange.

## SYMBOLS ON SHÁH 'ÁLAM COINS.

It may naturally be asked, how the multitude of coins, gold, silver, and copper, included in the following lists, are to be recognised by any but a professed money-changer, since, as has been observed before (page 19), most of them bear the mere name and distich of Sháh 'Álam, and the place of coinage, being the lowermost word of the inscription (page 2), will seldom be found on the face of a coin showing, as is generally the case, only a small portion of the die. Many mistakes have doubtless been made in fixing the localities of coins, from this abundant source of error, and it is much to be regretted, that it has not on all occasions been made a primary point to ascertain the distinguishing mark of every specimen collected for examination.

Some rupees (as the Sálimsáhi, etc.) appear to be only distinguished by the peculiar imperfections of the Persian character they bear; others have but a few discriminating dots, like the private marks of our own mints; but the majority have a well distinguished symbol, the same on silver and on copper, by which they may be readily known on inspection. There is a further advantage in con-

sulting such marks, for they enable us at once to class together various coins as having been issued by the same authority. A list and plate of these symbols, confessedly imperfect, follows the catalogue of coins, but it may be convenient to assemble together here a few of the groups, whose connection is otherwise confirmed by the preceding remarks on the Bundelkhand and Rájputána mints.

The coins of Lukhnow, Fatehgarh, Azimgarh, Bareilly, Najibábád, Benáres, and other places under the súbah of Oudh, bore the symbol of a rohu fish. The Agra paisá has a pistol.

The coins of Rohilkhand, Bhartpúr, Narwar, etc., a dagger.

Those of Nágpúr, Chanda, Haidarábád, Aurangábád, etc., a sword, hence called 'shamshíri.'

Those of Ságar, Jálaon, Srínagar, Kálpí, Tahrí, (the Bálásáhi) have a trident or trisúl with a cross bar.

The coins of Bhopál, Bhilsá, and Ráthgarh are easily known by a rude figure resembling a coat of mail.

The Kotá, Búndí, and Pratápgarh coins have a triple bow or knot, sometimes varied: the inscription of the latter rupee is in Nágarí.

The Saronj, Vazírsáhi, Jhánsí, Gokul, Balúgarh, and Gwáliár moneys have a cinque-foil or star of five triple-pointed leaves, placed, as most of such devices are, in the loop of the letter *ج* in *جلوس* *ج* *س*.

The Ajmír, Oudipúr, Sálímsáhi, old Chitor, Bhilárá, and Krishnagar coins; and, with some modification, those of Jaipúr and Mattrá, have a *جهاز* *jhár*, 'sprig' or six-leaved branch.

Those of Madras, Arkát, Chandor, Sháhpúr, have a small lotus or trefoil.

The Jodhpúr, Kocháman, Bapúsáhi, and Páli rupees have a kind of small sceptre following the *alif* of the word *شاه* *sháh*.

The Indor rupee is well characterised by the solar effigy of the Suraj-vansí princes; the Maheswari of Holkar by the symbol of Mahádeva; while the Srísáhi of Ajmír has the word *श्री* *srí* on the field.

The Jabalpúr rupee is distinguished by bearing the san or year of reign in Nágarí characters. That of Ujjain has merely four squares, or a kind of chequer.

The crescent and star are common emblems on many coins.

Of the Nepálese, Assamese, and other peculiar types, a better idea will be formed from the outlines in the accompanying plate: but the following memoranda<sup>1</sup> of the symbols on the pagodas of Southern India will be useful, as we have no specimens whence to delineate them:

<sup>1</sup> Extracted from a note of Mr. Wilson's 'Cabinet Specimens.'

## DEVICES ON COINS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

Madras pagoda,	}	The figure of Venkateswara, and Alamelu and Mangamá his two wives.
Pulk Bunder do.		
Venkatapati do.		
Harpanháli, Scott,	}	A rude figure of Nrisinha, Lakshmi Nrisinhá, and on some also Pratápa Krishna.
Portonovo, Sravanorí,		
Sáhibari, Jamsheri,		
Ikkeri, Contarái, Maisúr, the figure of Umá Maheswara.		
Haidarí, Sultáni, Bangalore, etc.—the letter Ç.		
Dúrgí, Chítaldrág, the lotus. The Shúlí pagoda ;—the trisúl.		
Tanjore, Gapállí, Gatti, the Kattár or dagger.		
Virarái, Panchakal, Giriye ; a gun.		
Chakrí, a Tripati coin ; a diagram on one side and Tripundra on the other.		
Gulgi fanam ;—a plough.		

## TABLES OF BULLION IMPORTED, EXPORTED, AND MINTED.

As a matter of curiosity rather than with a view of furnishing data for calculating the numerical amount of the circulating medium of the provinces under the Bengal Presidency, a statement has been added in two tables<sup>1</sup> of the quantity of gold and silver bullion coined at the mints of Calcutta, Benáres, Farrukhábad, and Ságara respectively, from the year 1800, to the 30th of April, 1833, inclusive ; and also a statement of the imports and exports of bullion at Calcutta, extracted from Wilson's report on the commerce of the port, printed in 1828, the years since expired being added from the same official records. It will be remarked that of the whole bullion minted, a large proportion has been 'on account of Government.' This has chiefly consisted of the re-coining of worn-out rupees or the conversion of native coins, remitted from the different treasuries, into Government standard. The same process must be continually going forward, inversely, with the English coin in all the native states, so that it becomes impossible to estimate correctly the quantity in actual circulation.

The total value of the coinage at the four mints for the period of thirty-one years has been 53,322,600 rupees.

The bullion importation, <i>via</i> Calcutta, from 1813-14	
to 1831-32 is valued at .....	sikká Rs. 355,837,644
From which deducting the exports for the same period,	65,391,544

Leaves bullion disposed of in the country .....	sikká Rs. 290,446,100
---	-----------------------

<sup>1</sup> [These are omitted as the totals and results are incorporated in the succeeding observations.]



The coinage of the several mints for the same term of eighteen years was as follows :

Calcutta mint.....	203,615,962	4	5
Benáres mint .....	88,329,359	0	6
Farrukhábád mint.....	47,252,842	9	11
Ságar mint.....	4,324,775	9	9

Making altogether, fractions omitted..... 343,522,940

Being an excess of one-fifth above the import, or ..... Rs. 53,076,840

The coinage of the native mints may be jointly estimated at one-half of our own, which will give a rough total of 50 karors of rupees for 18 years, or three karors per annum for the coinage of the Bengal Presidency ; being 150,000 per diem for 200 working days.

## TABLE of the Gold Coins of India.

Denomination.	Weight in grains.	Assay in car. grs.	Touch or pure gold in 100 parts.	Pure contents in grains.	Intrinsic value of 100.		Remarks.
					In Calcut- ta Gold Muhrs.	In Madras or Bombay gold rupees	
MUHR.							
Ahmad Sháh ....	207.00	W. 1 2½	85.1	176.27	93.937	105.874	[1750. Coined at Dihli,
Akbar .....	159.00	B. 2 0	100.0	159.00	84.732	96.361	ditto at Agra, 1560
Akbar, jaljaláfi..	186.60	B. 2 0	100.0	186.60	99.430	113.089	ditto at Lahor.
Assam.....	173.50	W. 5 0¾	70.0	121.54	64.769	73.662	
„ old.....	173.00	W. 2 2¼	81.0	140.11	74.666	84.921	
Benáres .....	168.44	B. 1 1	96.9	163.17	86.956	98.896	
Batavian, 1783...	242.60	W. 3 1½	77.9	188.90	100.665	114.479	Dutch E. I. Comp.
„ 1796...	243.60	W. 4 0	75.0	182.70	97.361	110.725	
„ .....	244.25	W. 5 0	70.8	173.01	92.198	104.857	
Bombay, old.....	177.00	B. 0 3½	95.4	168.70	89.903	102.243	
„ later.....	174.99	W. 2 0	83.3	145.82	77.709	88.377	
„ new std. 1800	179.00	B. 0 0½	91.9	164.68	87.759	99.807	Legal exchange
„ do. 1830	180.00	standard	81.7	165.00	87.929	100.000	value, 15 Bom. Rs.
Calcutta, old std.	190.804	B. 1 3½	99.2	189.40	100.934	114.786	Still coined here.
„ new std.	204.710	standard	91.7	187.65	100.000	113.727	Legal value, 16 Rs.
Dihli .....	167.00	B. 1 2¼	98.2	163.96	87.373	99.364	Date not given.
Haidarábád .....	172.18	B. 1 0½	96.1	165.45	88.171	100.263	
Jainagar .....	174.99	B. 0 2	93.7	164.05	87.428	99.398	Struck at Jaipur.
Lukhnaw .....	166.00	B. 1 3½	99.2	164.70	87.771	99.820	Pure contents as in silver coin.
Madrasgoldrupee	180.00	standard	91.7	165.00	87.929	100.000	Legal value, 15 Rs.
Puna muhr .....	159.55	B. 2 0	100.0	159.55	85.023	96.694	
Rási .....	167.50	B. 0 3½	95.1	159.21	84.845	96.486	
„ another	121.65	W. 4 3¾	71.1	86.48	46.087	52.325	
Sháh 'Alam, 1770	190.25	B. 1 2½	98.2	186.80	99.547	113.212	From Kelly.
„ another	191.00	B. 1 2¾	98.7	188.50	100.453	114.236	Current in Súrat
Sunamula .....	178.26	W. 0 0½	91.1	162.47	86.582	98.465	[and Gujarát.
Súrat (average)..	178.00	standard	91.7	163.17	87.307	99.307	
Sháh Jahán.....	168.00	B. 1 3¾	99.8	167.60	89.315	101.575	Having signs of the zodiac—rare.
PAGODA, HÚN, OR VARÁHA.							
Anandráfi .....	52.46	W. 4 3¾	71.1	37.30	19.876	21.708	[still coined. Travancore Rájá,
Bangalor. ....	52.87	W. 2 2½	81.0	42.82	22.818	25.952	Under Haidar.
Bahádúri (Haidar)	52.71	W. 1 2¾	84.6	44.61	23.775	27.032	At Seringapatam, 1700
Dharwár .....	50.52	W. 3 3	76.0	38.42	20.473	23.280	In Karnátic, scarce
Darbári .....	50.53	W. 2 2½	81.0	40.96	21.830	24.827	Maisúr.
Durgí pagoda ...	51.55	W. 2 1	82.3	42.42	22.606	25.714	Coined at Chital- drug.
„ another	51.46	W. 4 0½	74.7	38.46	20.496	23.315	
Farrukhí (Calicut)	52.90	W. 1 1¾	85.7	45.32	24.153	27.466	Coined by Tipú.
Harpanháli, old.	50.76	W. 3 2½	76.8	39.00	20.783	23.633	Former Rájá.
„ new	51.10	W. 3 0	79.2	40.45	21.558	24.520	Current at Bellary
Ikkeri, old.....	52.40	W. 2 1¾	81.5	42.71	22.762	25.884	Coins of Maisúr and
„ new .....	52.50	W. 1 3	84.4	44.30	23.606	26.851	Bednor mints so called
Jamshari .....	52.00	W. 1 3	84.4	43.87	23.380	26.589	Trichinopoly.
Madras.....	45.83	standard	91.7	42.01	22.387	25.464	Exchange at Ma-
„ double..	91.64	standard	91.7	84.00	44.764	50.927	dras, 3½ rupees.
„ star, average	52.40	W. 2 2	81.2	42.55	22.780	25.907	
Muhammadsháhi							{ Coined by Mah.
old.....	50.53	W. 2 3¾	79.4	40.14	21.388	24.327	'Ali Khán, Na-
„ new	45.30	W. 4 0	75.0	33.97	18.104	20.585	wáb of Karnátic.

¹ Srínagarpatam.

Denomination.	Weight in grains.	Assay in car. grs.	Touch or pure gold in 100 parts.	Pure contents in grains.	Intrinsic value of 100.		Remarks.
					In Calcutta in Gold Muhurs.	In Madras or Bombay gold rupees	
c. grs.							
Naidí.....	52.82	W. 1 3	84.4	44.57	23.752	27.010	[Khán Chitor.
Pedatola.....	52.50	W. 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	84.9	44.57	23.751	23.599	By Fateh Ulla
Paliampatpagoda.....	51.80	W. 8 3	55.2	28.60	15.240	17.332	Near Trichinopoly
Porto Novo.....	52.21	W. 7 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	58.8	30.73	16.390	18.640	A Portuguese coin
Pulkbunder.....	51.50	W. 1 2	85.4	43.99	23.442	26.655	Same as Madras.
Sadaki, double.....	105.75	W. 1 2	85.4	90.33	48.136	54.748	
Sattári.....	50.00	W. 3 3	76.0	38.02	20.262	23.042	Coined at Sattára.
Shir Kháni.....	49.50	W. 1 3	84.4	41.77	22.257	25.316	
Scott.....	52.23	W. 6 3	63.5	33.19	17.686	20.119	Same as Porto Novo
Sraavanur.....	50.46	W. 2 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	82.6	41.65	22.196	25.247	
another.....	51.50	W. 4 0	75.0	38.62	20.583	23.406	
Star (see Madras)							[Maliapur.
St. Thomé.....	75.33	B. 0 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	95.1	71.60	38.159	43.399	Double pagoda of
Súbári, $\frac{1}{4}$ pagoda.....	26.20	W. 1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	86.2	22.58	12.030	13.692	
Sultáni.....	52.40	W. 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	84.7	44.35	23.635	26.873	Coined by Tipú.
Travancore.....	51.00	W. 2 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	81.8	41.70	22.224	25.270	Anandrái, still coined
Venkatapati.....	51.47	W. 3 3	76.0	39.14	20.856	23.724	At Venkatagiri.
PANAM OR FANAM							
Aparanj.....	2.68	W. 0 2	89.6	2.44	1.279	1.517	[their purity.
Arialur.....	5.34	W. 11 2	43.7	2.33	1.244	1.415	So called from
Chakrí.....	5.31	W. 16 0	25.0	1.33	0.708	0.805	Near Tanjore.
Contarái.....	5.85	W. 8 0	58.3	3.41	1.819	2.068	Tripati coin.
Gatti.....	5.39	W. 11 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	44.3	2.38	1.271	1.445	Ikkeri or Maisúr.
Gulgi.....	5.62	W. 10 1	48.9	2.15	1.465	1.666	Tripati—Chitavel.
Gopáli, old.....	5.15	W. 16 2	22.9	1.18	0.629	0.715	Marked with a rose
„ new.....	5.15	W. 16 0	25.0	1.29	0.686	0.783	At Madhyargun,
Káliam, or Káli.....	5.44	W. 13 2	35.4	1.92	1.026	1.166	near Kudalur.
Panchkol.....	5.61	W. 10 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	46.6	2.65	1.410	1.603	Anandrái fanam.
Salem.....	4.69	W. 15 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	27.9	1.31	0.696	0.792	Coimbatore.
Sulí.....	5.15	W. 16 0	25.0	1.29	0.686	0.780	Coined at Salem.
Tanjore.....	5.46	W. 15 0	29.1	1.59	0.848	0.964	Tinivelly.
Viraráya.....	5.85	W. 10 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	46.6	2.72	1.452	1.651	Malabar.
Wodiar.....	5.44	W. 11 2	43.7	2.38	1.267	1.441	Ditto.
FOREIGN GOLD COINS.							
Doubloon Spanish.....	416.50	W. 0 2	89.6	373.11	198.834	226.125	Net produce of 100 at
„ 1786 to 1826.....	417.00	W. 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	87.0	362.70	193.286	219.825	Calcutta in silká ru-
„ Chili, 1823.....	417.00	W. 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	87.3	363.79	193.865	220.473	pees at 17 Rs. per gold
„ Columbia 1826.....	417.00	W. 1 3	84.4	351.4	187.552	213.296	muh (deducting coin-
„ Peru.....	417.00	W. 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	87.0	362.0	193.286	219.825	age duty.
Ducat, Dutch.....	53.50	B. 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	98.2	52.3	27.996	31.844	3312.575
Guinea, English.....	129.50	standard	91.7	118.70	63.258	71.945	3220.145
Sovereign, ditto.....	123.25	standard	91.7	113.10	60.271	68.544	3229.791
20 franc, French.....	99.57	W. 0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	90.0	89.62	47.757	54.313	3124.646
Johannese, Portug.....	222.50	W. 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	91.4	203.38	108.381	123.258	3220.145
Moidore, ditto.....	124.00	standard	91.7	113.67	60.573	68.885	466.413
Sequin, Venetian.....	52.40	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	99.7	52.27	27.853	31.673	1053.879
Tomán, Persian.....	73.00	B. 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	96.1	70.15	37.382	42.511	1004.115
Copang, Japanold.....	273.00	W. 1 2	85.5	233.20	124.806	135.272	795.632
„ new.....	201.75	W. 6 0	66.7	134.50	71.676	81.555	1805.628
							1009.146
							464.031
							622.785
							2079.268
							1194.123

(To convert the decimals into ánas and pá'is, see Table, page 12; for explanation of the present table, see page 36.)

(To convert the decimals into áns and pá's, see Table, page 12; for explanation of the present table, see page 36.)

## SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE OF GOLD COINS.

Since the Table of Gold Coins, page 43, went to press,<sup>1</sup> an opportunity has been afforded of adding largely to its contents, from the examination of a remittance of 725 old gold muhrs sent from the general treasury to be melted and re-coined. On a laborious scrutiny of them, many pieces of all the emperors of Dillí, since the time of Akbar, were discovered; and a few anterior to that monarch: besides a large store of Bhopál, Jaipúr, and Kotá or Búndí, muhrs, easily recognised by their respective symbols. The whole were weighed and assayed, and the results are given in the present supplement, arranged in two classes, the first, in the order of the emperors; and the second, alphabetically, in that of the localities. As there was considerable difficulty in recognizing many of them, in which part of the name was wanting, it may be convenient here to accompany the table with a catalogue of the inscriptions most commonly met with on the gold coins of each monarch, from Akbar downwards. Some of them, as will be seen, have two or three different forms, which is very perplexing to the examiner. The term *Sáhib-kirán*<sup>2</sup> (lord of the *kirán*, or 'fortunate conjunction of the planets') was first applied to Taimúr; afterwards to Sháh Jahán, as *Sáhib-kirán Sání* (the Second); and lastly to Muhammad Sháh.

It is worthy of remark, that most of the gold muhrs in the present table agree very nearly together in weight and value: and the average value of 100 may be taken as equal precisely to 100 Bombay and Madras new gold muhrs (or gold rupees as they are anomalously styled). The Calcutta gold muhr has no equivalent in the list: it would therefore be no innovation, but rather a restoration of the former system, which prevailed for three hundred years unremittedly, to abolish the Calcutta gold muhr of 204.71 grains, and adopt in its place the 180-grain muhr of Southern and Western India for the standard of the Bengal Presidency. Thus, were the sikká rupee abolished, there would remain but one gold and one silver coin throughout British India, both containing the same weight of precious metal, so that the relative value of gold and silver would be at once known; the present nominal rate of sixteen rupees<sup>3</sup> might still continue the legal equivalent of the muhr, since the value of gold is permanently risen nearly to that extent.

<sup>1</sup> [I have allowed this to stand as it appeared in the original, as it did not seem that any material object would be gained by an incorporation of the two Tables.]

<sup>2</sup> صاحب قران

<sup>3</sup> [The old muhr sells at 17.8, its legal rate being 16 rupees. The influx of Australian gold has of late considerably reduced the relative value of that metal in the bázars of India.]

## INSCRIPTIONS ON MUHRS OF THE MOGHUL EMPERORS.

## AKBAR.

Obverse :

جلال الدين محمد اكبر بادشاه غازي

'The glory of the faith, Muhammad Akbar, the victorious emperor.'<sup>1</sup>

Reverse : The Kalimah.

This inscription, though apparently so common, is not mentioned in Abú'l Fazl's list of the royal coins; the specimens vary in date from 972 to 985 A.H.

## JAHÁNGÍR.

جهانگیر شاه ابن اكبر بادشاه ضرب برهانپور امان الله

'Jahángír Sháh, son of Akbar Bádsháh. Struck at Burhánpúr, May God preserve him.'

## SHÁH JAHÁN.

(a) A plain disc—

Obverse: the Kalimah,

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله ضرب برهانپور سنه الهی ۸۲

'There is no God but God, etc. Struck at Burhánpúr in Ilahí year 82.'

Reverse :

شهاب الدين محمد شاهجهان غازي صاحبقران ثاني

'The bright star of the faith, Muhammad Sháh Jahán, Ghází Sáhíb-kirán the second.'

(b) The chaháryárí muhr—

Obverse : A square centre, containing the Kalimah; around which are the names of the four companions of the prophet, Abubakr, 'Omar, 'Osmán, and 'Alí.

لا اله الا الله محمد الرسول الله ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي

Reverse : Same as before : 'San jalús v.'

(c)

Obverse : A lozenge shield, containing the Kalimah, around which, 'Zarb Alláhábád, san 1031.'

Reverse : As in the other specimens.

## AURANGZÍB.

Obverse :

در جهان سكه زد چون مهر منير شاه اورنگت زيب عالمگیر

'Sháh Aurangzib 'Álamgír issued coin, brilliant as the sun.'

<sup>1</sup> [غازي is more properly 'a warrior of the faith,' and in this sense we must understand its application on these coins.]

Reverse :

ضرب مستقر الخلافة اکبرآباد سنه جلوس میمنت مانوس  
'Minted at the seat of the Khilāfat, Akbarābād, the year of the reign of fortunate associations.'

BAHĀDUR SHĀH.

Obverse :

سکه مبارک شاه عالم بهادر بادشاه غازی سنه ۱۱۲۳  
'Auspicious coin of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur, Bādshāh Ghāzī. A.H. 1123.'

Reverse :

ضرب خجسته بنیاد سنه جلوس ۵  
'Struck in the favored city, year of the reign 5.'

JAHĀNDĀR SHĀH.

Obverse :

سکه زد بر سیم و زر چون مهر و ماه  
ابوالفتح جهاندار شادغازی بادشاه ۱۱۲۴  
'The father of victory, the Emperor, Jahāndār Shāh Ghāzī, struck coin in silver and gold, resembling the sun and moon. A.H. 1124.'

Reverse : As in Aurangzib's coins.

FARRUKHSIR.

Obverse :

سکه زد از فضل حق بر سیم و زر فرخ سیر بادشاه بهر و بر  
'By the grace of God, the monarch of sea and land, Farrukhsir, struck silver and gold coin.'

Reverse :

سنه ۶ جلوس میمنت مانوس ضرب دارالخلافة شاه جهان آباد  
'The sixth year of his prosperous reign. Minted at the seat of the Khalāfat, Shāh Jahānābād (Dihli).

MUHAMMAD SHĀH.

(a)

Obverse :

سکه مبارک محمد شاه بهادر بادشاه غازی سنه ۱۱۷  
'Auspicious coin of Muhammad Shāh, the victorious emperor, 17th year.'

Reverse : As usual ; sans 2 to 17.

(b)

The same inscription with the addition of صاحب قرآن ثانی chiefly of the year 12 ; a debased coin.

<sup>1</sup> [ This legend is ordinarily peculiar to Ahmad Shāh.]

(c)

Obverse :

سکه زد بر سیم و زر چون مهر و ماه  
ابوالفتح غازی الدین محمدشاه

'The father of victory, defender of the Faith, Muhammad Sháh, struck silver and gold coin resembling the sun and moon.'

Reverse : As in (a) ; and of various years.

AHMAD SHÁH.

Obverse : Same as the coin of Farrukhsír, with exception of name :

سکه زد بر سیم و زر از فضل حق احمد شاه سنه ۱۱۴۱<sup>۱</sup>

Reverse : As usual.

'ÁLAMGÍR II.

There are also three varieties of inscriptions on his coins (the reverse of all being as usual).

(a)

Obverse :

سکه مبارک بادشاه غازی عالمگیر ثانی

'Fortunate coin of Bádsháh Ghází 'Álamgír the second.'

(b)

Obverse :

ابوالعدل عزیز الدین شاه عالمگیر بادشاه غازی خلد الله ملكه  
سنه ۱۱۴۳

'The father of justice, chosen of the faith, Sháh 'Álamgír II. Bádsháh Ghází. (May God perpetuate his kingdom!)' Sans 2 and 3.

(c)

Obverse :

سکه زد بر هفت کشور تابان همچون مهر و ماه  
عزیز الدین عالمگیر ثانی بادشاه

'Chosen of the faith, 'Álamgír the second, struck coin in the seven climes, shining like the sun and moon.' A.H. 1170 to 1173. Sans 3 and 6.

SHÁH 'ÁLAM.

Obverse :

سکه زد بر هفت کشور سایه فضل اله

Reverse :

حامی دین محمد شاه عالم بادشاه

The same as on the Company's coin, explained at page 2. All later than the 19th san, bear the symbol of a royal umbrella.

<sup>1</sup> [ I distrust this reading ; but not having the original coin to refer to, I do not venture to amend the attribution.—E. T.]

[I cannot well afford the space requisite to complete the list of the coinage of the Moghul Emperors of Hindústán; but I venture to insert the legend of perhaps the most interesting coin in the whole series; together with two novelties, hitherto, I believe, unpublished.

I. Silver coin of Núr Jahán Bígám. Struck by order of Jahángír, A.H. 1034.<sup>1</sup>

Obverse :

زنام نور جهان بادشاه بیگم زر سنه جلوس ۲۰

Reverse :

بحکم جهانگیر شاه یافت صد زیور ضرب لاهور ۱۰۳۴

A second coin in the British Museum of the same date is seen to have been minted at Ahmadábád.

II. Silver. Murád Bakhsh. Three coins in the British Museum. No date.

Obverse : Square area—The Kalimah.

Margin—The names of the Four Companions of the Prophet.

Reverse : Square area,

محمد مرآد بخش بادشاه غازی

Margin :

ابو المظفر تاج الدین ضرب سورت

III. Silver. Rafí'ud-darjât. Five coins in the British Museum. A.H. 1181.

Obverse :

سکه زد باهزاران برکات شاهینشه بحر و بر رفیع الدرجات ۱۱۸۱

Reverse :

ضرب سنه احد جلوس میمنت مانوس

Other specimens bear the names of Láhor with *مستنقر الخلافة*; and Dihlí under the style of *شاه جهاناباد* —[E.T.]

<sup>1</sup> [Marsden, p. 635; Anquetil du Perron, p. 221;—Láhor, A.H. 1035.]



## Supplementary Table of Indian Gold Coins.

(The letters (a) (b) and (c) refer to the inscriptions in pages 46 to 48.)

Denomination.	Weight in grains.	Assay in car. grs.	Touch or pure gold in 100 parts.	Pure contents in grains.	Intrinsic value of 100.		Remarks.
					In Cal. gold muhrs.	In Mad. or Bom. gold rs.	
Jalál-ud-dín .....	163.80	B. 0 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	94.5	154.84	82.516	93.843	A. D. 1288?
'Alá-ud-dín .....	166.50	B. 0 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	94.2	156.96	83.645	95.128	Abú'l Muzaffar.
Taimúr Sháh.....	167.40	B. 0 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	95.1	159.12	84.795	96.435	A. D. 1396, Dihli.
Akbar, average ...	162.44	B. 2 0	100.0	162.44	86.565	98.448	A. D. 1556, Dihli.
single.....	165.60	B. 1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	97.4	161.29	85.951	97.750	Injured by solder of ring.
Jahángir .....	166.90	B. 2 0	100.0	166.90	88.942	101.152	At Barhánpúr.
Sháh Jahán (a)...	168.65	B. 1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	97.4	164.26	87.534	99.550	Plain field.
(b) chahár-yári..	168.20	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	99.8	167.76	89.402	101.674	Square shield.
" .....	168.40	standard.	91.7	154.37	82.263	93.551	Vitiated by solder?
(c) lozenge shield	165.58	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	99.5	165.15	88.008	100.090	Struck at Allahábád.
Patna.....	170.70	B. 1 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	99.7	169.37	90.256	102.647	Supposed from symbol 39.
doubtful *	164.70	W. 2 2	81.3	133.82	71.313	81.102	Probably forged.
Aurangzib, plain..	168.68	B. 2 0	100.0	168.68	89.890	102.230	Several.
sans 5 to 51 ..	168.29	B. 1 2	98.0	164.78	87.812	99.867	Dihli, A. H. 1076.
Agra .....	162.00	B. 2 0	100.0	162.00	86.330	98.182	1100, these vary
Etáwa .....	168.20	B. 2 0	100.0	168.20	89.634	101.939	only in the place
Dihli .....	167.65	B. 2 0	100.0	167.65	89.371	101.606	of coinage.
Láhor .....	167.60	B. 0 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	94.5	158.43	84.430	96.021	
Súrat .....	170.20	B. 2 0	100.0	170.20	90.700	103.152	
san 29 * .....	164.00	W. 2 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	79.7	130.69	69.644	79.204	No place of coinage, others Dihli.
Aurangábád..	164.67	B. 2 0	...	164.67	87.756	99.803	A. H. 1097, Láhor?
Khujistah							
buniád.....	165.60	B. 1 0	...	158.70	84.572	96.182	
Multán .....	168.55	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	...	167.23	89.119	101.353	
Bahádur Sháh ...	168.35	B. 1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	97.4	163.53	87.145	99.108	Sháh 'Alam i.; struck at 'Khujistah buniád,' (Dihli), in 1123.
Jahándár Sháh ...	167.25	B. 2 0	100.0	167.25	89.128	101.364	Struck at Jonpúr, 1124.
Farrukhsír, san 6.	167.33	B. 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	96.4	161.23	85.922	97.717	Dihli, A. H. 1125.
Láhor .....	168.00	B. 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	96.4	161.87	86.263	98.106	
Muham. Sháh (a)	167.12	B. 1 1	96.9	161.90	86.278	98.122	Struck at Dihli.
(b) sans 2 to 17 ...	168.07	B. 1 1	97.4	163.69	87.235	99.200	(Average.)
Agra .....	164.79	B. 1 3	99.0	163.07	86.900	98.830	
Allahábád ...	166.70	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	99.2	165.40	88.141	100.241	
(c) Arkát .....	166.30	B. 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	96.4	160.24	85.391	97.113	San 1.
Benáres .....	167.30	B. 2 0	100.0	167.30	89.155	101.394	San 20. See p. 21.
Islámábád ...	168.30	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	99.2	166.98	88.987	101.203	? Dacca or Dihli.
Ujjain .....	166.90	B. 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	98.5	164.29	87.551	99.571	
Etáwa .....	167.90	B. 1 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	99.8	167.46	89.241	101.493	
(c) san 12 .....	164.70	W. 1 0	87.5	144.12	76.800	87.344	Ill-executed, Dihli <sup>1</sup> marked $\text{श}$ .

The coins marked thus \* appear to be forgeries; there are twenty-seven of them bearing the superscription of Aurangzib, badly executed, and nine having that of Farrukhsír, and the date A. H. 1126, with the same san, jaids 29, although the latter emperor only reigned six years.

<sup>1</sup> This debased muhr is very peculiar;—it was probably coined under Maráthi influence—there were eighty-three of the sort, all of the same date.

Denomination.	Weight in grains.	Assay in car. grs.	Touch or pure gold in 100 parts.	Pure contents in grains.	Intrinsic value of 100.		Remarks.
					In Cal. gold muhrs.	In Mad. or Bom. gold rs.	
Ahmad Sháh .....	167.65	B. 1 3	99.0	165.90	88.410	100.547	
Barhánpúr ...	169.80	B. 2 0	100.0	169.80	90.487	102.909	
'Alamgír II. san 1	167.30	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	99.2	165.99	88.458	100.602	Struck at Dihlí (a).
san 3 .....	167.78	B. 1 3	99.0	166.03	88.478	100.624	Inscription (b).
A. H. 1170-1173.....	167.50	B. 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	98.4	164.88	87.867	99.929	Inscription (c).
var. sans .....	168.00	B. 1 3	99.0	166.25	88.595	100.757	Struck at Siwái.
Sháh 'Alam, Dihlí	167.41	B. 1 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	97.4	163.05	86.890	98.818	Present inscription. See page 2.
sans 3 to 15 $\frac{1}{4}$	166.31	B. 2 0	100.0	162.85	86.783	98.696	With the chhata.
sans 19 to 34	169.50	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	99.5	168.62	89.857	102.192	Same as old Bom.
Barhánpúr ...	165.75	standard.	91.7	151.94	80.968	92.084	? Average of 16.
Farrukhábád.	166.80	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	99.2	164.07	87.435	99.438	Under the Nawáb.
Lukhnów.....	170.15	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	99.8	169.71	90.438	102.853	Same as old Bom.
Súrat, san 19.	166.60	B. 2 0	100.0	166.60	88.782	100.970	With dagger.
Akbar II. ....							
<i>Local Gold Coins.</i>							
Agra .....	164.79	B. 1 3	99.0	163.07	86.900	98.830	Muhammadsháhi.
Allahábád <sup>1</sup> .....	162.00	W. 10 0	50.0	81.00	43.165	49.091	Debased? false.
Arkát, M.S. san 1.	166.30	B. 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	96.4	160.24	85.391	97.113	Muhammadsháhi.
Benáres, san 20...	167.30	B. 2 0	100.0	167.30	89.155	101.394	"
Bhopál, san 27 ...	167.50	B. 1 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	96.4	164.01	87.402	99.400	Average of 149.
Barhánpúr .....	169.50	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	99.5	168.62	89.857	102.192	Same as old Bom.
Etáwa.....	167.90	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	99.8	167.46	89.241	101.493	Muhammad Sháh and Farrukhsir.
Farrukhábád .....	165.75	standard.	91.7	151.94	80.968	92.084	Company's new standard.?
Islámábád, Dacca?	168.30	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	99.2	166.98	88.987	101.203	Muhammadsháhi.
Jaipúr, san 8.....	166.60	W. 2 0	100.0	138.83	73.985	84.141	? False money.
san 22 .....	168.11	B. 2 0	100.0	168.11	89.589	101.888	These are averages
san 23 .....	167.94	B. 2 0	100.0	167.94	89.498	101.784	of many, all
san 24 .....	168.12	B. 2 0	100.0	168.12	89.590	101.889	new coins of the
var. sans .....	167.80	B. 2 0	100.0	167.80	89.421	101.697	Jaipúr mint.
Siwái, san 18.	168.10	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	99.2	166.79	88.881	101.083	Has the same symbol.
Kotá, sans 1 to 18.	167.08	B. 1 0	95.8	160.12	85.329	97.043	Known by the
San 19 .....	166.72	B. 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	98.2	163.68	87.225	99.199	Kotá and Búndi symbol.
Lukhnów, old ...	165.80	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	99.2	164.07	87.435	99.438	Machhlisáhi.
new.....	165.65	B. 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	98.5	163.07	86.898	98.828	Shirsáhi.
Ujjain, san 2 .....	166.90	B. 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	98.5	164.29	87.551	99.571	Muhammadsháhi.
Patna, Sháhjahán	170.70	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	99.2	169.37	90.256	102.647	? (From symbol 39, p. 67.)
Ságar? marked स	164.70	B. 0 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	92.2	151.83	80.912	92.019	This monogram is unknown.
Ságar, Srinagar? ..	166.25	B. 1 2	98.0	162.79	86.750	98.659	With the trisú.
Súrat, san 19.....	170.15	B. 1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	99.8	169.71	90.438	102.853	Old Bombay.
Pesháwar .....	164.00	W. 8 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	56.7	93.10	49.615	56.424	Khurshíd Sháh.

(For explanation of the several columns of this table see page 36; and for converting decimals into ánas and pá'ís, see the Table at page 12.)

<sup>1</sup> The inscription on this coin, of which there are three specimens, is very badly executed; the pieces are most probably forged.

*Table of the Silver Coins of India.*

(To find the value in sikká rupees, deduct one-sixteenth from the value in Farrukhabád rupees: the latter are the same as Madras and Bombay rupees. For the value in £ sterling, divide by 10.)

Name.	Weight.	Assay.	Touch.	Pure contents.	Intrinsic value of 100.	Remarks.
	Grains.	Dwts.		Grains.	Fd. Rs.	
Agra rupee .....	171.62	Br. 7	94.5	162.33	98.381	Struck at Agra by ?
Ahmadábád old ...	178.00	Wo. 4.5	89.8	159.83	96.864	Gujarát and Cutch.
old ...	179.92	Wo. 17.5	84.4	151.81	92.004	Formerly coined.
new ...	180.75	Wo. 15	85.4	154.39	93.568	Present currency.
hálí ...	174.77	Br. 12	96.7	168.94	102.390	Coined for city currency.
Ahmad Sháh .....	177.25	Br. 15	98.0	173.70	105.272	(Equal to Dihlí standard, 1750.)
Ahmadnagar, old...	174.50	Br. 14.5	97.7	170.57	103.376	Same as Dihlí rupee.
Ajmír, old ? .....	168.60	Wo. 11	87.1	146.82	88.982	Srí sáhi, emn. currency introduced by Tántia.
Srí sáhi ...	168.17	Wo. 27.5	80.2	134.89	81.751	or Bápúsáhi ?
32nd san ...	168.00	Wo. 21	82.9	139.30	84.428	Coined in 1792.
Allahábád .....	172.03	Stand.	91.7	157.70	95.573	Sans 18, 21, and 26, (1778-86).
'Alamgír II. 1759 .	179.50	Br. 16	98.5	176.51	106.974	Equal to the Sá.rup.
Anásáhi .....	176.25	Wo. 7.5	88.5	156.05	94.578	Coined at Kaira, Gujarát.
" .....	177.25	Wo. 14.5	85.6	151.77	91.982	Coined at Pitlad, do.
Ankusí, old .....	172.00	Br. 3.5	93.1	160.17	97.075	Standard of Puna,
new .....	173.50	Br. 2.5	92.7	160.85	97.484	also called Chinsuri.
Aracan, (Mug.) ...	162.88	Wo. 81.5	57.7	93.71	56.793	
Arkát, (Company's)	176.40	Br. 7.5	94.8	167.26	101.340	Coined in Calcutta
1759 .....	177.25	Br. 10	95.8	169.86	102.948	for the Dacca and
1782 .....	174.00	Br. 11	96.2	167.47	101.500	Katak districts,
1788 .....	177.25	Br. 11	96.2	170.60	103.396	also the old currency of Madras.
old .....	172.89	Br. 4.5	93.5	161.25	97.729	The Súrat Arcot,
1766 .....	171.47	Br. 3.5	93.1	159.68	96.775	mentioned in Reg. XXXV. 1793.
new .....	188.00	Wo. 4.0	93.3	169.20	102.545	The Madras dol. ru.
Katak .....	173.89	Br. 9.0	95.4	165.92	100.556	Formerly cur. here.
French .....	173.13	Br. 9.5	95.6	165.55	100.384	Coined at Pondicherry.
Garnáli .....	172.20	Br. 7	94.6	162.88	98.716	Uncertain (from Chitagong).
Phurshí .....	172.78	Br. 7.5	94.8	163.78	99.258	'Forshí' of Reg. XXXV. 1793.
uncertain .....	169.33	Wo. 17.5	80.2	142.88	86.592	Probably forged.
Jahází .....	173.573	Br. 7.5	94.8	164.53	99.716	Brought to Chitagong by sea.
Assam, mixed .....	174.05	Br. 8	95.0	165.35	100.215	Current in the valley
Rudra Singh...	173.20	Br. 15	98.0	169.59	102.782	of Assam and the
Siva .....	173.40	Br. 13	97.1	168.34	102.025	neighbouring districts:
Pramatta .....	169.90	Br. 12	96.7	164.24	99.537	coined at
Rájendra .....	173.90	Br. 12.5	96.9	168.47	102.100	Rangpúr and Jorhat.
Lakshmi .....	173.50	Br. 13	97.1	168.44	102.084	
Gaurínáth .....	174.20	Br. 10	95.8	166.94	101.177	Restored to throne
" .....	174.00	Br. 6	94.1	163.83	99.303	in 1793.
Bharat .....	174.75	Br. 11.5	96.5	168.56	102.159	
Ashásáhi .....	176.50	Wo. 11	87.1	153.70	-93.153	Anásáhi? Gujarát, Baroda, Kaira, etc.

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TRANSITIONS

OF THE

INDIAN ALPHABET,

FROM THE TIME OF AŚOKA;

WITH SOME OF THE MOST MARKED LOCAL VARIETIES  
AT PRESENT IN USE.

# CONSONANTS.

	k	kḥ	g	gh	n	ch	chh	j	jḥ	ñ	t	tḥ	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	t	tḥ	ḍ	ḍh	n	p	ph	b	bḥ	m	y	r	l	v	h	s	ś	ṣḥ
ASOKA'S EDICTS. 3rd Cent. B.C.	+	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲
WESTERN CAVES.	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
SĀH INSCRIPTION. (Girnar).	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
GUPTA INSCRIPTION. (Allahabad).	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
VALABHI PLATES. (Gujarat).	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
KUTILA INSCRIPTION. 10th Cent. A.D. (Bareilly).	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
NERBUDDA.	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
KISTNA.	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
TELINGA. (Modern)	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
TIBETAN. (Modern)	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
SQUARE PĀLÍ.	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
GUJARĀTÍ.	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
PUNJĀBÍ.	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
KASHMÍRÍ.	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
BENGĀLÍ.	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
DEVANĀGARÍ.	𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳

# V O W E L S.

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ri	ri	e	ai	o	au	an	ah
ASOKA'S EDICTS. 3rd Cent. B.C.	𑀅	𑀆	:		𑀇	𑀈			𑀉	𑀊	𑀋			
WESTERN CAVES.	𑀌	𑀍	:		𑀎				𑀏	𑀐	𑀑			
SĀH INSCRIPTION. (Girnār.)	𑀒	𑀓	:		𑀔	𑀕			𑀖	𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚	𑀛
GUPTA INSCRIPTION. (Allahābad.)	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞	𑀟	𑀠	𑀡			𑀢	𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦	𑀧
VALABHI PLATES. (Gujnāt.)	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪	𑀫	𑀬	𑀭			𑀮	𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲	𑀳
KUTILA INSCRIPTION. 10th Cent. A.D. (Bareilly.)	𑀴	𑀵	𑀶	𑀷	𑀸	𑀹			𑀺	𑀻	𑀼	𑀽	𑀾	𑀿
NERBUDDA.	𑀿	𑁀	𑁁	𑁂	𑁃	𑁄			𑁅	𑁆	𑁇	𑁈	𑁉	𑁊
KISTNA.	𑁋	𑁌	𑁍	𑁎	𑁏	𑁐			𑁑	𑁒	𑁓	𑁔	𑁕	𑁖
TELINGA. (Modern.)	𑁗	𑁘	𑁙	𑁚	𑁛	𑁜			𑁝	𑁞	𑁟	𑁠	𑁡	𑁢
TIBETAN. (Modern.)	𑁣	𑁤	𑁥	𑁦	𑁧	𑁨			𑁩	𑁪	𑁫	𑁬	𑁭	𑁮
SQUARE PĀLĪ.	𑁯	𑁰	𑁱	𑁲	𑁳	𑁴			𑁵	𑁶	𑁷	𑁸	𑁹	𑁺
GUJARĀTĪ.	𑁻	𑁼	𑁽	𑁾	𑁿	𑂀			𑂁	𑂂	𑂃	𑂄	𑂅	𑂆
PUNJĀBĪ.	𑂇	𑂈	𑂉	𑂊	𑂋	𑂌			𑂍	𑂎	𑂏	𑂐	𑂑	𑂒
KASHMĪRĪ.	𑂓	𑂔	𑂕	𑂖	𑂗	𑂘			𑂙	𑂚	𑂛	𑂜	𑂝	𑂞
BENGĀLĪ.	𑂟	𑂠	𑂡	𑂢	𑂣	𑂤			𑂥	𑂦	𑂧	𑂨	𑂩	𑂪
DEVANĀGARĪ.	अ	आ	इ	ई	उ	ऊ			ए	ऐ	ओ	औ	अं	अः

Name.	Weight.	Assay.	Touch.	Pure contents.	Intrinsic value of 100.	Remarks.
Aurangábád.....	Grains. 170.86	Dwts. Wo. 23.5	81.9	Grains. 139.89	Fd. Rs. 84.787	Coined by Govind Bakhshí, (Haidar-ábád), see Govind Bakhshí.
Bábásáhi .....	177.00	Wo. 14.5	85.6	151.56	91.849	Coined at Baroda, from san 4 to 18.
Bagalkotá .....	172.30	Wo. 5	89.6	154.35	93.546	Mulharsáhi (Holkar).
Bálásáhi .....	169.21	Wo. 8.5	88.1	149.12	90.426	Old coinage of Sagar, current in Gurrah and Bundelkhand.
	162.14	Wo. 5.5	89.4	144.92	87.828	
	169.00	Wo. 6	89.2	150.69	91.328	
Barellí .....	171.90	Br. 4.5	93.5	160.80	97.453	Cur. in Rohilkhand.
	169.28	Br. 5.0	93.7	158.61	95.945	Average of 4 lákhs.
Baroach, old.....	177.06	Br. 7.5	94.7	167.84	101.720	Now disappearing.
new .....	177.50	Wo. 8.5	88.1	156.42	94.801	Present currency (1821).
Baroda .....						See Bábásáhi.
Batavia, 1763 .....	199.00	Wo. 20.5	83.1	165.41	100.254	Coined by the Dutch East India Comp.
1803 .....	204.00	Wo. 20.5	79.0	161.07	97.621	
Bhatúr .....	171.30	Wo. 10.0	87.5	149.89	90.841	Near Ahmadnagar.
Bilápúr .....	171.82	Wo. 14.5	85.6	147.12	89.165	Current at Pána, in Concan, etc.
Benáres, old.....	175.00	Br. 12	96.7	169.17	102.525	Under native daroga.
old stand.....	175.00	Br. 11.6	96.5	168.875	102.348	By Reg. II. 1812, oblique milling.
since 1800.....	174.76	Br. 9.5	95.6	167.00	101.285	Average of rupees brought for re-coinage.
1819-1829.....	180.234	standard	91.7	165.21	100.134	The late Farrukhábád rupee: mint abolished in 1830.
Bhikanír .....	174.00	Br. 11	96.2	167.47	101.500	Current in Ajmír.
Bhilára .....	168.90	Wo. 21.5	82.7	139.69	84.663	Mint under Bhopál Nawáb.
Bhilsa, old .....	169.62	Wo. 12.5	86.5	146.65	88.882	Reformed in 1827.
another .....	169.01	Wo. 16.5	84.8	143.31	86.901	Coined at Bhopál.
new .....	173.61	Br. 6.5	94.4	163.47	99.299	(Reformed in 1827, see 'Bhilsa.')
Bhopál .....	171.38	Wo. 6	89.2	152.82	92.616	Average of many lákhs.
another .....	169.25	Wo. 6.5	89.0	150.56	91.249	Old Súrát rupee.
Bhartpúr .....	171.86	Br. 10	95.8	164.70	99.819	Ditto debased.
Bindrában .....	156.67	Wo. 19.5	83.5	130.89	79.325	Coined at Bombay and at Calcutta.
Bombay, old.....	178.33	Br. 12	96.7	172.39	104.232	Present standard.
1800 .....	178.75	Wo. 2.5	90.7	161.99	98.176	Current in Ajmír and Bundelkhand.
1829 .....	179.00	Br. 0.5	92.0	164.68	99.200	Brazilian dollar.
Búndí, 1819.....	180.00	standard	91.7	165.00	100.000	
1825 .....	171.56	Wo. 7	88.8	152.26	92.273	Coined at Baroda.
Brazil, Pataka .....	172.82	Br. 7	94.6	163.46	98.622	
Brodera, old .....	407.99	Wo. 5	89.6	365.49	221.514	
new .....	178.50	Wo. 1.5	91.1	162.51	98.490	
Balabsáhi.....	178.50	Wo. 7	88.8	158.42	96.011	
Bunder, tuksál .....	175.56	Wo. 15	85.4	149.957	90.880	
Garnáli .....	163.79	Br. 85	95.2	155.93	94.502	
Barhánpúr .....	174.66	Br. 9	95.4	166.66	101.005	
	178.80	Br. 8.5	95.2	170.23	103.171	Also called 'Parki,' coined by Sindia in Khándesh.
Basra .....	280.00	Wo. 11.7	42.9	120.17	72.328	Persian Gulf.
Calcutta, old.....	179.666	Br. 15	98.0	175.923	106.620	The old Murshidábád 19th san sík-ká rupee.

Name.	Weight.	Assay.	Touch.	Pure Contents.	Intrinsic value of 100.	Remarks.
	Grains.	dwt.		Grains.	Fd. Rs.	
Calcutta, new .....	191.916	Stand.	91.7	175.923	106.620	By Reg. XIV. 1818. <sup>1</sup>
present ..	192.00	Stand.	91.7	176.00	106.666	By Reg. VII. 1833, all receivable at par.
Cambay .....	178.00	Wo. 15	85.4	152.04	92.167	Current in Nawáb's district.
Caláni .....	172.66	Wo. 24	81.7	141.01	85.460	
Ceylon .....	134.00	Wo. 24	81.7	109.43	66.323	The rix-dollar of 1s. 9d. ?
Chambagondi .....	138.32	Wo. 5	89.6	123.91	75.074	
	171.00	Wo. 15	85.4	146.06	87.917	Discount of 2 percent. with Ankusí rupee.
Chanda .....	166.42	Wo. 13	86.3	143.54	86.991	Current in Nágpúr and the Narbaddá
1819-24 ...	169.70	Wo. 4	90.0	152.78	92.563	
1825 .....	165.15	Wo. 16.5	84.8	152.72	92.559	
Chandéri .....	173.00	Br. 1.5	92.3	159.66	96.766	One of Sindia's mints
Chandoli .....	170.15	Wo. 14.5	85.6	145.69	88.299	Gwáliár rupee.
Chandúri .....	172.00	Br. 1	92.1	158.38	95.989	Khándesh standard, current in N. Con-
another ..	168.70	Wo. 2.5	90.7	152.88	92.656	cán, at par with
another ..	169.70	Wo. 1	91.3	154.85	93.849	Ankusí rupee.
Chandrapúr .....	163.00	Wo. 19	83.8	136.51	82.735	Average.
	166.50	Wo. 5	89.6	149.16	90.397	
Chinsurí .....	172.50	Br. 3	92.9	160.28	97.140	Same as Ankusí of Puna.
Chitor .....	169.57	Wo. 28.5	79.8	135.31	82.004	Current in Ajmír.
Chaurási .....	171.75	Wo. 3.5	90.3	154.94	93.901	Ikkerí.
Chaundá .....	164.85	Wo. 13	86.3	142.18	86.171	Same as Chanda ?
Chandausi, san 29.	171.10	Wo. 9.5	95.6	160.57	95.497	Coined by Zabita-khán in Rohilkhand.
Chalani .....	160.71	Wo. 27	80.4	129.23	78.324	Haidarábád.
Suluki .....	169.47	Wo. 28.5	79.8	135.22	81.954	
Chappá .....	172.50	Br. 6	94.1	162.44	98.447	
Katak .....	172.18	Br. 6.5	94.3	162.33	98.380	Arkát rupee coined at Calcutta.
Cálpí .....	169.07	Wo. 11.5	86.9	146.88	89.021	Bundelkhand.
Chatrapúr .....	169.00	Wo. 8.5	88.1	148.93	90.261	Rájá Pratáp Singh, Bundelkhand.
Dacca .....	179.30	Br. 12	96.7	173.32	105.044	Same as the sikká rupee.
Deíg .....	169.70	Wo. 7.5	88.5	150.25	91.064	Near Bhartpúr.
Dihlí .....	172.40	Br. 13	97.1	167.37	101.437	See Sonát, and the various súbahs ?
Muhammad Sháh ..	173.30	Br. 12.5	96.9	167.88	101.806	
38th san ..	172.80	Br. 3	92.9	160.56	97.309	
	173.00	Br. 6.5	94.4	163.27	98.951	
Dollar, <sup>2</sup> Spanish ...	417.60	Wo. 4.6	89.7	374.87	227.194	Since 1772, by law.
	415.68	Wo. 4.5	89.8	374.27	226.880	Average in England.
	415.00	Wo. 5	89.6	372.21	225.584	Since 1812, average of Calcutta assays.
N. American .....	416.00	Wo. 6	89.2	371.25	225.000	By United States law.
Dutch guilder .....	161.00	Wo. 1.5	91.1	144.53	87.503	By law, 162 grs.
English shilling ...	87.25	Br. 2	92.5	80.70	48.909	(Previous to 1830 nearly 3 dwts. Br.)
crown .....	436.86	Br. 2	92.5	403.63	244.624	
Etáwa .....	171.80	Br. 1.5	92.3	158.56	96.095	In the Doáb.
French 5-franc ...	385.85	Wo. 4	90.0	347.26	214.360	By French law.
	384.50	Wo. 4.5	89.8	345.25	209.242	By Calcutta assays.

<sup>1</sup> The standard of 1818-1830 was really a pennyweight too fine, in consequence of an error in the old standard plate of England, to which the assays of India were referred. The proper correction has now been introduced in both countries; and it has been to the assays in this table made prior to 1830.

<sup>2</sup> The dollars of the independent states of Mexico, Bolivia, Chili, and Peru, are of the same weight and value as the Spanish dollar: they varied during the revolutionary period.



Name.	Weight.	Assay.	Touch.	Pure contents.	Intrinsic value of 100.	Remarks.
	Grains.	dwt.		Grains.	Fd. Rs.	
Fath 'Alī shāhī ...	157.71	Br. 7	94.5	149.17	90.406	Late king of Persia, died in 1833.
another ...	143.39	Br. 9.5	95.6	137.12	83.100	Struck at Hamadān. <sup>1</sup>
A. H. 1244	105.50	Br. 4.5	93.5	98.64	59.810	Struck at Shirāz.
1245-48...	105.12	standard	91.7	96.36	58.400	Old native currency, average.
Farrukhābād 39san	169.40	Br. 6	94.1	153.23	97.073	45th san Lulkhnow Rs. of Reg. XLV. 1803
Company's.....	173.00	Br. 9.2	95.5	165.215	100.144	By Reg. XI. 1819.
new standard...	180.234	standard	91.7	165.215	100.144	By Reg. VII. 1833.
present .....	180.00	standard	91.7	165.00	100.000	Gārnālī Arkāt.
Generally .....	167.20	Wo. 8	88.3	147.69	89.511	Legal value by convention of 1763.
German crown.....	433.00	Wo. 20	83.3	360.84	218.691	By Calcutta assays.
	430.45	Wo. 20.5	83.1	357.81	216.855	29th san Reg. III. 1806
Ghatsan rupee.....	173.31	Br. 9	95.4	165.37	100.222	Imported at Bombay as bullion.
Goa .....	168.50	Wo. 12	86.4	145.58	88.230	Shāh 'Alam? Benāres mint; <i>chaurā</i> , broad
Gohursāhī .....	174.43	Br. 11.5	96.5	168.25	101.971	<i>Thumkā</i> , stumpy or broad; all current
1 to 15 san.....						in Ghāzīpūr district at par with
chaurā .....						Benāres rupees.
thumkā .....	174.18	Br. 7	94.5	164.74	99.833	See Bundī.
16th san .....	174.52	Br. 8.5	95.2	166.16	100.702	Equalized to the Indor standard.
trisūlī .....	173.05	Br. 4.5	93.5	161.87	98.110	Madras.
Gokul rupee.....	172.80	Br. 3	92.9	160.56	97.309	Haidarābād Bāgh chalanī.
Gomansāhī, 1819...	171.25	standard	91.7	156.98	95.139	" Shahr chalanī.
1825 ...	172.98	Br. 5	93.7	162.17	98.283	" Hukm chalanī.
						Aurangābād Bāgh chalanī.
Gopāl sāhī .....	172.50	Br. 3	92.9	160.38	97.140	Do. Shahr chalanī.
Gurumatkal, 1.....	172.30	Wo. 24.5	81.5	140.35	85.063	Do. Hukm chalanī.
	172.00	Wo. 18.5	84.0	144.41	87.520	See Shamshīrī, paid to troops at 120 per 100 Fd. or By. Rs.
2.....	172.00	Wo. 39.5	75.2	127.85	77.487	The best of Sindia's coins.
3.....	170.80	Wo. 20	83.3	142.33	86.262	Debased Bālāsāhī.
Govind bakhshī, 1...						See Puna, Ujjāin, etc.
	171.50	Wo. 25	81.2	139.3	84.451	Coin by Holkar at Indor?
2...	170.50	Wo. 19	83.7	142.79	86.542	Coin at Marech.
1832...	169.38	Wo. 25	81.2	137.62	83.406	Called Hālī in Mālwa
						Bāgh chalanī, 'palace currency.'
Gwālīār .....	171.30	Br. 6	94.1	161.31	97.763	Shahr chalanī, 'city currency,' see p. 25.
						Hukm chalanī, 'ordered currency.'
Gurrahkotā .....						Coin at Calcutta.
Hālī .....						Bāgh chalanī.
Hatras .....	171.60	Br. 9	95.4	163.73	99.27	Shahr chalanī
Holkar sāhī.....	168.60	Wo. 1	91.3	153.84	93.240	
	172.60	Wo. 22.5	82.3	152.03	86.082	
Hukarī.....	172.59	standard	91.7	158.20	95.881	
Hurda .....	174.10	Wo. 17	84.6	147.03	89.106	
Haidarābād, 1.....						
	173.50	Wo. 17	84.6	146.75	88.942	
2.....	170.50	Wo. 18.5	84.0	143.15	86.757	
3.....						
1823.....	173.38	Wo. 18	84.2	145.93	88.440	
1832.....	172.66	Wo. 21	82.9	143.16	86.765	
	170.20	Wo. 35	77.0	131.19	79.511	

<sup>1</sup> Average of one thousand six hundred and eighty, melted in 1833. The Persian coins are struck in many different towns, the principal mint being at Shirāz.

Name.	Weight	Assay.	Touch.	Pure contents.	Intrinsic value of 100.	Remarks.
Imámi .....	Grains. 175.24	dwt. Br. 10.5	96.0	Grains. 168.31	Pd. Rs. 102.003	Struck by Tipú Sul- tán, rare.
Indor, 1819 .....	172.00	Br. 7.5	94.8	163.04	98.813	Proper weight 174.5, current through- out Málwá at par with English rup.
1832 .....	172.90	Br. 6	94.1	162.81	98.674	See Sálímsáhi.
Jaláon .....	168.80	Wo. 12	86.6	146.29	88.662	Rája Pratáp Singh of Srinagar, es- tablished 1809, abolished in 1826.
Jhánsi .....	170.00	Wo. 15.5	85.2	144.85	87.790	Bundelkhand, abo- lished 1826.
Jhínd .....	168.50	Wo. 19	83.8	141.12	85.526	Doáb.
Jodhpúr .....	174.00	Br. 9.5	95.6	166.39	100.841	Current in Málwá.
	168.30	Wo. 26	80.8	136.04	82.450	Similar to Srisáhi.
Jamkandí .....	175.00	Br. 2	92.5	161.87	98.104	Exchange 2 pr. cent. under Ankúsi.
Jabalpúr .....	167.38	Wo. 6	89.2	149.25	90.455	In 1800, 11 máshas; 1803, 10 máshas; 1813, 9 máshas, 6 rupees: at par with Nágpúr.
Jagádharí .....	165.30	Wo. 12.5	86.4	142.92	86.615	Coincd at Nasuk,
Jaripatká .....	171.60	Wo. 1	91.2	156.58	94.896	Khándesh.
Jaidur .....	173.50	Br. 6	94.1	163.38	99.017	Jaigarh? Díhli dis- trict.
Jainagarí .....	172.00	Br. 5.5	93.9	161.61	97.944	
	172.68	Wo. 3	90.4	156.10	94.608	Current in Ahmad- nagar and Gujarát.
Jaipúr .....	174.00	Br. 12	96.7	168.20	101.939	Present currency.
Kachar .....						See Náráyani.
Kárhána .....	172.80	Wo. 18	84.2	145.44	88.145	
Keraulí .....	171.37	Br. 8.5	95.2	163.16	98.877	
Kittor-shápuri .....	174.00	Wo. 12.5	86.5	150.44	91.175	Original Shápuri (q.v.)
Kocháman .....						Jodhpúr, Bápúsáhi.
Korá, san 8 .....	168.76	Wo. 5	89.6	151.18	91.623	1769, full wt. 170.5
san 12 .....	168.73	Wo. 10.5	87.3	147.29	89.269	current in Allahá- bád: mostly melted
san 20 .....	168.36	Wo. 14	85.8	144.51	87.581	up and recoined.
Kosí .....	167.05	Wo. 18	84.2	140.60	85.212	
Kosá .....	171.64	Wo. 32	78.3	134.45	81.485	Haidarábád (1832).
Kúmhír .....	171.00	Br. 8	95.0	162.45	98.454	Near Bhartpúr.
Kotá, old .....	172.65	Br. 13.5	97.3	167.97	101.803	Kotá Rája has mints
1825 .....	174.02	Br. 14	97.5	169.67	102.830	also at Jatrapatan and Gágraun.
Katch kaurí .....	72.15	Wo. 73.5	61.0	43.56	26.400	Coincd at Anjar, Katch.
Lálágorá .....	171.50	Wo. 6.5	89.0	152.15	92.210	Coincd by Gen. Lally?
Lárin .....	74.50	Br. 11.5	96.5	71.86	43.553	Of Persia and Arabia
Lassa .....	58.00	Wo. 30.5	79.2	45.91	27.827	Chah Chin coin or Tsang-pahu.
Lukhnow, old .....	172.33	Br. 12	96.7	166.58	100.957	Coincd by the Na- wáb Vazír.
(Pd. sd.) 45th san. ....	173.00	Br. 9.2	95.5	165.21	100.127	Called Machhlisáhi.
Srí sháhi .....	172.12	Br. 11	96.2	165.67	100.405	By King Asaf-ud- daulah.
1824 .....	172.12	Br. 6	94.1	162.08	98.231	This year's coinage;
1831 .....	172.10	Br. 11	96.2	165.69	100.413	inferior. (A.H. 1239-40.)
Mádipúr .....	173.75	Wo. 6	89.2	154.93	93.895	Or Nousee; (Kelly).

TABLE OF SILVER COINS.

Name.	Weight.	Assay.	Touch.	Pure contents.	Intrinsic value of 100.	Remarks.
	Grains.	dwt.		Grains.	Fd. Rs.	
Mádairi .....	174.28	Br. 5.5	94.0	163.75	99.240	
Madras, old .....	176.40	Br. 6.5	94.4	166.48	100.895	Old Arkát rup. by law
Rájápuri .....	175.00	Br. 7	94.6	165.52	100.315	Coined at Rájápúr.
rupee of 1811...	186.70	Wo. 5.5	89.4	166.48	100.895	Coined from Spanish dollars.
half pagoda ...	326.73	Wo. 5.5	89.4	291.34	176.570	= 1½ Arkát rupee.
5-fanam .....	71.51	Wo. 4	90.	64.36	39.008	By Calcutta assay.
2-fanam .....	28.75	Wo. 5	89.6	25.76	15.609	"
1-fanam .....	14.31	Wo. 4.5	89.8	12.85	7.785	"
double rupee ..	370.89	Wo. 4.5	89.8	333.03	201.834	"
rupee .....	187.48	Wo. 4.5	89.8	168.34	102.024	"
new standard...	180.00	Standard	91.7	165.00	100.000	1818; present currency.
Madhusháhi .....	174.05	Br. 12.5	96.9	168.61	102.188	New Holkar, Indor.
Maheswari .....	173.25	Br. 7.5	94.8	164.23	99.530	Coined at Maheswar by Holkar; same as Ujjain and Indor.
Muhammadsháhi...	173.30	Br. 8.5	95.2	165.00	100.000	Dihli Muhammadsháhi?
Mámúsáhi .....	177.75	Wo. 5.5	89.4	158.86	96.281	Baroda.
Malabar .....	172.84	Br. 3.5	93.1	160.96	97.549	
Mámásáhi .....	169.50	Wo. 2.5	90.7	153.61	93.096	Current in Ahmadnagar and Gujarát.
Máshirábád .....	171.40	Wo. 6.5	89.0	152.47	92.409	(Old) from Madras.
new .....	168.20	Wo. 2.5	90.6	152.43	92.382	
Marech hakári.....	172.60	Wo. 17.5	84.4	145.67	88.287	Coined at Marech. Bijapur.
Mullasáhi .....	172.40	Br. 8	95.0	163.78	99.260	Súrat?
Malhásáhi .....	165.87	Wo. 6.5	89.0	147.55	89.425	Súrat (Noton).
	165.88	Wo. 6	89.2	147.91	89.642	Current in Málwá.
Mudhól .....	173.00	Wo. 82	57.5	99.47	60.284	Coined by Málji Ráo in 1790.
Murshidábád .....	179.666	Br. 15	98.0	175.923	106.620	Old sikká rupee (See Calcutta.)
Mag rupee .....	152.80	Wo. 14.9	29.6	49.31	29.886	Average of 1400, assayed in 1833.
Makansáhi .....	176.62	Wo. 10.5	87.3	154.17	93.439	Coined at Baroda.
Malharsáhi .....	172.30	Wo. 5	89.6	154.35	93.546	Coined at Bagalkotá (Holkar).
Mulkápúr .....	173.20	Wo. 46.5	72.3	125.21	75.884	Near Burhánpur.
Mangalsáhi .....	178.50	Wo. 7	88.8	158.41	96.012	(Kelly.)
Mutysáhi .....	173.30	Br. 8	95.0	164.73	99.833	Achmuty, collector,
Mathurá .....	167.30	Wo. 13.5	86.0	143.95	87.241	Allahábád.
Mysore .....	174.28	Br. 7.5	94.8	165.20	100.125	Maheswar? Holkar's.
Nágpúr, old.....	168.65	Wo. 0.5	91.5	154.24	93.481	Nishándár, before 1817.
new .....	166.53	Wo. 13.5	86.0	143.28	86.838	Náldár, after 1817.
1824 .....	166.53	Wo. 28.5	79.8	132.87	80.530	Debased until 1824.
present ...	166.20	Wo. 17.5	84.4	140.23	84.988	Reformed in 1824.
Naráyani .....	142.23	Wo. 22	86.7	117.34	71.116	The Kachár rupee;
	143.17	Wo. 30	79.2	113.34	68.690	current in Rangpur, etc. assayed
	137.15	Wo. 25.5	81.0	111.15	67.364	in 1832.
Naráyanpat .....	170.00	Wo. 32	78.3	133.17	80.707	Haidarábád rupee, coined at Náráyanpat
" .....	172.50	Wo. 26	80.9	139.55	84.557	By Noton full weight
Narwár .....	170.00	Wo. 95	87.7	149.10	90.366	[Padsháhpúr.
Nepání .....	173.00	Wo. 38.5	75.7	130.96	79.383	A Maráthicoín, 1803

Name.	Weight.	Assay.	Touch.	Pure contents.	Intrinsic value of 100.	Remarks.
	Grains.	Dwts.		Grains.	Fd., Rs.	
Nepál .....						These are coins of the Gorkha dynasty of Nepál princes, Gírván Yúdh and the present Rájá Rájendra Vikrama Śáh. They are the average of a number assayed in 1832. The coins of the old or Newárá dynasty are of the same standing. They are called muhrs, see p. 32.
A.D. Śáka.						
1808 1731	85.00	Wo. 21	82.9	70.48	42.714	
1810 1733	83.75	Wo. 32	78.3	65.60	39.760	
1811 1734	84.67	Wo. 28	80.0	67.73	41.050	
1813 1736	84.40	Wo. 37	75.1	64.35	39.003	
1815 1738	84.58	Wo. 50	70.9	59.92	36.316	
1817 1740	85.05	Wo. 43	73.7	62.72	38.014	
1818 1741	84.96	Wo. 43	73.7	62.65	37.973	
1819 1742	83.77	Wo. 55.5	68.5	57.42	34.799	
1820 1743	84.66	Wo. 33	77.9	65.96	39.977	
1822 1745	85.57	Wo. 26	80.8	69.17	41.922	
1823 1746	85.23	Wo. 24.5	81.5	69.43	42.078	
1824 1747	85.47	Wo. 31	78.7	67.30	40.790	
Average	84.76	Wo. 35.3	76.8	65.23	39.522	
Najibábád .....						Current in Rohilkhand and Murádábád. Received at 106 per 100 Fd. Rs., see p. 32.
sun, 20 to 29	173.00	Br. 12	96.7	167.23	101.353	
30 to 40	171.00	Br. 6	94.1	161.02	97.591	
41 to 43	169.30	Br. 1	92.1	155.90	94.483	
Nasúrábád .....	170.20	Br. 6	94.1	160.27	97.134	Sindiasáhi? Mewár.
Udipúr .....	167.45	Wo. 32.5	78.1	130.82	79.285	Average of 100. See Maheswar. Struck by Sindia.
Ujjain, 1832 .....	174.64	Br. 4	93.3	162.99	98.783	(Kelly's Cambist). Ikkerí.
Oukari .....	175.00	Wo. 17	84.6	148.02	89.710	1760. Struck by Rájá Kárwikar.
Panáli, old .....	170.60	Wo. 68	63.4	108.16	65.552	Dihli district.
Pánapat .....	171.20	Br. 0.5	91.9	157.29	95.327	Company's mint, 1793.
Patna .....	177.50	Br. 11.5	96.5	161.21	97.705	By Sidhojiná'ik 1803
Parkani, Nepáni ...	173.00	Wo. 38.5	75.7	130.96	79.384	Current in S. Máráthi states.
Sembho .....	172.75	Wo. 28.5	79.7	137.76	83.491	By Bhusla family, 200 years ago.
Old ditto .....	174.00	Wo. 4.5	89.7	156.16	94.646	By Maláji Rao, 1790, rare.
Mudhol .....	173.00	Wo. 8.2	57.5	99.47	60.284	Coined in the Sawant state.
newest .....	177.90	Wo. 7	88.7	157.88	95.684	See Fath 'Alí.
Persian rupee .....	177.25	Br. 16	98.4	174.30	105.634	[sáhi. Noton. See Salim-Phulshahri? Ankusi rupee struck at Phulshahr.
	178.00	Br. 19.5	98.2	174.66	105.856	
Pratápgarh .....	170.40	Wo. 9.5	87.6	149.27	90.466	
Phulchari .....	174.81	Br. 9.5	95.6	167.58	101.565	
Phulshahri .....	171.70	Br. 1.5	92.3	158.46	96.039	
Pondicherry .....	175.35	Br. 9.5	95.6	167.68	101.625	French Arkát.
	173.98	Br. 10	95.8	166.73	101.048	
old ... ..	173.61	Br. 11	96.2	167.09	101.269	[under Purnyá.
Rájá .....	176.16	Br. 8	95.0	167.30	101.390	Struck at Maisúr,
Pultí fanam .....	5.60	Br. 5.5	94.0	5.26	3.190	
Puna, old .....	176.00	Br. 12.5	96.9	170.50	103.333	Old currency. See Ankusi.
sri sikká .....	172.50	Br. 1.5	92.3	159.20	96.486	For present standard
háli .....	174.75	Br. 11.5	96.4	168.46	102.096	Coined for mercantile purposes.
Porebunder kauri ...	74.50	Wo. 52	70.0	52.15	31.606	Coined at Porebunder, Katch.
Rájarh .....	173.75	Br. 11	96.2	167.23	101.353	

Name.	Weight.	Assay.	Touch.	Pure contents.	Intrinsic value of 100.	Remarks.
	Grains.	dwt.		Grains.	Fd. Rs.	
Rāj-muhri .....						See Assam rupee.
Rājsāhī .....	169.73	Wo. 14	85.8	145.69	88.295	
Rāichur 1 .....	173.00	Wo. 4.5	89.8	155.34	94.144	(Madras table).
2 .....	175.00	Wo. 5.5	89.4	156.41	94.792	
Rāthgarh .....	168.35	Wo. 11	87.1	146.60	88.851	One of Sindia's mints
Rikābī .....	172.00	Wo. 10	87.5	150.50	91.212	
	172.00	Wo. 12	86.6	149.07	90.343	
Sāgar .....1815	170.10	Wo. 8.5	88.1	149.90	90.849	See Bālasāhī; std. 80 rati silver 10 r. alloy; established in 1782; received at 120 per 100 Fd. Rs.
1819	170.48	Wo. 9.5	87.7	149.52	90.624	
new, 1824	180.00	standard	91.7	165.00	100.000	The Fd. rupee.
Sahāranpūr .....	171.00	Br. 4.5	93.5	159.96	96.943	Mint abolished in 1806.
Sālimsāhī .....29	168.11	Wo. 34.5	77.3	129.93	78.748	Struck at Pratāp-garh, Ajmīr, and current throughout Mālwa.
san, 45	168.55	Wo. 27	80.4	135.54	82.148	
oldest, ...	168.50	Wo. 6.5	89.0	150.00	90.909	Jurmuriā, (Maedonald's rept., 1823).
1810	168.50	Wo. 13.5	86.0	145.00	87.878	Murmuriā, ditto.
1820	168.50	Wo. 25.0	81.3	137.00	83.030	Melāh, ditto.
Shāmlī .....	170.10	Wo. 1.5	91.1	154.86	93.855	Dihlī district.
Sandoara .....	171.30	Br. 1	92.1	157.74	95.599	
Sarura .....	165.00	Wo. 22	82.5	136.12	82.500	Sārowī of Ajmīr.
Sardhana .....	171.20	Br. 2	92.5	158.36	95.975	Bigam Samrū?
Saronj .....	168.35	Wo. 16.5	84.8	142.75	86.516	Mālwa.
	170.91	Wo. 4	90.0	153.82	93.226	
Shāhpūrī .....	174.00	Wo. 10	87.4	151.98	92.118	Current in Belgaum, Ajmīr, etc.
Shamshīrī .....15	172.37	Wo. 26.5	80.6	138.89	84.130	Current in Aurangābād.
san 21	171.51	Wo. 31.5	78.5	134.80	81.693	Assayed in 1833, see Govind bakshī and Haidarābād.
san 28	172.00	Wo. 28	80.0	137.60	83.395	
Sindiasāhī .....						See Udiptūr.
Sohāgpūr .....	166.90	Wo. 24	81.7	136.30	82.607	Established in 1810, current in Nerbadda.
Sonāt, Dihlī .....	178.77	Br. 15.5	98.1	175.41	106.313	The years 1 to 19 inclusive.
sābik .....	177.57	Br. 10.5	96.0	170.54	103.358	
san 1 to 19...	179.12	Br. 16	8.3	176.13	106.747	Same as sikkā rupee.
Srī sikkā .....						See Puna.
Srisāhī .....						See Ajmīr, 1815.
Srinagar .....	170.06	Wo. 6.5	89.0	151.28	91.686	In Nānā Govind's state. Est. 1794, principal currency of Bundelkhand.
old .....	167.50	Wo. 16	85.0	142.37	86.239	See Jālān.
Sunāmalla .....	173.54	Br. 0.5	91.9	159.44	96.632	Sūrat.
Sūrat .....	174.50	Br. 5.5	93.9	163.96	99.367	Under the Nawāb.
old .....	176.60	Br. 16	98.4	173.66	105.246	Old Dihlī standard.
	176.25	Br. 1	92.1	162.30	98.363	Depreciated, see p. 24.
1800 .....	178.32	Br. 2	92.5	164.94	99.966	Chosen as Bombay rupees.
Tāmbasāhī .....	169.90	Wo. 8.5	88.1	149.72	90.742	Nickname from copper?
Thanna .....	170.80	Wo. 2	90.8	155.14	94.026	

Name.	Weight.	Assay.	Touch.	Pure contents	Intrinsic value of 100.	Remarks.
	Grains.	dwt.		Grains.	Fa. Rs.	
Ti-másha or (three máshas) .....	34.30	Br. 3	92.9	31.87	19.315	Coined in Nepál? current in Srínagar.
of Ladakh .....	28.10	Wo. 51	...	15.62	9.467	Ditto, debased.
Topisáhi .....	40.00	Br. 12.5	96.9	38.75	23.484	Coined at Lassa.
Toragal Nílkant ...	165.12	Wo. 22.5	82.3	135.88	82.354	
	170.00	Wo. 71	62.0	105.40	63.873	Struck by Bála Sáhib, 1788 B.
Toka .....	172.24	Wo. 27	80.4	138.51	83.944	Aurangábád, (1832).
Tukásáhi .....	173.16	Br. 5.5	94.0	162.77	98.648	Current in Ahmadnagar. (Noton).
Trinámáli .....	176.50	Br. 8	95.0	167.67	101.618	Karnátic.
Venkatapati .....	172.72	Br. 11	96.2	166.25	100.756	Ditto.
Vazirí .....	168.62	Wo. 11.5	86.9	146.49	88.783	Sohágpúr, in hilly tract E. of Jabalpur.
Vazírsháhi .....	170.00	Wo. 13	86.3	146.62	88.864	
Wabgaum .....	172.55	Wo. 0.5	91.5	157.88	95.684	Current in the Dakhán. (Noton).
Yeswanti .....	174.95	Br. 7.5	94.8	165.84	100.500	Struck by Jeswant Ráo Holkar, 1806 <sup>1</sup>
Zu'lákr .....	174.10	Wo. 17.5	84.4	147.03	91.06	See Haidarábád.

(To convert the decimals of the last column into áná's and pá's, see the Table at page 12. For explanation of the present Table, see page 36.)

<sup>1</sup> This curious and handsome coin (for a specimen of which I am indebted to Major Stacy), might be mistaken for an antique from its bearing the following Sanskrit inscription in well-cut Nágari characters, on the obverse and reverse respectively.

श्री इन्द्रप्रस्थस्थितो राजा चक्रवर्त्ती भूमण्डले ।  
तत्प्रसादात् कृता मुद्रा लोकेस्मिन् वैविराजते ।  
श्री लक्ष्मीकान्तपदांभोजभ्रमराजितचेतसः ।  
येश्वन्तस्य विख्याता मुद्रैषा पृथिवीतले ॥  
शके १७२८

*Sri. Indraprasthasthito rajá chakravartti bhūmandale,  
Tutprasādāt kṛitā mudra lokeśmin vaivirājite,*

*Sri. Lakshmīkāntapaddāmbhojabhramararajitachetasah,  
Yesawantasya vikhyatā mudraiṣā prithivītale.*

"By the permission of the Rájá of Indraprastha (the king of Dihli), the Emperor of the world, this coin has been struck by the renowned Yesawant (Jeswant Ráo Holkar), whose heart is as the black bee of the lotus foot of Lakshmīkánt,—to circulate throughout the earth. An. Sakæ 1728" (= A.D. 1806).

*ASSAY of Bullion generally, brought to the Calcutta Mint.*

Denomination.		Assay.	Intrinsic of 100 tolas in Fd. Rs.	Produce in sikká rupees.
South American bars marked .....	24 din.	Br. 20	109.091	102.273
	11 22	Br. 17.5	107.954	101.207
	11 17	Br. 14	106.364	99.716
	11 10	Br. 8	103.636	97.159
Plata pina recovered from amal-				
gamation .....	.....	Br. 17.5	107.954	101.207
China cakes, large : <i>hathi khuri</i> (ele-				
phant-hoof) .....	.....	Br. 16	107.273	100.569
Ditto, small <i>ghori khuri</i> (horse-hoof)		Br. 14.5	106.591	99.929
Calcutta refined cakes, called Madrasí		Br. 15.5	107.045	100.355
" Murshidábádí .....	.....	Br. 15	106.818	100.142
" Dacca .....	.....	Br. 12	105.454	98.863

*ASSAY of Ava Silver Cakes.*

Burmese denomination.*	Meaning of Ava Assay Report.	Touch.	Calcutta Assay Report.	Touch.	Value of 100 tikals in Fd. Rs.
Ban (supposed to be pure) ...	pure silver .....	100	Br. 16.5	98.6	151.57
Kharoobat (shell circled) .....	5 pr. ct. under do.	95	Br. 6.5	94.3	145.16
Dain, ta kyat det .....	10 pr. ct. above st.	93.5	Br. 2	92.5	142.28
" ko moo det .....	9 pr. ct. "	92.6	standard	91.7	141.00
" sheet moo det .....	8 pr. ct. "	91.8	Wo. 4	90.0	138.44
" kwon, neet moo det ...	7 pr. ct. "	90.9	Wo. 3	90.4	139.08
" nga moo det .....	5 pr. ct. "	89.7	Wo. 5	87.6	137.79
Madain (alloyed dain) .....	?	...	Wo. 42	74.1	114.08
Yowetnee (red flowered or star)	Ava standard	85.0	Wo. 4	90.0	138.44
" kyat gé .....	10 pr. ct. alloy	77.3	Wo. 14	85.8	132.03
" tshay nga kyat gé .....	15 pr. ct. "	73.9	Wo. 38.5	75.6	116.32
" nheet tshay gé .....	20 pr. ct. "	70.8	Wo. 34	77.5	119.21 <sup>2</sup>
" thoun tshay gé .....	30 pr. ct. "	65.4	Wo. 72	61.6	94.85
" le tshay gé .....	40 pr. ct. "	60.7	Wo. 77	59.6	91.65
" nga tshay gé .....	50 pr. ct. "	56.7	Wo. 88	55.0	84.60
" kyounk tshay gé .....	60 pr. ct. "	53.1	Wo. 109	50.4	71.14
" khwon nheet tshay gé ..	70 pr. ct. "	50.0	Wo. 107	51.3	72.42
" sheet tshay gé .....	80 pr. ct. "	47.2	Wo. 112	49.3	69.22
" ko tshay gé .....	90 pr. ct. "	44.7	Wo. 116	43.5	66.65
Yowetnee gyan .....	$\frac{1}{2}$ yowetnee, $\frac{1}{2}$ alloy	42.9	Wo. 131	37.0	57.04
Rangoon yowetnee .....	5 per cent. better than Ava stand.	90.0	Wo. 4	90.0	138.44

(A deduction of 1 per cent. should be expected from the produce of Ava bullion, on account of the vitreous coat of litharge which adheres to the lumps).

This table is abstracted from the examination of thirty-five specimens of silver specially prepared in Ava, in presence of the Resident, for the comparison of the Burmese with the English assay.

\* See page 34.

## TABLE of Copper Coins.

(Where not otherwise mentioned, the name tells the place of coinage and circulation. Since 100 grains is the weight of the present paisá, the column of weight also expresses the intrinsic value of 100 of each sort in Company's paisá.)

also expresses the nature of the

Name.	Weight in troy grains.	Usual rate per rupee.	Where current. Remarks.	
Agra paisá .....	148	60	Current in the Agra district.	
Akbari, old .....	300	30	Ditto, but scarce.	
Allahábád .....	141	...	One cent, 1810 : (by law of 1790, should be [208 grs.]) Square, Hindi inscription. Throughout Kalpi, Sagar, etc.	
Almorah .....	83	...		
American cent .....	167	...		
Azimgarh .....	170	...		
Bálásáhi .....	255	...		
Bareilly .....	149	40	See Patna. By Regulation X. of 1809, Trisulí paisá; also Reg. VII. 1814. (See page 8 and 39.)	
Bahár .....	101	64		
Benáres .....	98½	64		
Bhilára .....	307	...	Marked '48 to one rupee, 4 V. E. I. C.' and arms. Coined in England; device, arms, and scales, 'Adl.' New coinage, with the same device.	
Bhilsa .....	225	...		
Bhopál .....				
Bishennáth .....				
Bombay, 1797 .....	212	48		
1804 .....	200	50		
1832 .....	100	64		
Bhartpúr .....	275	32		
Bundí .....	274	32		
Calcutta, 1782 .....	52½	192½		
1792 .....	40	?		
1795 .....	180	64		
1796 to 1809 .....	135	64		
1809 to 1817 .....	101	64		
1817 .....	100	64		
half áná .....	200	32		
one pá'i .....	33½	192		
Ceylon .....	137	...		
Chikna .....	240	30-32		
Chinawa .....	190	...		
China .....	660	...		
Chalan .....	240	32		
Dihli .....	172	44-60		
Dutch .....	230	...		
" .....	120	...		
English penny .....	412	...		
new .....	290	...		
French sous .....	150	...		
Farrukhábád .....	284½	26		
1816 .....	100	64		
Gokula or } Gandasahi }	110	70		



Name.	Weight in troy grains.	Usual rate per rupee.	Where current. Remarks.
Gorakhpúr .....	186	26-36	Benáres district, former standard paisá.
Gwáliar, old.....	146	62	Marked Muhammad Akbar Sháh.
Hádewá .....	296	...	Near Nágpúr.
Hátras .....	280	34	Current in Nágpúr.
Indor .....	115	...	In Málwa generally.
Jaláon .....	252	40 ?	Bandalkhand, the Bálásáhi paisá.
Java, 1814 .....	172	...	Marked '1st. B.V. E.I.C.'
Jhánsi .....	260	...	Current in Bandalkhand.
Jabalpúr .....	260	...	Narbaddá valley.
Jaipúr .....	280	32½	Agra and Jaipúr districts.
Kukureti .....	252	40-48	Near Panná in Bandalkhand: bears a device, resembling a Hanumán—3120 per man.
Khetri .....	252	...	? Kukureli or Kukureti.
Karoli .....	281	36	Current at Dihli and Karoli.
Madras, 1803 .....	180	...	XX.-kás piece, coined in England.
1808 .....	120	...	Three falús, or one falam khurd (little fanam).
1832 .....	100	64	Equalised with Bengal and Madras paisá.
Kotá .....	275	34	In Kotá, Ajmír, etc.: a square coin.
Lukhnow, old .....	195	...	Machhlisáhi, } Current in Oudh and Kanouj
new .....	185	46	Shirsáhi, } to Mainpurí.
1806 .....	284½	26½	See Farrukhabád.
Madhusáhi .....	270	35-40	Chief currency of Allahábád and the Doáb, formerly of Benáres and Mirzapúr.
Maiwár .....	34	378	A very small coin.
Marwar .....	330	...	
Muzaffarábád .....	190	...	
Mansúri .....	169	58	In Agra, etc.
Mathurá, old .....	147	46½	} Agra, Mathurá, Bindrában, etc.
new .....	135	68	
double .....	270	34	
Nazir Sháh .....	131	...	Son of Ghias-ud-dín Sháh: ancient square paisá of Sagar district.
Nepál .....	207	...	Current in the Turái.
" paisá .....	164	80	Bahádursáhi, coined and current in Nepál.
Najibábád .....	243	40	In Barelli and Rohilkhand.
Nagar ? .....	176	...	Marked 'Nagar 5221,' device, a rude elephant; some have 'Pan, Patan,' or Zarb-i patan.'
Narwar .....	107	...	In the Narbaddá Territories.
Nawásáhi .....	197	47	Old Lukhnow, so called.
Patna, old .....	240	32 ?	Of native fabrication.
1817 .....	101	64	Coined at Patna and Calcutta.
Penang .....	133	...	One hundred to the dollar: and halves. Coined in England. Current in Penang, Singapore, and the Malay peninsula.
Patíála (Rájásáhi) .....	170 ?	...	Current in Patíála, Dihli, etc.
Ráigarh .....	274	36	
Rájmahal .....	109	...	Coined at Rájmahal.
Rewásáhi .....	220	46	In Rewá? device, a kind of Nágari figure one 9
Ságar ? .....	...	...	See Bálásáhi.
Supúr .....	173	...	The 'Nagar' paisá, so called by the natives.
Saháranpúr .....	255	35 ?	Also called Álamsáhi.
Tari .....	254	42½	? Tehri.
Tehri .....	260	43	In Bandalkhand, equal to Jhánsi.
Tirlangá .....	150	...	Telinga, or Southern India.
Tranquebar .....	120	...	Dutch, marked '1 St.' (one stiver).
Udipúr .....	65	160	About double the Maiwári.

The weights, unless otherwise stated, are taken from specimens collected chiefly at Benáres.

## SYMBOLS, ETC. ON MODERN INDIAN COINS.

Before giving the Catalogue of Symbols figured in plate xlv., it will be convenient to direct the reader's attention to plate xlv., which gives such samples of the modern coins of India as will enable him to recognise their principal varieties at sight. Those of Nepál, Assam, Kachar and Lassa, are sufficiently distinct from the Nágari, Bengálí, and Tibetan characters on them; the pagodas, also, of South India cannot be mistaken. The Nágari coin of Kotá may be classified from its Lotus symbol, although it is otherwise difficult to decypher the inscription. But the great majority of coins treated of in the foregoing remarks and Tables are similar to figures 2, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12, which exhibit portions only of a Persian inscription, generally of very imperfect execution. These can only be known by the signs or symbols of the various States inserted in some conspicuous part of the impression: thus, No. 11 is known to be of Indor, from the Solar effigy. The following particulars of the coins in plate xlv. will save the necessity of any further general remarks, in addition to those already made at page 40.

## 1. THE 19TH SAN SIKKÁ RUPEE.

Now [and up to 1835] coined at the Calcutta mint; bearing the Sháh 'Alam distich, explained in page 2. All the Company's silver and gold money of Bengal, up to the present day, is of the same style, containing the whole inscription, of which parts only are visible on most of the native coins.

## 2. THE OLD SÁLIMSÁHÍ RUPEE.

Current in Málwá, and coined by the Rájá of Pratápgarh. The words visible on the

Obverse:

شاه عالم حامی

(intended for *Sháh 'Alam hámí ud-dín*, etc.) and the Hijra date, 1199, which, however, does not correspond with the year of reign on the

Reverse:

سنه جلوس میمنت ۲۹ مانوس

'29th year of the prosperous reign.'

This is the earliest year of the coinage of these rupees; those of the 45th san were in course of coinage in 1823. They were issued to the troops at the exchange of 122.8 per 130 Farrukhabád rupees.

## 3. THE BAJRANGGARH RUPEE.

(Near Kotá Bundí) known by the Lotus symbol; coined by a petty zamindár; much debased. In the Bhákhá dialect,

Obverse:

श्री रामचपरासी पवनपुत्र बलपायन

*Sri rāma chapraśī pavanputra bala-pāyan* 'All-powerful son of the air (Hanumán) servant of Rāma.'

Reverse :

यसपर छापा में राजा जयसिंह के २१ जयनगर ।

*Is par chhápá men rájá Jay Singh ke 21 Jaynagar.* 'On this coin is imprinted the 21st (year) of Rájá Jay Singh at Jaynagar.'

The initial and final letters are imperfectly visible on the coin ; the purport shews it to be struck at Jaynagar, a village near Bajcanggarb.

4. THE NEPÁL MUHR, OR HALF RUPEE.

Obverse :

श्रीश्रीश्री प्रताप सिंह साहदेव १६८६

*SriSriSri Pratáp Sinh Sáh Deva* (titles of the Rájá) 1686.

Reverse :

श्रीश्रीश्री गोरक्षनाथ

*SriSriSri Gorakhnáth*, (the principal god worshipped by the hill people, whence their name of 'Gorkhas' is derived.)

Centre :

श्रीश्रीश्री गुह्येश्वरी

*SriSriSri Guhyeswarí*, 'the omniscient goddess Deví.'

5. AN ASSAMESE RUPEE.

Of an octagonal form. The inscription is in the Bengálí character, but in the Sanskrit language.

Obverse :

শ্রী শ্রী হর গৌরী পদাম্বুজ মধুকরস্য

*SriSri Hara Gauri paddambuja madhukarasya*, 'The sipper of the honey of the foot of Sri Hara Gauri.'

Reverse :

শ্রী শ্রী মত স্বর্গ দেব রুদ্র সিংহস্য শাক ১৬৩০

*SriSri mat Swarga Deva Rudra Singhasya. Sáke* 1630, 'The blessed and celestial Rudra Singh.' The Saka date corresponds to A.D. 1708.

6. A KACHAR RUPEE.

In this the Bengálí letters are connected together by parallel lines.

Obverse : The inscription is not intelligible.

Reverse :

শ্রী গিরীশ চন্দ্র নারায়ণ ।

*Sri Giris Chandra Náráyana* (the Rájá's name).

7. CHINESE-TIBET SILVER MONEY.

Coined at Lassa (*vide* page 33). On the obverse, in the Tibetan character, *gsang pa*ku, 'pure money,' *chah hehkin* (name of the Chinese Emperor). On the four corners of the margin of another coin similar to the one depicted, are the four letters *nyi hu rtsa lna* (25) meaning the twenty-fifth year of the cycle of sixty years (= A.D. 1831) : the date on the coin in the plate is not decypherable. The Chinese

<sup>1</sup> The plate states it to be a Pratápgarh rupee, as it was labelled in the Assay-office cabinet ; but on reference to Major Stacy, at Nasirábád, it turns out to be as above. The inscription was read by a pandit at that place, who makes the last words, 'Jayasingh ke ráj Jayapúr men ;' but I consider the above more consistent with the specimen in my possession.

inscription on the reverse consists of four words, *ka-hen poo-chung*, 'the Emperor Ka-hen's' precious money.'

#### 8. THE ARKÁT RUPEE.

The full inscription of this (the Madras) coin is given in page 3. It is known by the part of اركآٓٓٓ visible, and by the groups of four dots and the lotus or lily.

#### 9. THE SÁGAR RUPEE.

In this the Sháh 'Alam distich can barely be traced. The trident, star, and flag of Siva are its distinguishing marks.

#### 10. THE NÁGPÚR RUPEE.

This coin bears the inscription of Muhammad Sháh. *Sikka mubárik bádd(-sháh Gházi Muhammad Sháh)* only recognizable by the two final letters of the Emperor's name. It is known to be of Nágpúr by the ٢ bh (or ٢ inverted ?) which may stand for Bhunsla, the name of the reigning Rájás of Nágpúr; the 't' (*zarb-i ...t*) may be the final letter of Hingan Ghát, the place of coinage.<sup>2</sup>

#### 11. THE INDOR RUPEE.

Parts of the words *Sháh 'Alam báddsháh* are here visible, and the usual year of the reign: the solar disc distinguishes the coin.

#### 12. THE SHÍRSÁHÍ, OR NEW LUKHNOW RUPEE.

Besides the absurd armorial bearings, constructed of two tigers, two fish and a dagger, surmounted by a royal umbrella; this rupee bears the following inscription:

Obverse:

سكه زد برسيم و زر شاه زمن غازي الدين حيدر عالي از فضل  
رب ذوالمتن سنة ١٢٣٨

'The king of the world, Gházi-ud-dín, Haidar 'Alí, by the grace of the Lord of Glory, has struck coin in silver and gold, A.H. 1238.'

Reverse:

ضرب سنة ٥ جلوس ميمنت مانوس دار السلطنة صوبه اوده  
'In the 5th year of his illustrious reign, at the capital of the súbah of Oudh.'

#### 13. AN ANCIENT GOLD HÚN,

with part of an inscription in the Sanskrit character on one side, and a single image on the other.

#### 14. A MODERN DOUBLE PAGODA.

Struck at Madras, showing the character of the former English currency of that presidency.

#### 15. THE COMMON BHARTPÚR PAISÁ.

Shewing that the copper coins may be also recognised by their ap-

<sup>1</sup> The late Emperor of China, written 'Kea-king' in the Anglo-Chinese Kalendar, reigned from 1781 to 1821.

<sup>2</sup> I have since been informed that the symbol on the Nágpúr rupee is intended for २, the Maráthi numeral equivalent to 4½.

propriate emblems. The inscription will be seen to be part of the Muhammad Sháh legend.

## 16. MADRAS COPPER COIN.

Struck in England for circulation at Madras (see page 4). The same coat of arms will be found on the Bombay and Penang copper currency.

## CATALOGUE OF SYMBOLS ON MODERN INDIAN COINS.

## (PLATE XLVI.)

[Taken from specimens in the Assay Office or in the author's possession. In some cases (marked ?), it is probable that the specimens have been misnamed from their being found current in other districts with different names.]

- |  |                                       |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| VARIETIES OF THE PHÚL, ('FLOWER')                      | 31 Madras, Sháh-púr, 'Alinagar.       |
| STAR, AND DOT.   | 32 New Madras.                        |
| 1 Company's rupee. Gokula rupee?                       | 33 Garnáli rupee (Arkát).             |
| 2 Saronj rupee.  | 34 Chandur.                           |
| 3 Islámábád muhr of Aurangzib.                         | 35 Gokula, or Gandasáhi paisá.        |
| 4 Vazírsáhi rupee, san 9. Bálásáhi?                    | 36 Kálpi.                             |
| 5 Súrat & old Bombay (with a crown).                   | 37 Oujein new. Chanda: common.        |
| 6 Korah (in Allahábád) with 21.                        | 38 Kálpi.                             |
| 7 Srinagar, with 45. Sagar with 45.                    | 39 Patna? Muhr of Dihli?              |
| 8 Jhánsi. Also 10.                                     | 40 Bhartpúr paisá (see plate xlv.).   |
| 9 Saháranpúr: common.                                  | 41 Old paisá found in Sagar.          |
| 10 Jhánsi: with 5 leaves, Gwáliár.                     | VARIETIES OF THE TRISÚL, BALÁ, OR     |
| 11 Sagar with 45. ( <i>vide</i> plate xlv.)            | 'TRIDENT.'                            |
| 12 Murshidábád.  | 42 Mathurá. Jáláon, Sagar.            |
| 13 Barellí, with 30.                                   | 43 Srinagar, with 7.                  |
| 14 Saháranpúr, with 9.14½ Old Assam.                   | 44 Old Sagar, Kálpi.                  |
| 15 Old Súrat muhr.                                     | 45 „ Jáláon, etc.                     |
| 16 Jalwan or Jáláon?                                   | 46 Kálpi paisá, with 43, etc.         |
| 17 Siwái gold muhr, Aurangzib.                         | 47 Nepál muhr. (see plate xlv.)       |
| Nágpúr, with 94. Gokula, with 78.                      | 48 Bhopál, Bhilsá, Ráthgarh.          |
| 18 Common: Ujjain, with 93 or 37.                      | 49 Telínga paisá?                     |
| Udipúr.  | 50 Ganjam.                            |
| 19 Arkát. Chilki Arkát, etc.                           | 51 Old Dihli and Farrukhábad: common. |
| 20 Private mark of Benáres mint (centre dot enlarged). | Nágpúr of Jeswant Ráo.                |
| 21 Kora or Corah, with 6.                              | 52 Nasir Sháhi, old Narbaddá paisá.   |
| 22 Ujjain.   | 53 Sultán Muhammad, „                 |
| 23 Old Farrukhábad rupee and muhr.                     | PHÚL, PADAM PHÚL, 'FLOWER, KNOT.'     |
| 24 Bharatpúr. (see plate xlv.)                         | 54 Kotá rupee—and with 57.            |
| 25 Chinawa rupee (Arkát).                              | 55 Kotá rupee.                        |
| 26 Bhikanír, with 62, 63.                              | 56 Bundi. Kotá.                       |
| 27 Maisúr, common; Chandausi.                          | 57 New Kotá, with 56. „               |
| VARIETIES OF THE PADAM, 'LOTUS' OR                     | 58 Hardá (Narbaddá).                  |
| 'TREFOIL.'   | 59 Kotá variety. Bajranggarh.         |
| 28 Indor, old, with 29.                                | 60 Benares, old, small with 80.       |
| 29 Ditto.  | 61 Bhikanír, with 26, 62, 63.         |
| 30 Barellí, with 13.                                   | 62 „ reverse.                         |
|  | 63 „ „                                |

- BARCHHÁ, 'SPEAR' OR 'SCEPTRE,' GUDÁ,  
OR 'MACE.'
- 64 Jodhpúr. Páli.  
65 Kocháman, with 92. Bopúsáhi.  
66 Jodhpúr. Nágór.  
67 Barellí? Urchá? Páli.
- JHÁR, THÚHAR; 'BRANCH OR SPRIG.'
- 68 Bhilárá.  
69 Jaipúr-Siwái gold muhr.  
70 Ajmír.  
71 Chitor, Krishnāgarh.  
72 Sálimsáhi? (Jaipúr).  
73 Jaipúr rupee and muhr.  
74 Bandarsela?  
75 Mathurá. Jaipúr.  
76 Chinsúr, with 100. Udiipúr, Chitor old?  
77 Barhānpúr?
- VARIETIES OF THE ROHÚ, OR 'FISH.'
- 78 Gokula paisá.  
79 Oudh, Lukhnow old rupee.  
80 Ditto, Barellí. Old Benáres.  
81 Machlisáhi of Lukhnow.  
82 Benáres old.
- SÚRAJ, 'THE SUN.'
- 83 New Indor rupee and muhr.  
84 Indor.—Ujjain.  
85 „ copper coin.  
86 *Bel pattá*, Maheswar, with 87.  
87 *Lingam*, Maheswarí rupee.  
88 *Paták*, 'flag or standard of Siva:'  
Ságar rupee (pl. xlv.). Nágpúr.
- VARIETIES OF THE 'SWORD:' SHAMSHÍRÍ.
- 89 Chanda, Gwálíár,—common.  
90 Haidarábád, of Kásim 'Alí.  
91 „ Govind-bakhshí.  
92 Common shamshírí.  
93 Kocháman, with 64.  
94 Nágpúr, with 17. Katmandu (see p. 31). Balkh.  
95 (Pistol) Agra paisá.
- VARIETIES OF THE KATÁR, OR 'DAGGER.'
- 96 Akbar II. of Dihlí—small.  
97 Narwar.  
98 Bhartpúr. (see plate xlv.)  
99 Siwái gold muhr of Muhammad Sháh, with 13: small.  
100 The *Ankus* of Puna.—Chitor.
- NUMERALS AND LETTERS.
- 101 (10) Hálí sikká of Puna, Nágpúr.  
102 (9 or 1?) Rewá paisá. Bhilsá?  
103 (76) Jabalpúr.  
104 (55) Ságar.  
105 (75) Indor old rupee.  
106 a (4½) Old Nágpúr:  
b (9) New do.<sup>1</sup>  
107 Tehrí, Bandalkhand, illegible.  
108 (श्री *sri*) Srisáhi rupee of Ajmír.  
109 (ह *h*) Haidarí of Maisúr.  
110 (गा *ga*, 'cow') Chitor; from the proverb regarding the slaughtering by Akbar: "*gáo mare ke páp*."  
111 (सा *sa*) Gold muhr, unknown?  
112 (ना *na*) Debased Dihlí gold muhr, san 29.
- MISCELLANEOUS.
- 113 (shell) Bhátgaon in Nepál.  
114 (*Panja*, 'fists') Almorah.  
115 Sálimsáhi, date 1199. (see plate xlv.)  
116 „ Varieties.  
117 „  
118 Mewarí paisá.  
119 Kukureti, near Pannáh in Bandal-khand (the god Hanumán?)  
120 (elephant.) Nagar, Patan, Sopúr? Struck by Tipú?  
121 (*Chhata*, 'the royal umbrella') on some of Muhammad Sháh and Sháh 'Alam's Dihlí coins.  
122 Variety of „  
123 Etáwa muhr.  
124 Jhānsí.  
125 The *swastika* emblem of the 7th Jina, found on some coins.

<sup>1</sup> The distinguishing symbol of the old Nágpúr rupee, struck at the Chanda and Hingan Ghát mints was as above, a Maráthí 4½. When Bachá Ráo and Dr. Gordon had charge of the mint, their mark was a flag (88). The new Nágpúrí since 1825 has the figure 9 above this flag. Other minor varieties are marked as follows:—the Yeswant Ráo Nágpúrí, by +; the Man-Bhat-Sáhi, by =; the Ugno-Sáhi, by a Maráthí 10 (fig. 101); the Rámji Tántia has a half moon ☾; the Narsingh Ráo the same with a dot in the centre •; the Siva Ráo, the same with a dot on one side ◡. There are many more, but they are not considered *chalan* or 'current.'

NOTE ON THE HISTORY OF THE GOLD AND SILVER  
CURRENCIES OF INDIA.

[As the general subject of metallic currencies is just now attracting the serious attention of the European public, it may be useful that I should recapitulate briefly the facts to be gathered from the detached notices of the coins of the various kingdoms and diverse epochs illustrated in the preceding pages, which throw light upon the little known history of Indian mintages; and further, that I should complete the review by exhibiting the action of our own civilization on the circulating media of these later days, especially in reference to the important question of the institution and organization of the gold coinage as a legal tender, and its eventual supersession as such in 1836.

I have elsewhere expressed an opinion that the people of Hindústán, in very early times, had independently achieved considerable progress in the art of coining; even before Greek civilization reached them through the influence of Alexander's expedition, and the subsequent settlement in India proper of the Bactrian-Hellenes. Indeed, we are able to trace by the produce itself, each phase of mint development and each successive effort of invention tending to the production of a perfect coin. The earliest movement is seen in the fabrication of irregularly outlined flat pieces of silver or copper, of fixed weights, whose currency is marked by the symbols of consecutive dynasties, punched at hazard on their surfaces. Next, we remark a more careful rounding off of the metal, and the application of a single die over the whole of one surface, the other being left blank. As we proceed, we meet with complete coins; but these are cast in moulds, and may possibly indicate separate and independent progress. Successive modifications and improvements are observable in either class, which it is not necessary to follow more at large in this place: and, finally, we arrive at excellent specimens of an issue of fairly coined money, seemingly local in Northern Hindústán,<sup>1</sup> which there is good reason to assign to a period prior to the advent of the Greeks. Coins of these epochs have been found in silver, copper, bronze, and lead; the non-discovery of any examples in gold does not necessarily lead to the inference that the metal was not used for coining purposes; but merely amounts to the fact that, if used, it was of rare occurrence.

<sup>1</sup> Coins of the Behat type. Article X.

The Bactrian-Greeks, as far as their Indian provinces tell the tale, would appear to have restricted themselves to a currency of the two metals, silver and copper. Their successors, the Indo-Scythians again, discontinued the issue of a silver currency, and supplied its place by a gold coinage; increasing, simultaneously, the weight of the copper pieces. There is some uncertainty as to the dates of succeeding dynasties; but we find the Guptas,—who imitated the devices of the Indo-Scythian money,—in possession of a copious gold currency in their eastern provinces on the Ganges, aided by a limited silver, but sufficient copper medium of exchange; while their dominions towards the Western coast were supplied almost exclusively with a silver coinage based upon the mintages of the Sáh kings of Saurashtra (Gujarát); who in their own case had previously copied the style of the Greek hemi-drachmas of Apollodotus and other sovereigns. Here we must pass over centuries, and present our next tableau in the time of the Bráhmaṇ kings of Kábul and the Panjáb (about the 10th century A.D.). In this instance also the currency is confined to silver and copper. Mahmúd, and his successors of the Ghazní dynasty, employed gold in addition to the lower metals. At the period immediately preceding the Muhammadan occupation of India (A.H. 587, A.D. 1191) the northern provinces of Hindústán were furnished with a currency composed of a combination of silver and copper mixed in uncertain proportions: while the Rahtor monarchs of Kanauj still continued to issue gold. The former coins, which were entitled after the capital, Dilliwáls (دلیوال),<sup>1</sup> were adopted by the Pathán Sultáns of India, and a middle currency of such incorporated metals remained in use up to the time of Báber (A.H. 930, A.D. 1523-24). Simultaneously with the retention of this type of the local money, the Muhammadans introduced modified forms of dirhams and dinárs, of equal weights (174 grains). At what relative proportion these stood to each other we are left to conjecture, as history is silent on the subject, and the coins themselves afford us no means of instituting a comparison. The lower currency was completed by a copper coinage, which in some cases extended to so minute a division as 17.4 grains.

The celebrated Muhammad bin Tughlak (A.H. 725, A.D. 1324-5) introduced an infinite variety of new coins of all descriptions, and evidently remodelled the rates, together with the weights of his currency. The gold coinage was raised from 174 to 200 grains, and the silver reduced from the former amount to 140 grains. But his grand effort at finance seems to have been reserved for the production

<sup>1</sup> Inscription of A.H. 587 (A.D. 1191) on the Mosque of the Kutb at Dillí; the original reads preferably Dillíál, but the Táj ul Máasir determines the word as دہلیوال.



of a scheme of a representative currency (founded on the Chinese paper credit system) in which copper and brass tokens were stamped with an authoritative impress of value, whether as the equivalent of gold or silver; and in addition, parallel representatives of the ordinary subdivisions of each, were issued to complete the currency. This attempt, after producing countless troubles, and resulting in utter failure—even under the guidance of an absolute and unscrupulous tyrant—was abandoned definitively before the expiration of three years from the first promulgation of the ordinance. I need not notice the minor incidents of Muhammad bin Tughlak's mint administration, further than to note a seeming reversion to the previous system of weights in the latter part of his reign. Nor need I more fully advert to the state of the currency under his successors, beyond remarking that Báber seems to have designed to substitute his Central Asian scheme of coinage in place of the then existing local distribution of the currency. However, when Shír Sháh had driven Humáyún out of India (A.H. 949, A.D. 1541) he entered upon a general reform of the coinage, which had the effect of introducing the now universal rupee, and abolishing the unsatisfactory compound of mixed metals; in addition to simplifying the lower coinage, by its reduction to a fixed and determined standard of pure copper,<sup>1</sup> representing the *dám*, which we must suppose had previously been minted in billon.<sup>2</sup>

At length we reach an epoch when we have no longer to depend upon the coins as our only data, but are able to cite written and contemporary authority for the illustration of our subject. Akbar's minister, Abú'lfaẓl, has preserved to us a full and complete record of his master's mint arrangements; from this we discover that the authoritative standard of the day was copper, based upon the *dám*, which is defined as "a copper coin, in weight 5 tanks, or 1 *tolá*, 8 *máshas*, and 7 *ratis*, in value the 40th part of a rupee." The text of the '*Ayín-i Akberí*' goes on to declare the weight and value of the gold and silver coins, the equivalents of each being expressed in *dáms*, and their relative exchangeable value *inter se* being for the moment altogether ignored.<sup>3</sup> In this same measure of value all the revenues of the empire are estimated, indeed, it would appear from an incidental notice in connexion with the subject of relative values, that the definition of the worth of

<sup>1</sup> I have estimated this coin at 323.5 grains; pieces now in existence weigh as high as 322 grs. (See '*Numismatic Chronicle*,' xv. 1852.)

<sup>2</sup> "The *dám*," says Abú'lfaẓl, "was formerly called *pysah* and also *Bahloli*."—Bahlol Lodi's mixed coinage contributes isolated specimens that might well represent the requisite value, as tested by present assays; but there is an absence of uniformity in the general results that forbids our recognising any specific class of higher or lower equivalents.

<sup>3</sup> Gladwin's '*Ayín-i Akberí*,' i. p. 37.

gold by any silver estimate, was—like the rupee itself—a novelty.<sup>1</sup> The materials afforded by the text of the 'Ayín-i Akberí,' whether tested by the valuation in dáms, or by the equivalents subsequently given of the rupee correspondents of the several descriptions of muhrs, equally establish the result that gold stood to silver as 1 to 9.4. The rupees, it will be seen, were themselves of various standards, ranging from the 39 dáms of the old round rupee, to the 40 dáms of the square jakálí; and, in fact, it is acknowledged in one place that even the estimated rates were uncertain in their application, and that the silver coin was left to find its own level in the market.<sup>2</sup>

I now arrive at the period when British influence is felt upon the the currencies of India, and as this is a subject connected with which much misunderstanding and some misrepresentation have taken place, I secure myself from any possible prejudice or favor by permitting the Government to state its own case, in extracts from the legislative enactments promulgated from time to time. The history is unsatisfactory in its earlier portions, and incomplete towards its end, where, it is clear, much remains intentionally untold.

REGULATION XXXV. of 1793.—PREAMBLE.—“A Regulation for re-enacting, with amendments, the Rules passed on the 20th June, 24th October, and 31st November, 1792, and subsequent dates, for the reform of the Gold and Silver Coin in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; and for prohibiting the currency of any Gold or Silver Coin in those provinces, but the 19th Sun Sicca Rupees and the 19th Sun Gold Mohurs.”

“SEC. 1. . . The sicca rupee of the 19th sun is the established silver coin of the country, and the rupee in which the public revenues are payable. It was with a view to render it the general measure of value, that Government determined in the year 1773, that all rupees coined in future should bear the impression of the 19th sun or year of the reign of Shah Alum. . . . “The rules by which the gold coin has been regulated have been productive of evils, similar to those which have prevailed with regard to the silver coin. Under the native administrations, and until the year 1766, the gold mohur was not considered as a legal tender of payment in any public or private transaction, nor was the number of rupees for which it was to pass

<sup>1</sup> When Azad-al-daulah “was sent to Kandes, Rájá Tudermull made the price of gold mohurs to be estimated in rupees:” i. p. 39. The original Persian text is somewhat obscure in this passage; and the MS. copies vary in the wording of the sentence; but Gladwin seems to have fathomed the real meaning.

<sup>2</sup> “Although the market price is sometimes more or less than 40 dáms, yet this value is always set upon it in comparative calculations.”—Ayín-i Akberí, i. 35. The original passage is quoted in the body of note <sup>2</sup> p. 5, *suprá*.

current ever fixed by the Government. It was struck for the convenience of individuals, and the value of it, in the markets, fluctuated like other commodities: silver being the metal which was the general measure of value throughout the country. In the year 1766, the value of the gold coin, with respect to the silver, was first fixed, and the former coin declared a legal tender of payment. A gold mohur was struck, and ordered to pass for fourteen sicca rupees. But as this coin (calculating according to the relative value of the two metals) was much below the worth of the silver, in the number of rupees for which it was ordered to pass, it was found impossible to render it current, and it was accordingly called in; and a new gold mohur, being that now current, was issued in 1769, which was directed to pass as a legal tender of payment for sixteen sicca rupees. The intrinsic worth of this coin was estimated to be equal to the nominal value of it, or as nearly so as was deemed necessary to render it current at the prescribed rate." [The Regulation then goes on to enumerate the difficulties attendant upon giving free currency to these coins,<sup>1</sup> and proceeds to say:] "The means which appear best calculated

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Steuart, in his work, entitled 'The Principles of Money applied to the present state of the Coin of Bengal' (A.D. 1772), gives us some interesting details as to the aim and object of the original establishment of the gold currency of Bengal, and the want of success that attended the measures of Government, confessed to in the above Regulation. He says: "It has been observed, that this coin, called gold mohurs, had been formerly coined at Dehli, of the same weight and fineness with the sicca rupee of Bengal and other countries of Hindostan; but that they passed conventionally, having no legal denomination . . . In 1766, . . . it was proposed, as an expedient for augmenting the currency of specie to make a coinage of gold, . . . and the directors of this operation, pitching upon fifteen Arcot rupees as the value of one gold mohur, instead of estimating the value of these fifteen Arcot rupees by the fine metal contained in them, estimated them by their current value, which was above the proportion of their intrinsic worth. Not satisfied with this first deviation from principles, they added to the mohur (already over-rated in its proportion to the fifteen silver Arcot rupees) no less than 8 per cent. extra-denomination, entirely arbitrary. So when this gold currncy came abroad, it proved to be no less than  $17\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. worse in payments than silver rupees of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and Surat," pp. 26, 27.

"The people of that country (Bengal) had been so long accustomed to silver coin, that they never would, except when forced to it, receive the mohurs in payment. So the Company was obliged to make a new regulation in 1769, little better than the former. At last the gold currency fell all together to many per cent. below its intrinsic value, according to the saying, *Dum vitant stulti, vitia in contraria currunt*."

Sir J. Steuart, at p. 30 *et seq.*, gives us the weight and standard of these coins:—

The 1766 mohur was 20 carats fine, or 20-24ths: full weight, 179.66 grs., proportion of fine gold, 149.72 grains: issued as the equivalent of 14 rupees.

The rupee being 179.66 grs. in full weight, and containing 175.92 grs. of fine silver.

The mohur of 1769, full weight 190.773 grs., contained 190.086 grs. of fine gold: the value being fixed at 16 rupees: the silver currency remaining as before.

Our author continues: "Now if we go upon the supposition we have hitherto adopted, viz., that the proportion of the metals in India was supposed to be at 14 to 1; then in this coinage of 1769, the gold was over-rated nearly  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent."

to render the gold mohur generally current, are to declare it receivable at all the public treasuries, and in all public payments throughout the provinces, at the rate of sixteen sicca rupees."

Sec. 2. defines weight and standards, or—

"Gold mohurs, 190·894 troy grs.: Assay, compared with English standard gold, better, 1 car.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  grs.

"Sicca rupees,  $179\frac{2}{3}$  grs.: Assay, compared with English standard silver, better, 13 dwts."

Sec. 3. specifies that these gold mohurs "are to be considered a legal tender of payment in all public and private transactions . . . at the rate of sixteen sicca rupees;" and further defines penalties for their refusal by the native Treasurers; and to complete the authoritative currency, it is even declared in Sec. 20, that "no person shall recover in any court of judicature . . . any sum of money, under a bond or other writing, or any agreement, written or verbal, entered into after the above-mentioned date, by which any sum of money shall be stipulated to be paid in any species of rupees, excepting sicca rupees or gold mohurs of the 19th sun, or the halves and quarters of each."

Reg. VI. of 1794 postpones to 10th April, 1794, the operations of Secs. 18, 19, 20, and 23 "as regards the silver coin."

Reg. LIX. of 1795 further postpones the operation of these Rules to 20th April, 1796.

Reg. LXI. of 1795 refers merely to the amount of loss which is to be held to reduce these rupees below the standard.

Regs. I. of 1797, V. of 1801, and XXXVIII. of 1803 relate to exemption from duties of gold and silver coins.

Reg. XLV. of 1803 gives effect to the arrangement for the mintage of Lucknow or Furrukkábád rupees, of the "same size and form as the 19th sun sicca rupees"; weight and standard to be hereafter determined.

Sec. 25 is, in effect, to the same tenor as Sec. 20 of Reg. XXXV. of 1793, except that gold mohurs are not alluded to; but Sec. 42 explains, that "whereas the gold coin, denominated gold mohurs, has never obtained an extensive circulation in the ceded provinces, in consequence of silver having been the general measure of value in those provinces, from time immemorial; and whereas, during the government of the Nawab Vizir, the value of the gold mohurs in circulation, with relation to the silver coin, was never fixed; and, whereas the coinage of gold mohurs has been long discontinued by the Native Government of the said provinces, as well as the adjacent foreign states; it is not, therefore, judged necessary, at present, to establish a gold coinage in the provinces in question. The gold

mohurs shall be permitted to be circulated in the ceded provinces as heretofore, according to the value which individuals receiving and paying the same shall determine; but, gold mohurs shall not be considered to be a legal tender of payment in any public or private transaction, nor shall they bear any fixed rate of value, compared with reference to the silver coin . . . established by this Regulation."

SEC. 43 *et seq.* provides for the copper coinage.

REG. LIV. of 1803 postpones the operation of Sec. 20, Reg. XXXV. of 1793, to 16th August for the province of Chittagong.

REG. XII. of 1805, Sec. 13, declares that after a fixed date, "no money will be received in payment of the public revenue (in Cuttack), excepting Calcutta sicca rupees or gold mohurs of the 19th sun."

SEC. 15 extends the penal provisions of Sec. 20, Reg. XXXV. of 1793 to the same province.

REG. III. of 1806 specifies the weight and standard of the Lucknow sicca rupee, introduced by Reg. XLV. of 1803, viz.: 173 grs. troy. Touch, or parts of fine silver, in 100, 95·5; alloy, 4·5.

REG. IV. of 1807 refers to rupees alone, and determines the rates at which rupees of sorts shall be received and issued in the ceded provinces. Sec. 8 makes the same applicable to Cuttack.

REG. XIII. of 1807 rescinds the penalties named in Secs. 20 and 21, Reg. XXXV. of 1793, and in parallel sections applicable to local divisions of the country; it being admitted that in many cases, "the penalty of non-recovery by judicial process is not only a hardship to the individual, but is repugnant to the ends of justice."

REG. II. of 1812 defines duties on the coinage of bullion.

SECS. 10 and 11 specify the weight and value of the Benares rupee as 175 grs. troy. Touch, or pure silver, 168·875; alloy. 6·125.

REG. XVII. of 1817, Secs. 9, 10, and 11 prescribe punishments for counterfeiting, debasing, etc.

REG. XIV. of 1818.—The preamble states, "The high standards established for the gold mohur and sicca rupee, having been found productive of many inconveniences, both to individuals and the public, . . . [but] as a reduction in the value of the sicca rupee, from its being in a great measure the money of account, both in private and public transactions, would necessarily change the terms of all existing contracts, and might be productive of embarrassment and trouble, it has been determined to leave the rupee unaltered in this respect; and the new Calcutta sicca rupee will consequently contain the same quantity of fine silver as that heretofore struck, and, being of the same intrinsic value, will circulate on the same terms. The mint proportions of silver and gold, being, it is believed, inaccurately estimated at present, and it being also desirable that an uniformity in this

respect should be introduced at the three Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, it has been thought advisable to make a slight deduction in the intrinsic value of the gold mohur to be coined at this Presidency, in order to raise the value of fine gold to fine silver, from the present rates of 1 to 14·861 to that of 1 to 15. The gold mohur will still continue to pass current at the rate of sixteen rupees. For the purposes and objects above enumerated" it is enacted, etc.

SEC. 1, par. 2nd.—"The weight and standard of the Calcutta sicca rupee and gold mohur . . . shall be as follows<sup>1</sup>":—

Gold mohur ...	weight 204·710 grs. ...	fine gold 187·651 ...	alloy 17·059
Sicca rupee ...	weight 191·916 grs. ...	fine silver 175·923 ...	alloy 15·993

REG. V. of 1819 refers to mint and bullion details.

REG. XI. of 1819 discontinues the coinage of the Benares rupee, and limits "the legal currencies in the territories subordinate" to Bengal "to two, namely the Calcutta and Furruckabad rupee." The latter is specified at—Weight, 180·234 grs.; pure silver, 165·215; alloy, 15·019 = 11·12ths pure and 1·12th alloy.

SEC. 10 secures an equitable arrangement for bonds, etc., "not expressed in Furruckabad rupees."

REG. V. of 1821 regulates the rates at which Benares and Furruckabad rupees shall be received in payment of revenue.

<sup>1</sup> To exemplify how Governments keep their own laws, I extract from 'Allen's Indian Mail' of 1854, a statement of manifest authenticity regarding certain mint operations sanctioned during the continued currency of this Regulation:—"The market of Calcutta has invariably exhibited a great difference of price between the pure gold mohurs of old standard and those of the new one-twelfth alloy standard. For seven years—that is, from 1818 to 1825—the Calcutta mint coined nothing but new-standard gold mohurs; but in 1825-26, the Government having had a large receipt of gold from the Burmese, and having obtained also a considerable remittance of gold from Madras, consequent upon the substitution of rupees for pagodas in the currency of that presidency, this *Government gold was, for the sake of the profit, coined into gold mohurs of the old standard*,—Regulation XIV. of 1818 prescribing one-twelfth alloy for the Calcutta gold, notwithstanding. There were above four lacs of old gold pieces struck in the Mint, and sold at the general Treasury at the price of the day. But it was only in 1829 that a similar privilege was conceded to private bullion-merchants. The consequence, however, of conceding to them the privilege of obtaining coin of the old standard was, that in the six years from the date when it commenced to 1835, when the new Act took the privilege away, nearly as much private gold bullion was brought to be coined as in the eleven preceding years: and when the privilege was taken away, there was a very limited coinage of the new gold coin, and that coinage was principally of Government gold."—After the passing of the Act of 1835, the mint speculations would seem to have been less successful; at least, if we are to credit the following, which is affirmed under similar authority with the passages just quoted:—"The difference of price even of unstamped pure gold, as compared with stamped one-twelfth alloy coin was such, that the Mint Committee of Calcutta, in the year 1836, applied to Government, and obtained leave to sell the Government bullion in its possession instead of coining it. The calculation of profit was based on a comparison, not with the par fixed for receipts into the Government treasury (viz. fifteen of silver for one of gold), but with the price at which the same gold would sell as a coin; showing evidently that our stamp gave no additional value, but the contrary,"

REG. II. of 1824 abolishes the mint at Furruckabad.

REG. VII. of 1833 alters the weight of the new Furruckabad rupee, and assimilates it to the legal currency of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, and adjusts the weight of Calcutta sicca rupees thus:—

Calcutta sicca rupee	...	weight 192 grs.	...	fine 176	...	alloy 16
Furruckabad rupee	...	weight 180 grs.	...	fine 165	...	alloy 15

The tola or sicca weight 180 grs., introduced (as stated in detail at p. 7, *supra*).

ACT XVII of 1835, Sec. 7 declares, "and be it enacted, that the under-mentioned gold coins only shall henceforth be coined at the mints within the territories of the East India Company:—

1st.—A gold mohur or fifteen rupee piece of the weight of 180 grs. troy, and of the following standard, viz.: 11-12ths, or 165 grs., of pure gold; 1-12th, or 15 grs. of alloy": with proportionate subdivisions.

SEC. 8 defines the devices these coins are to bear.

SEC. 9. "And be it enacted, that no gold coin shall henceforward be a legal tender of payment in any of the territories of the East India Company."<sup>1</sup> (Passed 17th August, 1835).

ACT XXI. of 1835 defines the weight and value of the copper currency, in the Presidency of Bengal, as follows:—

"1.—Pice, weighing 100 grs. troy.

"2.—A double-pice, 200 grs. troy.

"3.—A pie, or 1-12th of an anna piece,  $33\frac{1}{3}$  grs."

SEC. 2 enacts that "the said pice shall be a legal tender for 1-64th of the Company's rupee, and the said double-pice for 1-32d of the Company's rupee, and the said pie for 1-192d of the Company's rupee." (Passed 7th December, 1835).

ACT XIII. of 1836 directs that the Calcutta sicca rupee shall cease to be a legal tender from the 1st January, 1838; but shall be received at public Treasuries by weight, subject to one pie for re-coinage: and further limits the circulation of certain local copper coins.

ACT XXXI. of 1837 merely refers to devices.

ACT XXI. of 1838 authorises the "coinage and issuing of any silver coins of a value represented in even annas, or sixteenths of the

<sup>1</sup> As there are no Preambles to the Acts, we are left to discover the reasons which led to this abrupt announcement. 'The Minutes of Consultation in Council' might perhaps disclose the guiding motive. In this instance, however, silence need not be taken for discreet reticence, for many good and valid reasons suggest themselves as warranting the course pursued. And in regard to the new aspect that the gold discoveries have since given to the comparative values of the precious metals, it is to be remembered that at the moment of the passing of this Act, gold stood relatively to silver at *over* 15 to 1 in the local markets.

Company's rupee," of the same standard as the higher denominations.

Act XXXI. of 1839 prescribes punishment "for drilling, defacing, or debasing current coin," etc.

Act XIII. of 1844 is an Act for the withdrawal from circulation of the Trisoollee pyce in the province of Benares.

Act XXII. of 1844 merely extends Act XXI. of 1835 to all "the territories of the East India Company."

Act VI. of 1847 refers to the copper currency of the Straits' Settlements.

To complete the series of Government documents, I append to the more formal legislative enactments, the substance of the notification of the 22nd of December, 1852; which, in its opening paragraph, likewise sufficiently explains the nature of the intermediate order of 1841.<sup>1</sup>

"No. 26. PORT WILLIAM, FINANCIAL DEPARTMENT, 22ND DECEMBER, 1852.—NOTIFICATION.—By Sec. 9, Act XVII. of 1835 of the Government of India, it was enacted, that thenceforward no gold coin should be a legal tender of payment in any of the Territories of the East India Company; and, accordingly, gold ceased from the date of the passing of the Act to be a legal tender of payment in the Company's Territories in India."

"But, by a Proclamation issued on the 13th January, 1841, officers in charge of public treasuries were authorized freely to receive gold coins, struck in conformity with the provisions of the same Act XVII. of 1835, at the rates indicated by the denomination of the pieces, until they should have passed certain limits of lightness, set forth in a table published with the Proclamation, or until further orders; and gold coins have been thus received in liquidation of public demands up to the present date."

"Notice is now given . . . that on and after that date [1st January, 1853,] no gold coin will be received on account of payments due, or in any way to be made to the Government<sup>2</sup> . . .

<sup>1</sup> I have not failed to examine this Proclamation. It specifies the devices (*Reverse*: "A lion and a palm-tree") for the new gold coinage, "in conformity with Act XVII. of 1835"; and proceeds: "officers in charge of public treasuries are hereby authorized freely to receive these gold coins at the rates, until further orders, respectively denoted by the denomination of the pieces, until they shall have passed the limits of lightness allowed for wear, laid down in the annexed table, when they will only be receivable as bullion, and be subject to a deduction of one per cent. for seignorage."

<sup>2</sup> I do not ordinarily permit myself to criticise the acts of the Government of India; but these orders seem fairly to demand a passing notice. Viewing the peculiar element of suspicion of motives so strong in Asiatic minds, and the importance the natives of India attach to every varying phase of the dealings of their rulers, it is clear that the "Resolution" of 1852 was neither wise nor politic; it is doubtful whether, under the circumstances, it was just. The reservation of "until further orders," so clumsily inserted in the Proclamation of 1841, might convey its special meaning to the ear of an English lawyer, but it is not likely to



Gold will continue as heretofore, to be received into any of the mints . . . for coinage, under the Act and Rules at present in force for the coinage of gold, but Mint certificates for gold coins will be discharged in gold only, and no such certificate for gold will be accepted in any public treasury in liquidation of public demands, or on account of any payment to the Government whatever.”<sup>1</sup>

The Madras and Bombay Governments seem to have pertinaciously abstained from legislating on coinages and currencies, and their Statute Books are altogether silent on these subjects, until the action of the Supreme Government is brought to bear on them in 1835. Such being the case, I am unable to elucidate the measures of Mint progress in the minor Presidencies.

have borne its full significance to the intelligence of the Native banker : apart from this, it is clearly a question whether the tenor of the Proclamation itself did not imply an understood obligation on the part of Government, to receive back the gold coined and issued under its provisions, coupled as those provisions were with the inducements held out to aid the circulation, that the officers of Government were enjoined “freely to receive these gold coins at the rates” etc.; the only obvious restriction, beyond the formal “until further orders,” being that the pieces should not have “passed the limits of lightness allowed for wear” etc.

<sup>1</sup> The same writer in ‘Allen’s Indian Mail,’ 1854, who clearly has had access to official documents, thus elucidates the motive and object of the Order of 1852:—“We have explained the condition of the gold coin of India, and the erroneous principles adopted for its manufacture. Things continued in this state when the gold of California and Australia began to affect the market, and to change the relative value of that metal to silver. The first considerable increase in the import of gold at Calcutta was in the year 1848-49, and a large portion of it was sent to the mint, in that and the following years, for conversion into low-standard lion-device pieces, [XVII. of 1835]. The sending of gold to the mint at this period was in reality a mere sale of the metal to Government for silver, at the par rate of 15 to 1, which then began to prevail as the market rate. The Mint certificates, obtained for gold delivered, were immediately paid in at that par, in satisfaction of Government dues, or were negotiated at the banks, where silver was always claimed upon them under the option then given of receiving the amount in rupees at the par in question. The gold thus, when coined by the Mint, remained as a dead balance in the Government treasury, not being issuable at the par of 15 to 1, in the condition of base standard coin, to which it had been manufactured. Besides this process of gold accumulation through deliveries at the Calcutta Mint, low standard coin, previously issued, began also to be paid into the treasury, at the established par rate in ordinary transactions [under the Proclamation of 1841]; so that out of a total amount of lion-device gold mohurs, not exceeding in value seventy lacs of rupees, which was the value of the coinage up to that date, as before shown, more than fifty lacs were, in 1852, in deposit in the Government treasury as a dead unserviceable balance. It was at this time that the Government of India began to contemplate measures for converting its entire 5 per cent. Debt into Stocks at 4 per cent. The prospect, therefore, of having the balance to which the Government looked for the means of completing this operation rendered unserviceable for the purpose by the substitution of gold coin, not a legal tender, for the rupees claimable by the public creditors who might elect to receive payment in cash, was by no means agreeable. A prompt remedy was necessary, and the question being referred to the Court of Directors, the desire to adhere still to their old principles suggested that the low standard gold coin, not being a legal tender, the receipt of it by Government should be altogether stopped; and this was accordingly done in 1853, by public notice in the *Gazette* of Calcutta.”

Having completed this summary review of the gold and silver coinages, I now revert to Prinsep's Tables.<sup>1</sup>—E.T.]

TABLE of the Coinages issued from the Calcutta Mint from 1801-2 to 1832-33.

Official Year.	Government and Individuals.						Total sikká rupees.			
	Gold.			Silver.						
	Sa.	R.	A. P.	Sa.	R.	A. P.	R.	A.	P.	
1801-2	83,139	12	0	30,73,226	12	0	31,56,366	8	0	
1802-3	1,27,848	0	0	46,64,736	8	0	47,92,584	8	0	
1803-4	89,496	8	0	77,41,674	4	0	78,31,170	12	0	
1804-5	1,26,940	0	0	1,00,78,060	12	0	1,02,05,000	12	0	
1805-6	1,30,454	0	0	71,20,322	12	0	72,50,776	12	0	
1806-7	91,773	8	0	1,63,14,198	12	0	1,64,05,972	4	0	
1807-8	2,31,752	4	0	1,45,80,126	0	0	1,48,11,878	4	0	
1808-9	50,800	12	0	1,11,30,380	4	0	1,11,81,181	0	0	
1809-10	31,885	8	0	82,76,886	0	0	83,08,771	8	0	
1810-11	10,29,656	0	0	1,65,81,865	0	2	1,76,11,521	0	2	
1811-12	18,54,703	9	4	83,83,885	12	1	1,02,38,589	5	5	
1812-13	12,56,319	0	0	78,51,046	10	0	91,07,365	10	0	
1813-14	10,91,853	12	8	28,31,166	11	11	39,23,020	8	7	
1814-15	15,01,964	14	8	71,29,817	15	1	86,31,782	13	9	
1815-16	9,35,987	4	0	1,39,76,463	5	5	1,49,12,450	9	5	
1816-17	13,63,200	14	8	2,21,48,114	5	6	2,35,11,315	4	2	
1817-18	15,67,279	9	4	55,15,411	7	8	70,82,691	1	0	
1818-19	3,63,105	6	8	1,66,40,247	2	7	1,70,03,352	9	3	
1819-20	5,37,670	9	4	2,63,46,438	13	3	2,68,84,109	6	7	
1820-21	8,26,046	0	0	1,08,36,215	6	11	1,16,62,261	6	11	
1821-22	4,26,331	13	4	74,58,694	4	5	78,85,026	1	9	
1822-23	2,79,211	6	8	68,52,391	7	8	71,31,602	14	4	
1823-24	1,26,509	0	0	49,48,564	6	5	50,75,073	6	5	
1824-25	29,72,948	6	8	69,66,557	2	3	99,39,505	8	11	
1825-26	33,65,020	5	4	97,19,093	15	1	1,30,44,114	4	5	
1826-27	34,26,832	0	0	80,97,615	0	0	1,15,24,447	0	0	
1827-28	4,79,616	0	0	66,69,149	15	0	71,48,765	15	0	
1828-29	5,01,296	0	0	57,00,840	2	11	62,02,136	2	11	
1829-30	10,24,032	0	0	83,95,484	11	5	94,19,516	11	5	
1830-31	17,58,896	0	0	38,13,496	7	8	55,72,392	7	8	
1831-32	18,39,392	0	0	44,77,722	14	4	63,17,114	14	4	
1832-33	23,71,024	0	0	76,90,479	15	8	1,00,61,503	15	8	
3,18,62,986    4    8    30,19,70,375    1    5    33,38,33,361    6    1										
COPPER COINAGE.										
From 1801	to	1813	...	10,99,170	5	6				
1813	to	1825-26	...	5,87,785	6	6				
1826-27	to	1832-33	...	16,11,461	1	5				
							32,98,416	13	5	
Total sikká rupees.....							33,71,31,778	3	6	

<sup>1</sup> [I had designed, as I intimated in a note p. 41, to have omitted all the details of the working of the Indian Mints. However, as I have since found reason to believe that a general return of the currencies issued by the East India Company would possess an interest with European readers, I have determined to abbreviate the redundances of Prinsep's forms, and endeavoured to complete the several statements, as far as possible, from documents in the East India House, which have been most liberally placed at my disposition by Col. Sykes.]

TABLE of Silver Coinage in the Provincial Mints.

	Benâres.	Farrukhâbâd.	Sâgar.
From 1804-5 to 1832-3, incl.	11,14,79,898 6 6	7,74,66,519 3 11	53,99,282 8 6
Of which sum private bullion ...	6,67,85,549 13 8	3,10,18,509 10 5	7,89,496 2 4
Government ditto .....	4,46,94,348 8 10	4,64,48,009 9 6	46,09,786 6 2
Value of copper coinage up to the same period. ....	13,90,140 0 0	75,594 12 3	2,83,388 0 0
Total	11,28,70,038 6 6	7,75,42,114 0 2	56,82,670 8 6

Coinage at the Calcutta Mint .....	Sikkâ Rs.	33,71,31,778
Coinage at Benâres.....	"	10,58,15,663
Coinage at Farrukhâbâd .....	"	7,26,95,732
Coinage at Sâgar .....	"	53,27,503
Total Coinage of the Bengal Presidency from 1801-33: Sikkâ Rs.		<u>52,09,70,676</u>

[It will be seen that the totals in the preceding Tables are given in sikkâ and in Farrukhâbâd rupees. Act XVII. of 1835 introduced the Company's rupee as the one uniform currency of all India; this coin is composed of 165 grains of silver and 15 of alloy, and stands the declared equivalent of the old Bombay, Madras, Farrukhâbâd, and Sonât rupees—being defined as corresponding in value to  $\frac{1}{6}$ th of the superseded Calcutta sikkâ rupee. All Government accounts, subsequent to the date of the passing of this Act, are therefore made up in the new or standard Company's rupee.

TABLE of the value of Gold and Silver Coined in the Mints of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay in each year from 1833-34 to 1854-55.

(From Official Returns at the India House.)

	CALCUTTA.		MADRAS.		BOMBAY.		TOTAL.	
	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.
	Value in Co.'s Rs.	Value in Co.'s Rs.	Value in Co.'s Rs.	Value in Co.'s Rs.	Value in Co.'s Rs.	Value in Co.'s Rs.	Value in Co.'s Rs.	Value in Co.'s Rs.
1833-34	26,48,593	1,23,47,561	39,58,800	43,11,500	...	10,83,156	66,07,393	1,77,42,217
1834-35	16,84,838	1,33,10,055	28,75,200	35,21,000	...	50,75,286	45,60,038	2,19,06,341
1835-36	11,97,344	1,62,49,960	...	...	...	64,34,764	11,97,344	2,26,84,724
1836-37	68,145	2,98,14,302	The operations of the Mint were suspended from 1835 to 1841.		...	82,71,377	68,145	3,80,86,179
1837-38	2,54,265	2,09,34,103			...	1,09,48,636	2,54,265	3,18,82,739
1838-39	3,44,706	2,67,63,743			...	1,17,72,822	3,44,706	3,85,36,565
1839-40	7,91,557	3,15,77,576			...	98,28,901	7,91,557	3,14,06,477
1840-41	5,67,720	1,64,10,686	...	...	...	1,20,38,236	5,67,720	2,84,48,922
1841-42	2,31,015	2,61,20,312	...	25,85,978	...	51,75,329	2,31,015	3,25,87,619
1842-43	...	2,06,11,864	...	16,40,203	...	1,07,95,668	...	3,30,47,735
1843-44	1,66,335	2,17,66,075	...	42,28,459	...	2,07,32,497	1,66,335	4,67,27,031
1844-45	1,79,760	2,83,35,602	38,595	31,72,430	...	1,54,60,180	2,63,355	1,69,68,212
1845-46	1,54,535	2,35,32,332	1,00,545	22,32,281	36,390	1,36,60,807	2,91,470	3,84,25,420
1846-47	4,27,335	1,64,78,122	...	60,84,016	...	66,46,956	4,27,335	2,92,09,094
1847-48	1,62,930	1,01,19,938	3,00,000	34,95,301	...	42,67,359	1,62,930	1,78,22,598
1848-49	7,04,700	1,33,03,269	...	12,93,676	...	1,11,92,701	7,04,700	2,57,92,646
1849-50	3,24,525	1,35,97,117	...	8,64,372	15,300	96,50,554	3,39,825	2,41,12,043
1850-51	12,17,820	1,21,31,097	...	19,54,271	19,350	1,20,78,906	12,37,170	2,61,64,274
1851-52	6,25,500	1,78,80,191	...	36,27,082	...	2,08,97,949	6,25,500	4,24,05,222
1852-53	...	2,73,66,206	...	39,35,171	...	2,37,98,471	...	5,50,99,848
1853-54	14,56,785	2,31,82,702	...	67,50,846	...	2,26,00,817	14,56,785	5,25,34,365
1854-55	26,760	70,43,170	...	28,68,429	...	37,47,416	26,760	1,36,59,015
	1,32,35,168	41,68,81,933	73,18,140	5,25,68,015	71,040	24,60,99,288	2,06,24,348	71,55,49,266

TABLE of Imports and Exports of Treasure (Gold and Silver) in each of the Presidencies of India, from 1813-14 to 1853-54, at 2s. the Rupee.

YEAR.	BENGAL.				MADRAS.				BOMBAY.				TOTAL.			
	Imports.	Exports.	Net Exp.	Net Exp.	Imports.	Exports.	Net Imp.	Net Exp.	Imports.	Exports.	Net Imports.	Net Imports.	Imports.	Exports.	Net Imports.	Net Exp.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1813-14	584,403	4,275	580,128	.....	142,143	30,756	111,387	.....	207,822	181,043	26,779	934,308	216,074	718,294	.....	.....
1814-15	1,008,644	15,402	1,024,046	.....	100,897	10,064	90,833	.....	297,170	65,168	232,002	1,406,711	30,694	1,376,017	.....	.....
1815-16	1,891,832	1,575	1,893,407	.....	111,707	10,775	100,932	.....	604,788	7,743	597,045	2,519,896	20,073	2,499,823	.....	.....
1816-17	8,193,198	46,900	8,240,098	.....	174,927	24,416	149,511	.....	801,274	4,316	797,058	4,160,699	45,532	4,115,167	.....	.....
1817-18	3,202,702	81,725	3,284,427	.....	172,841	4,577	168,265	.....	1,104,685	20,417	1,125,102	4,542,239	62,719	4,479,510	.....	.....
1818-19	4,749,240	97,953	4,847,193	.....	237,966	9,808	228,158	.....	1,831,409	61,639	1,769,769	6,755,103	53,524	6,701,579	.....	.....
1819-20	4,064,602	809,832	3,254,770	.....	180,346	18,928	161,412	.....	1,831,409	61,639	1,769,769	6,755,103	53,524	6,701,579	.....	.....
1820-21	2,351,724	113,986	2,465,710	.....	253,499	16,980	236,519	.....	770,231	48,799	721,432	3,904,459	31,093	3,873,366	.....	.....
1821-22	2,145,445	1,242	2,146,687	.....	230,246	1,425	228,821	.....	670,231	48,799	621,432	3,904,459	31,093	3,873,366	.....	.....
1822-23	2,247,788	1,294,689	1,053,109	.....	312,173	19,989	292,184	.....	770,231	48,799	721,432	3,904,459	31,093	3,873,366	.....	.....
1823-24	2,299,542	1,504	2,301,046	.....	430,155	217,681	212,474	.....	770,231	48,799	721,432	3,904,459	31,093	3,873,366	.....	.....
1824-25	1,040,397	160,940	1,201,337	.....	224,735	505,000	280,265	.....	1,132,878	26,619	1,106,263	1,132,878	26,619	1,106,263	.....	.....
1825-26	1,413,958	111,508	1,525,466	.....	283,162	76,223	206,939	.....	987,975	937,975	0	1,170,853	2,016,016	987,975	.....	.....
1826-27	1,228,832	448,008	1,676,840	.....	251,868	391,381	139,513	.....	1,236,190	70,327	1,165,863	1,070,398	2,074,233	486,721	1,557,512	.....
1827-28	655,832	176,319	832,151	.....	147,889	540,123	392,234	.....	1,270,492	200,094	1,070,398	872,454	2,192,530	933,901	1,258,629	.....
1828-29	981,025	164,003	1,145,028	.....	109,305	540,123	430,818	.....	1,012,200	224,746	787,454	853,374	1,790,281	605,217	1,185,064	.....
1829-30	601,214	330,503	931,717	.....	113,755	113,776	0	.....	1,015,312	161,938	853,374	1,071,875	2,146,454	108,103	2,254,558	.....
1830-31	517,108	783,353	1,300,461	.....	134,637	201,468	67,831	.....	785,580	203,514	582,072	1,182,254	1,738,047	1,125,064	555,793	.....
1831-32	354,458	247,552	602,010	.....	114,327	201,468	86,858	.....	491,961	183,827	308,134	1,070,398	1,738,047	1,125,064	555,793	.....
1832-33	517,108	783,353	1,300,461	.....	153,115	201,468	46,353	.....	1,093,483	115,318	978,165	1,070,398	1,738,047	1,125,064	555,793	.....
1833-34	568,476	247,552	816,028	.....	112,760	31,528	81,232	.....	1,093,683	18,908	1,074,775	1,326,555	2,146,454	108,103	2,254,558	.....
1834-35	612,527	161,316	773,843	.....	75,958	72,615	3,343	.....	1,346,536	39,091	1,307,445	1,317,680	2,086,166	203,933	2,290,446	.....
1835-36	657,108	140,318	817,426	.....	128,542	105,431	23,111	.....	1,347,681	39,091	1,307,445	1,317,680	2,086,166	203,933	2,290,446	.....
1836-37	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1837-38	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1838-39	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1839-40	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1840-41	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1841-42	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1842-43	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1843-44	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1844-45	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1845-46	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1846-47	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1847-48	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1848-49	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1849-50	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1850-51	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1851-52	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1852-53	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....
1853-54	1,219,031	162,700	1,381,731	.....	131,134	91,237	39,897	.....	1,662,675	93,908	1,568,767	1,662,675	2,640,100	847,906	2,514,681	.....

The figures entered in the preceding Official Return, so far as they relate to the commerce of Bengal from 1813-14 to 1832-33, will be found to differ from those originally published by Prinsep. It may be necessary to explain, that his Tables exhibited the imports and exports of the isolated Presidency of Bengal, and, as such, comprehended not only the trade with the United Kingdom and foreign countries, but likewise the traffic of the Port of Calcutta, etc., with the coast and the other Presidencies. In the present return, the local port to port trade is properly excluded.<sup>1</sup>

It will be seen that the foregoing Table does not discriminate the relative amount of gold and silver imported or exported in each year, nor do the official documents at command admit of the separation of the two items earlier than 1846-47; subsequent to which, the proportion runs as follows, for the three Presidencies:—

	GOLD.			SILVER.		
	Imports.	Exports.	Remains.	Imports.	Exports.	Remains.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1846-47	851,738	2,890	+ 848,848	2,088,183	710,978	+1,377,205
1847-48	1,048,778	9,661	+ 1,039,117	924,612	1,416,376	- 491,764
1848-49	1,401,748	52,829	+ 1,348,919	2,802,755	2,486,913	+ 315,842 <sup>2</sup>
1849-50	1,160,661	64,868	+ 1,095,793	2,236,146	906,374	+1,329,772
1850-51	1,155,310	2,016	+ 1,153,294	2,656,498	539,273	+2,117,225
1851-52	1,338,778	71,165	+ 1,267,613	3,713,280	847,923	+2,865,357
1852-53	1,335,164	168,805	+ 1,166,359	5,496,214	886,424	+4,609,790
1853-54	1,101,136	17,265	+ 1,083,871	3,770,821	1,466,030	+2,304,791
	9,393,313	389,499	9,003,814	23,688,509	9,260,291	14,428,218

The proportions of each metal absorbed by the several divisions of

<sup>1</sup> [The delay that has occurred in the printing of this sheet enables me to add parallel returns for the year 1854-55. The Madras and Bombay totals hereunto subjoined are derived from official sources; the Bengal return is taken from Bonnard's 'Commercial Annual,' as the formal statements relating to that Presidency have not yet been received at the India House:—

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	NET IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.	
			Net Imports.	Net Exports.
	£	£	£	£
Bengal .....	603,154	1,072,194	.....	469,040
Madras .....	194,221	521,814	.....	327,593
Bombay .....	1,188,913	353,654	835,259	.....
Total .....	1,986,288	1,947,662	38,626	.....

<sup>2</sup> [The unimportant discrepancies that may be detected between the lower figures of these totals and those entered at the end of the Table in page 82 and elsewhere, are explained to have arisen from the varying results of working in gross and in detail, and the exclusion of fractions of rupees and the rejection of unit figures, to convert the rupee into sterling money at different stages of the arithmetical process.]

the Indian empire, during the eight years in question, are embodied in the annexed table:—

REMAINS.	CALCUTTA.		MADRAS.		BOMBAY.	
	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.	Gold.	Silver.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1846-47	215,530	+ 835,294	27,561	+ 51,469	605,757	490,442
1847-48	362,554	— 520,402	48,558	— 130,667	628,005	159,305
1848-49	415,947	+ 216,097	33,173	— 649,826	899,799	749,571
1849-50	275,543	+ 585,117	55,091	— 6,291	765,159	750,946
1850-51	317,998	+ 595,154	32,868	+ 123,097	802,428	1,398,974
1851-52	401,243	+ 1,654,639	76,069	+ 5,561	790,301	1,205,157
1852-53	575,351	+ 2,342,261	49,121	+ 491,353	541,887	1,776,176
1853-54	481,756	+ 1,166,317	86,719	+ 375,115	515,396	763,359
£	3,045,922	+ 6,874,477	409,160	+ 259,811	5,548,732	7,293,930

In appropriate supplement to these Tables, and to enable my readers to judge of the comparative importance of the bullion traffic with India, I annex a statement from Col. Sykes' paper 'On the External Commerce of British India,' published in the 'Journal of the Statistical Society,' for June, 1856, and further brought up to the present date, which exhibits the relative values of goods and bullion imported and exported during the six years from 1849-50 to 1854-55.

*Abstract of Imports and Exports of Goods and Bullion from 1849-50 to 1854-55.<sup>1</sup>*

Years ended 30th April.	Total amount of Goods imported into the three Presidencies.	Total amount of Goods imported into the three Presidencies.	Excess of Goods exported.	Net import of Bullion.	Excess of Exports of Goods, deducting Net Import of Bullion.	Bills drawn upon India by the Directors.	Final Balances of Trade in favor of India adjusted by other means.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1849-50	10,300,000	17,312,000	7,012,000	2,425,000	4,587,000	2,936,000	1,651,000
1850-51	11,559,000	18,164,000	6,605,000	3,270,000	3,335,000	3,236,000	99,000
1851-52	12,240,000	19,879,000	7,639,000	4,133,000	3,506,000	2,777,000	729,000
1852-53	10,071,000	20,465,000	10,394,000	5,776,000	4,618,000	3,317,000	1,301,000
1853-54	11,122,000	19,295,000	8,173,000	3,389,000	4,748,000	3,850,000	934,000
1854-55	12,442,000	18,298,000	5,856,000	38,000	5,818,000	3,669,000	2,149,000
Total...	67,734,000	113,413,000	45,679,000	19,031,000	26,648,000	19,785,000	6,863,000
Average	11,289,000	18,902,000	7,613,000	3,171,000	4,441,000	3,297,000	1,143,000

The Bengal return for the year 1854-55 is taken from Bonnaud's 'Commercial Annual,' as the official papers have not yet been received from that Presidency.

As the statements in the above Table are understood to have been

<sup>1</sup> [ Mr. Low's Circulars furnish us with the actual shipments of treasure for India

prepared from official Custom-House returns, they may be accepted as *pro-tanto* authentic; and as the Government of the East India Company adhere to the highly primitive system of levying duties upon exports, the totals thus obtained are probably as trustworthy as the corresponding entries of imports.

As intimately connected with the subject of the demand for silver bullion in India, I also append a full return of the responsibilities undertaken by the East India Company on account of railways in course of construction. I have not been able to obtain exact statements of the several amounts actually expended in India—comprising the sums repaid by the Government in silver coin in return for the gold deposited in the treasury in Leadenhall Street—but the difference between the totals “paid in” and “re-issued in England” will furnish an approximate estimate of what the liability amounts to.

by the Peninsular and Oriental Company's vessels, during the years 1855, 1856, and 1857, amounting to the subjoined totals:—

1855.				
UNITED KINGDOM, <sup>a</sup> (January to December).			OTHER PORTS (11 months).	
Calcutta.....	Gold	£ 350	Silver	£ 2,299,235
Madras .....	„	17,789	„	177,173
Bombay.....	„	1,232	„	2,267,400
				51,344
		£ 19,371		£ 4,743,808
				£ 943,499

The grand total shipped for the East in 1855 was—From the United Kingdom: Gold, £948,272; Silver, £6,409,889. Other Ports: Gold, £243,239; Silver, £1,524,240.

1856.				
UNITED KINGDOM.			OTHER PORTS. (including Dec., 1855).	
Calcutta.....	Gold	£ 719	Silver	£ 3,417,091
Madras .....	„	28,523	„	213,781
Bombay.....	„	7,906	„	4,743,631
				163,216
		£ 37,148		£ 8,379,503
				£ 924,013

Total exports for the East from the United Kingdom for 1856: Gold, £404,749; Silver, £12,118,985. Other Ports: Gold, £74,039; Silver, £1,989,916.

1857.				
UNITED KINGDOM.			OTHER PORTS.	
Calcutta... Gold,	£ 36,040	Silver, £ 5,689,015	Gold, £30,896	Silver, £ 893,407
Madras ... „	97,788	403,646	„ 15,300	„ 460,710
Bombay... „	30,565	5,275,950	„ 16,161	„ 523,956
	£ 164,393	£ 11,368,611	£ 62,357	£ 1,888,073

Total exports for the East from the United Kingdom: Gold, £269,275; Silver, £16,795,232. Other Ports: Gold, £259,986; Silver, £3,350,689.

<sup>a</sup> [There were no shipments for either of the three Presidencies in January, and only £68,571 for Bombay in February, 1855.]

It may be necessary to add that the payments into the Company's Treasury on account of Railways commenced in 1848-49, and that the rate of exchange for Indian subscribers was permanently fixed at 1s. 10d. per Company's rupee.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE exhibiting the sums paid into the East India Company's Treasury, in London, on account of Railways in India, up to 30th Sept., 1856.

Names of Companies.	Capital sanctioned.	Total paid in.	Re-issued in England.
	£	£	£
East Indian.....	10,731,000	6,219,733	3,094,126
Great Indian Peninsula .....	4,000,000	2,525,113	866,263
Madras .....	4,000,000	1,926,354	1,027,805
Sind.....	500,000	265,614	92,480
Bombay and Baroda .....	500,000	334,511	58,891
	19,731,000	11,271,325	5,139,565 <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Of this total the sum of £ 869,301 has been disbursed as Interest on Capital.

Another important item bearing upon these details still remains to be noticed—that of the comparative value of the uncurrent silver coin received into the mint, as contrasted with the amount of bullion

<sup>1</sup> [The rate of exchange thus permanently established, irrespective of intrinsic value or any possible scheme of commercial par, has necessarily had the effect of insuring that nearly all the funds required for railways should be raised in England to the exclusion of Indian subscribers. The second Table at page 14 will indicate the intrinsic value of the Company's rupee, and its details will exemplify how the exchangeable value of that coin is liable to be affected by external influences; but, under ordinary circumstances, the par value may be fairly taken at 2s.; now, under this permanent and immutable arrangement, whatever the commercial rate of exchange might chance to rule at, Indian contributors to their own local railways had to pay 218 Company's rupees for every £20 share, or about 9 per cent. more than the nominal value of the stock, while under favorable rates of exchange, such as we have experienced of late, by remitting the money to England, the £20 share could be purchased for about 184 Company's rupees, making a total difference of no less than 17 per cent! In a similar degree have our Eastern speculators reason to complain of the comparative rates of interest; for while the Home Government was undertaking these millions of railway debts, and guaranteeing a *minimum* rate of profit at 5, and never less than 4½ per cent., the Government of India was endeavouring to persuade its obedient subjects that 4, and even 3½ per cent. (28th October, 1853) was quite as much as their money was worth; and the latter rate was not to form an ascending minimum like the railway guarantee, but a maximum, liable, on the contrary, to reduction at any favorable moment, after the manner of the extinguishment of the 5 per cents. in 1853 and their conversion into *fours*, the consentient holders of which were startled by the opening of a new loan at the former rate, in less than fourteen months after the completion of this—to use the words of the Governor-General—"not the less successful" operation. To sum up these contrasts, it is necessary to bear in mind the relative value of money in the two countries; which may be justly tested by the index until lately afforded by the legal rate of interest in each—that of India being 12, while that of England was 5 per cent.]



brought for coinage by individuals unconnected with the State :<sup>1</sup> the one indicating the amount of the old currency replaced by new coin, the other disclosing the increase made to the circulating medium; though this latter is liable to be affected by too many varying influences to be received as any criterion of the total permanently available to meet the monetary wants of the country.

I limit the present returns to the rupee or standard currency;<sup>2</sup> commencing with those of the year 1833-34, in order to embrace the entire period comprised in the parallel Table at page 81.

<sup>1</sup> [Notwithstanding his remark on the subject at page 41, Prinsep omitted to discriminate in his Table of the Coinages of the Calcutta Mint the separate amounts derived from each source. In the returns of the Provincial Mints (page 81) the difference is duly marked.]

<sup>2</sup> [The coinage of gold may be gathered, from the previous Tables, to have been in proportion to that of silver:

In the Calcutta Mint,	from 1801-2	to 1832-33	as 3.18	to 30.19
	from 1833-34	to 1854-55	as 1.32	to 41.68
Madras	from 1833-34	to 1854-55	as .73	to 5.25
Bombay	from 1833-34	to 1854-55	as .0071	to 24.

No gold was coined in the European mints of the North-Western Provinces.]

*Assay produce of Silver Bullion received into the Mints of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, in each year from 1833-34 to 1854-55; and of the value of the Silver Coinages for the same period.*

	CALCUTTA MINT.			MADRAS MINT.			BOMBAY MINT.		
	Assay produce of Silver received from individuals.	Silver Coinage.	Value of uncurrent coins received from Treasury officers.	Assay produce of Silver received from individuals.	Silver Coinage.	Value of uncurrent coins received from Treasury officers.	Assay produce of Silver received from individuals.	Value of uncurrent coins received from Treasury officers.	Silver Coinage.
1833-34	Rupces. 1,14,14,455	Rupces. 1,23,47,561	Rupces. 64,08,247	Rupces. 19,66,073	Rupces. 43,11,500	Rupces. 10,03,869	Rupces. 10,03,869	Rupces. 79,287	Rupces. 10,83,156
1834-35	83,08,557	1,33,10,055	36,99,588	20,15,465	35,21,000	47,55,828	47,55,828	3,19,458	50,75,286
1835-36	80,88,265	1,62,49,960	1,36,85,562	16,95,848		54,88,186	54,88,186	9,46,578	64,34,764
1836-37	66,55,749	2,08,14,302	2,01,44,738			59,36,244	59,36,244	23,35,633	82,71,877
1837-38	1,30,96,273	2,09,34,103	1,17,80,627			58,21,565	58,21,565	59,04,008	1,09,48,636
1838-39	1,41,26,786	2,67,63,743	99,74,839			60,53,727	60,53,727	59,51,267	1,17,72,822
1839-40	1,25,58,782	1,65,77,576	90,22,939			61,68,870	61,68,870	31,75,174	1,20,38,286
1840-41	1,04,76,052	1,64,10,686	56,52,719			43,74,350	43,74,350	77,02,971	51,75,329
1841-42	97,71,487	2,51,26,312	84,49,146						
From China	64,66,215			4,77,640	25,72,855				
1842-43	1,76,80,544	2,06,11,864	19,75,137	9,11,236	8,07,271	39,51,850	39,51,850	20,98,840	1,07,95,668
1843-44	1,93,12,790	2,17,66,075	39,23,306	11,93,613	36,17,818	1,48,90,842	1,48,90,842	19,65,848	2,07,32,497
1844-45	1,86,68,022	2,83,35,602	92,63,533	3,96,322	20,31,130	1,65,67,857	1,65,67,857	8,19,571	1,64,60,180
1845-46	94,90,729	2,25,32,332	70,18,940	5,31,824	25,51,079	1,26,71,208	1,26,71,208	47,71,270	1,36,60,807
1846-47	95,64,692	1,64,78,122	68,83,535	2,01,602	52,38,762	56,45,965	56,45,965	19,98,206	66,46,956
From China	24,17,314								
1847-48	44,90,831	1,01,19,938	34,44,763	1,03,186	28,95,526	16,21,861	16,21,861	24,76,891	42,07,359
1848-49	92,10,387	1,33,03,269	52,59,827	1,76,611	12,11,847	Returns not obtainable.	Returns not obtainable.		1,11,92,701
1849-50	1,03,14,857	1,35,97,117	2,39,889	9,48,888	8,64,372	88,24,597	88,24,597	13,26,050	86,50,554
1850-51	95,77,598	1,21,31,097	33,33,334	11,96,864	19,15,784	1,19,45,874	1,19,45,874	47,13,940	1,20,78,906
1851-52	1,97,62,183	1,78,80,191	19,56,609	15,16,247	13,53,124	1,60,77,378	1,60,77,378	62,78,538	2,08,97,949
1852-53	2,71,48,980	2,73,66,206	27,57,583	58,20,920	39,35,171	2,20,43,730	2,20,43,730	13,51,825	2,37,98,471
1853-54	1,43,66,179	2,31,82,702	30,60,547	49,23,033	6,80,475	1,35,36,875	1,35,36,875	42,83,536	2,20,00,817
1854-55	12,79,622	70,43,170	43,95,048	9,10,176	4,00,710	25,75,235	25,75,235	13,15,423	37,47,416
	27,41,57,349	41,68,81,983	14,54,51,618	2,17,61,784	3,07,76,437	17,56,00,638	17,56,00,638	6,56,83,863	24,60,99,288
	41,96,08,967			5,25,38,221				24,12,84,208	

The diminished coinage in 1851-52 is attributed (authoritatively) to the decrease in the imports of silver bullion in that year.

It will be seen from the above figured details, that, during the last twenty-two years, the grand total of the coinage of silver in the East India Company's mints has reached no less a sum than 71,55,49,286 rupees, or £71,554,928: towards this amount 24,19,11,918 rupees were contributed by the old metal of the worn or recalled currencies; and 47,15,19,671 rupees constituted the proportion of bullion brought for coinage by individuals. It may be instructive to test a section of these returns in connexion with the statistics furnished by the bullion trade of India, illustrated at page 83. To select the same eight years for which the figures have been tabulated in that statement (*i.e.* 1846-7 to 1853-4), it is to be observed, that the total amount of silver bullion—in excess of the returned coin—minted at the three Presidencies, during the period, was over 20 crore of rupees, or twenty millions sterling;<sup>1</sup> while the balance of silver bullion remaining in India, on the traffic of the same interval, is seen to amount to 14,42,82,180 rupees, or less than fourteen and a half millions sterling. The results of the two returns are not so directly dependent on each other, that their non-accordance need cause surprise, nor is there any reason why the five and a half millions of surplus coin may not have been re-exported in that shape, in the ordinary course, even if we did not know that the Company's rupee has hitherto supplied much of the circulating medium of Ceylon, the Mauritius, and the Straits settlements. There is no ground for supposing that any quantity of the silver bullion, used for Mint purposes, is at this time supplied by India itself—though it contributed not unimportantly to the local mints up to 1832-33.<sup>2</sup> We may fairly, therefore, take the ebb and flow of bullion, in the every-day transactions of commerce, as a momentary

<sup>1</sup> [*Detail of Silver Bullion, over and above the recalled coin, minted at the three Presidencies.*]

For the years	Company's Rupees.	
1846-47 .....	1,78,29,573	5,28,11,792, excluding Bombay for 1848-49.
1847-48 .....	62,15,878	
1848-49 .....	93,86,998	
1849-50 .....	1,93,79,343	14,74,15,861
1850-51 .....	2,27,20,336	
1851-52 .....	3,73,55,808	
1852-53 .....	5,45,13,630	
1853-54 .....	3,28,26,087	
	Co's Rs. 20,02,27,653	
Bengal total .....	10,68,53,021	
Madras total .....	1,36,78,352	
Bombay total .....	7,96,96,280	
	Co's Rs. 20,02,27,653 —]	

<sup>2</sup> [See Table, page 81.]

index of the amount of coin removed by sea-transport; though such a test would by no means demonstrate either the maximum or minimum of that drain in exceptional instances. The inland or conterminous absorption of coined money, on the other hand, is far beyond the reach of the boldest speculation; but, with an existing frontier line extending from Mekrán to the Straits of Malacca, and with the various imperfectly civilized races on our borders all seeking eagerly for the precious metals, we may imagine that the outgoing in these directions can scarcely be inconsiderable. However, even admitting that India temporarily retains the full 14.4 millions of the 20 coined for her in eight years, the amount can by no means be said to be excessive,<sup>1</sup> nor is it to be expected—while the monetary laws remain as at present constituted—that the demand should be proportionately lessened; and, as much has been written regarding the undue absorption of bullion by India at large, it may be fitting that I should observe that, whatever may have constituted the attracting magnet, or wherever the ultimate resting-place of the precious metals may have been, in olden times; there is now good and sufficient reason why silver should continue to flow towards our Eastern dominions. Not to touch upon the obvious commercial necessities of our trade as of late balanced, it is to be remembered that India has advanced considerably in material prosperity: not only is there enhanced security of life and property, together with a manifest and natural increase of the population, but the facilities of traffic and real wealth have progressed with equal strides under our rule. There is now but little object in hoarding, less in secreting; the palpable value of money is better understood; and even its conversion into ornaments has comparatively ceased since the introduction of the more extensively alloyed rupee, the hardness of the metal of which neither workers

<sup>1</sup> [The population returns, though most minutely accurate for some portions of India, are but mere guess-work for others. The following is the latest return I have been able to obtain at the East India House. This will give for British India a return of 1.1 rupee per head of increase to the currency in eight years:

POPULATION OF INDIA.

Under direct administration of the Governor-General (including the Panjáb, Nagpore, and Oude) .....	23,055,972
Under Lieut.-Governor of Bengal .....	41,212,562
Under Lieut.-Governor of North-West Provinces.....	33,216,365
Under Governor of Madras.....	22,437,297
Under Governor of Bombay.....	11,109,067
<hr/>	<hr/>
Total British Possessions.....	131,031,263
Total Independent and protected Native States.....	48,423,630
Total Foreign States (French and Portuguese).....	517,149

Total 179,972,042 —]

nor wearers approve. Equally have the advantages of direct money payments reached the comprehension of the masses, for not only, as has been remarked,<sup>1</sup> do the landholders no longer pay the Government demand in kind, but, more important still, the adherence to that primitive mode of liquidation has been generally discontinued among the village communities in their internal apportionment of responsibilities.

I may be permitted, in conclusion, to remark, in regard to the proposed re-introduction of a gold coinage, that I am altogether opposed to such a measure. A metal that must be expected progressively to fall in value—whatever the immediate needs of Europe may seem to evidence to the contrary—is not calculated to be favorably received by the people of India, especially as its market rate has already been sensibly affected in that country by the gold discoveries of Australia.

However, on the other hand, I am confident that much of the threatened difficulty might be met by a well-devised scheme for a paper currency, to consist of Government Notes duly notified as legal tenders, and definitively recognised as receivable in payment of the State revenue; but, in such a case, there must be no reservation of "until further orders," as in the Gold Proclamation of 1841; nor must there be permitted to exist a possibility of any future Administration reducing the One Hundred Rupee Note into one of the current value of eighty,<sup>2</sup> as was effected, in regard to all the securities involved, by the conversion of the old five per cent. stock. Possibly few nations could be met with, better prepared than the people of India, to accept a sound and carefully elaborated plan for a representative currency. As contrasted with their conventional morality, whether religious or social, their commercial faith and probity stand out in prominent relief. What they respect among themselves, they revere in their rulers; and, in spite of some awkward incidents in the history of British India, the English name still stands exalted with the mass of the population, who have concerned themselves less about

<sup>1</sup> [Col. Sykes, *supra cit.*, p. 84.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Government orders of 1853-54 directly affected the interest alone of the funds assailed—reducing it from 5 to 4 per cent.—the selling price of the securities remaining little below par; but the opening of the 5 per cent. loan of 1855 depreciated the market value of the principal of the converted stock, in proportion to the relatively enhanced rate of interest offered under the new loan. In the one case, the public naturally inferred that the Government was acting in good faith, and justified—by knowledge inaccessible to the non-official world—in the reduction enforced; a feeling that was still further confirmed by the distinctive proclamation of the closing of all open 4 per cent. loans, and the invitation of subscriptions at 3½ per cent. In the second instance, those who had relied upon the equity, superior information, or prescience of the Government, discovered their error.]

the acts and policy of the Central Government, than the immediate rule of the high-principled gentlemen whom this country has ordinarily sent to administer in detail the local sections of our Eastern empire. In similar relative degree to their advancement and civilization, does their knowledge of the intricacies of banking and exchange strike our European perceptions; so that, whether under the aspect of confidence in our probity, or comprehension of our measures, the Indian public may be said to be fully prepared to welcome an improved and enlarged system of state finance. But, as I desire to confine myself to the record of facts, and ordinarily abstain from speculation or argument, I bring these observations to a somewhat abrupt close.—E.T.]

[As Prinsep's Useful Tables are now definitively associated with his Numismatic Essays, it will be expedient to amplify the former by any information regarding Indian coinage equivalents or monetary values that may chance to be readily accessible; I therefore append a few notes on these subjects, extracted from that admirable work, Sir H. M. Elliot's 'Glossary of Terms used in the North-Western Provinces of India.'<sup>1</sup>

"DUMREE, **دُمِرِي دَمَرِي** damrī. . . . Dumree is commonly known as a nominal coin, equal to  $3\frac{1}{8}$  or  $3\frac{1}{4}$  Dams; or between 2 and 3 Gundas—so that a Dumree varies from 8 to 12 Cowrees, according to the good will and pleasure of the money-changers. It may be useful to subjoin from the 'Dewan Pusund' a table showing the value of Dumrees and Dams:—

1 Dumree,	...	...	...	...	$3\frac{1}{8}$	dams.		
2 Dumrees,	...	...	...	...	$6\frac{1}{4}$	dams,	.....	1 chhudam.
3 Dumrees,	...	...	...	...	$9\frac{1}{4}$	dams.		
4 Dumrees,	...	...	...	...	$12\frac{1}{2}$	dams,	.....	1 adhela.
5 Dumrees,	...	...	...	...	15	dams.		
6 Dumrees,	...	...	...	...	$18\frac{3}{4}$	dams,	.....	$\frac{3}{4}$ puesa.
7 Dumrees,	...	...	...	...	22	dams.		
8 Dumrees,	...	...	...	...	25	dams,	.....	1 puesa.
9 Dumrees,	...	...	...	...	28	dams.		
10 Dumrees,	...	...	...	...	$31\frac{1}{4}$	dams,	.....	$1\frac{1}{4}$ puesa.
11 Dumrees,	...	...	...	...	$34\frac{1}{4}$	dams.		
12 Dumrees,	...	...	...	...	$37\frac{1}{4}$	dams,	.....	$1\frac{1}{2}$ puesa.
13 Dumrees,	...	...	...	...	40	dams.		
14 Dumrees,	...	...	...	...	44	dams,	.....	$1\frac{3}{4}$ puesa.

<sup>1</sup> [To those who are curious in the science of numbers and would study the progressive arrangement of popular totals, I would recommend the perusal of the elaborate article, 'Chaurási,' p. 151.]

15 Dumrees, ... ..	47 dams.
16 Dumrees, ... ..	50 dams, ..... 1 tuka.

The table is given with some slight variations in the 'Zoobdutu-l-Quwaneen,' but in neither are the smaller fractional amounts given with correctness.

"DAM, دام دَام dam. . . . The Dam in the Ayeen-i-Akberree, and in most Revenue accounts, is considered to be the 40th part of a rupee; but to the common people it is known as the 50th part of a Tuka: 25 therefore go to a Pysa, and 12½ to an Adhela.

"CHHUDAM, چھدام छदाम chhadám. . . . Literally, six dams; equal to two dumrees. The proper amount is six and a quarter dams, but by abbreviation it is called Chhudam.

"GUNDA, گنڈا गंडा gandá. . . . Like the Dam, the Gunda of account and the Gunda of practice do not coincide. Gundas of account are but little used in the North-Western Provinces, except in Benáres and the Dehra Doon, and, in consequence of its former subjection to Oudh, the Nuzurána accounts of Rohilcund are frequently drawn out in Gundas. This Gunda is the 20th part of an Anna. The Gunda known to the common people is not of stable amount; sometimes four, and sometimes five, and sometimes even six, go to a pukka Dumree, or Chhudam, according to the pleasure of the money dealers, or the state of the market. Notwithstanding this variable amount, as a Gunda is equivalent to four Cowrees, 'to count by Gundas,' signifies to count by fours, or by the quaternary scale, to which the natives are very partial;—in the same way as to count by gahees, or punjas, is to count by fives, or by the quinary scale. As four Cowrees make one Gunda, so do twenty Gundas make one Pun, and sixteen Puns make one Kuháwun. But there are grades of monetary value even below that of Cowree; for the Hindús seem as fond of dealing with these infinitesimal quantities, as they are with the higher numbers, as exemplified in the article Crore. Thus 3 Crant, or 4 Kak, or 5 But, or 9 Dunt, or 27 Jou, or 32 Dar, or 80 Til, or 800 Suno are each equivalent to one Cowree. These are not in practical use in the North-Western Provinces, but are entered in several account books, and many of them appear to be employed in the Bazar translations of Cuttack and parts of Bengal. See Rushton's 'Gazetteer,' vol. i., p. 182, 1841. The Cowree shell, the Cypræa Moneta, has been subject to strange diminution of value, in consequence of the facilities of commerce, by which their worth has been depressed below that of the precious metals. In 1740, a rupee exchanged for 2,400 Cowrees; in 1756, for 2,560 Cowrees; and at this time as many as 6,500 Cowrees may be obtained for the rupee. Cowree in Persian is translated by Khur-mohra, literally, a 'jackass's' or 'mule's' shell; because mules are ornamented in that country with trappings of shells, as a Gossain's bullock is in this country. In Arabia it is known by Wuda, which Ibn Batuta says is carried in large quantities from the Maldivé Islands to Bengal, where it is used as coin; and therefore there can be no doubt that the Cypræa Moneta is meant. The Kamoos adds

تعلق الدفء العين that it is suspended from the neck to avert the evil eye, as it is in India to this day,<sup>1</sup> provided the neck shell is split or broken. Among European nations, excepting the English, these shells are known by the name of Porceli,

<sup>1</sup> ["Gunda is also the name applied to the knotted string which is suspended round a child's neck for the same purpose; but not, apparently, because it has any connection with the Cowree Amulet."]

Porcelain, Porcellanen, and Porcelaine, on account of the fancied resemblance of their shape to that of the back of a little pig, whence we have the Chinese porcelain, of which the glaze, or varnish, is similar to that of the Cowree.

"CRORE, करोड़ कड़ोड़ karor . . . . Ten millions. The names of the higher numbers are thus given in the 'Zoobdut-ool-Quwaneen.' 100 Crore = 1 Urub; 100 Urub = 1 K,hurub; 100 K,hurub = 1 Neel; 100 Neel = 1 Pudum; 100 Pudum = 1 Sunk,h; 100 Sunk,h = 1 Uld; 100 Uld = 1 Unk; 100 Unk = 1 Pudha." ]



## BRITISH INDIAN WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

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The system of Weights established by Regulation VII. of 1833, is founded on the same unit as the rupee of the equalized monetary system of British India, it having been found that the weight of the Madras, Bombay, and Farrukhabád rupee, already very generally used throughout Upper and Western India, as the foundation of the Ser and Man, could be substituted for the sikká weight of Bengal by a very slight modification of the latter, which would be hardly perceptible in commercial dealings. Other palpable advantages of the introduction of the new weight were pointed out,<sup>1</sup> of which it is only necessary here to allude to the three following:—

1. That the *man* formed from the modified weight would be precisely equal to one hundred English troy pounds; and

2. That thirty-five *sers* would also be precisely equal to seventy-two pounds avoirdupois:—thus establishing a simple connection void of fractions, between the two English metrical scales and that of India.

3. The weight of the new unit nearly accorded with the average weight of many of the native tolás sent home for examination at the London mint, by order of the Honourable Court of Directors; as well as with that of Akbar, deduced from the weight of many coins of that emperor.

We shall begin the present division of our subject, as in the case of the Indian coins, by setting forth in the first instance the present legal system, and afterwards providing a brief descriptive catalogue of the many other weights prevailing throughout the Company's provinces, with comparative tables for the conversion of one denomination into the other.

The unit of the British Indian ponderary system is called the tolá. It weighs 180 grains English troy weight. From it upwards

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* a paper on the subject in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal' for October, 1832, vol. i., p. 445.

are derived the heavy weights, viz.:—Chhaták, Ser, and Man (or Maund); and, by its subdivisions, the small or jeweller's weights, called Máshas, Ratís, and Dháns.

The following scheme comprehends both of these in one series:—

Man.	Panserí. <sup>1</sup>	Ser. <sup>2</sup>	Chhaták. <sup>3</sup>	Tolá. <sup>4</sup>	Másha. <sup>5</sup>	Ratí. <sup>6</sup>	Dhán. <sup>7</sup>
1	8	40	640	3200	38400	307200	1228800
	1	5	80	400	4800	38400	153600
		1	16	80	960	7680	30720
			1	5	60	480	1920
				1	12	96	384
					1	8	32
						1	4

The *man* (or that weight to which it closely accords in value, and to which it is legally equivalent in the new scale) has been hitherto better known among Europeans by the name of 'bázár maund,' but upon its general adoption, under Regulation VII. of 1833, for all transactions of the British Government, it should be denominated the British Maund (in Hindí, *Angrezí Man*), to distinguish it at once from all other weights in use throughout the country.<sup>8</sup>

The Panserí is, as its name denotes, a five-ser weight, and therefore should not form an integrant point of the scale; but, as its use is very general, it has been introduced for the convenience of reference.

The Ser being the commonest weight in use in the retail business of the bázárs in India, and being liable, according to the pernicious system hitherto prevalent, to vary in weight for every article sold as well as for every market, is generally referred to the common unit in native mercantile dealings, as, "the ser of so many tolás," (or sikkás, barís, takás, etc.). The standard or bázár ser being always 80 tolás.

The chhaták is the lowest denomination of the gross weights, and is commonly divided into halves and quarters (called in Bengálí, *kachcha*) thus marking the line between the two series, which are otherwise connected by the relation of the ser, etc. to the tolá.

The tolá is chiefly used in the weighing of the precious metals and

<sup>1</sup> *Panserí*, پنسیری from پنچ or پانچ, पञ्च "five," and سير "a ser."

<sup>2</sup> *Ser*, शेर शेटक (Shakespear सेटक), سير.

<sup>3</sup> *Chhaták*, छटाक from स. षट्, "six," and अंक "a mark."

<sup>4</sup> *Tolá*, तोला तोला.

<sup>5</sup> *Másha*, माष माषا, ماشه.

<sup>6</sup> *Ratí*, स. रति, रती, रती, रत्तिका.

<sup>7</sup> *Dhán*, धान्य 'grain, rice.'

<sup>8</sup> In the same way the Madras, Bombay, Farrukhabad rupee (when the sikká rupee is abolished, and an English device adopted), may be called "the British rupee," and in the native languages *Rupya Angrezí*.

coin; all bullion at the mints is received in this denomination, and the tables of bullion produce (as seen in the foregoing pages) are calculated per 100 tolás. It is also usual at the mints to make the subdivisions of the tolá into ánás (sixteenths) and pá'ís, in lieu of máshas and ratís.

Máshas, ratís, and dháns, are used chiefly by native goldsmiths and jewellers. They are also employed in the native evaluation by assay of the precious metals; thus, '10 máshas fine' signifies 10-12ths pure, and corresponds to '10oz. touch' of the English assay report of silver. There is a closer accordance with the English gold assay scale, inasmuch as the 96 ratís in a tolá exactly represent the 96 carat grains in the gold assay pound, and the dhán, the quarter-grain. As it is sometimes necessary to convert the assay report from one denomination into the other,<sup>1</sup> the following comparative table is here inserted.

TABLE of the Correspondence of English and Indian Assay Weights.

ENGLISH ASSAY.			HINDU ASSAY FOR BOTH METALS.			ENGLISH ASSAY.			HINDU ASSAY.		
Silver.	Gold.		Silver.	Gold.		Silver.	Gold.		Silver.	Gold.	
Touch.	Touch.	Fine.	Touch.	Touch.	Fine.	Touch.	Touch.	Fine.	Touch.	Touch.	Fine.
oz. dwts.	ct. grs.	msh. rat.	oz. dwts.	ct. grs.	msh. rat.	oz. dwts.	ct. grs.	msh. rat.	oz. dwts.	ct. grs.	msh. rat.
12 0	24 0	12 0	11 0	22 0	11 0	10 0	20 0	10 0	10 0	20 0	10 0
11 17½	23 3	11 7	10 17½	21 3	10 7	9 17½	19 3	9 7	9 17½	19 3	9 7
11 15	23 2	11 6	10 15	21 2	10 6	9 15	19 2	9 6	9 15	19 2	9 6
11 12½	23 1	11 5	10 12½	21 1	10 5	9 12½	19 1	9 5	9 12½	19 1	9 5
11 10	23 0	11 4	10 10	21 0	10 4	9 10	19 0	9 4	9 10	19 0	9 4
11 7½	22 3	11 3	10 7½	20 3	10 3	9 7½	18 3	9 3	9 7½	18 3	9 3
11 5	22 2	11 2	10 5	20 2	10 2	9 5	18 2	9 2	9 5	18 2	9 2
11 2½	22 1	11 1	10 2½	20 1	10 1	9 2½	18 1	9 1	9 2½	18 1	9 1

(To find the corresponding decimal assay, see the tables in pages 10, 11. The English assay report is generally 'so much worse (or better)' than standard, but the touch is easily known therefrom, the standard being 11 oz. for silver and 22 carats for gold; or 11 máshas, Hindú reckoning.)

The correspondence of the Indian system of weights with the troy weight of England, and with the 'système métrical' of France, may be best shown by a table. The coincidence of the former is perfect: in the latter, the másha nearly accords with the gramme, and the ser with the kilogramme.

BRITISH INDIAN WEIGHTS.	ENGLISH TROY WEIGHTS.				FRENCH WEIGHTS.
	lbs.	oz.	dwts.	grs.	grammes.
One Man .....	= 100	0	0	0	= 37320.182
One Ser .....	= 2	6	0	0	= 933.005
One Chhaták .....	= 0	1	17	12	= 58.310
One Tolá.....	= 0	0	7	12	= 11.662
One Másha.....	= 0	0	0	15	= 0.972
One Ratí.....	= 0	0	0	1.875	= 0.122

<sup>1</sup> Especially in the translation of Regulations concerning the mints, the English expressions being unintelligible without explanation.

For the conversion of English troy weights into those of India, the following scale will suffice, since the simplicity of their relation renders a more detailed table unnecessary.

Lb. Troy.	Oz.	Dwt.	Grain.		Tolás and Decimals.
1	12	240	5760	=	32.000
	1	20	480	=	2.6666 etc.
		1	24	=	0.1333 etc.
			1	=	0.0055 etc.

The accordance of the *man* weight with the 100lbs. troy of England affords a ready means of ascertaining its relative value in the standards of other countries employed in weighing the precious metals, since tables of the latter are generally expressed in lbs. troy. The following are a few of the valuations for the principal weights of Europe, etc. extracted from Kelly's 'Cambist,' p. 222. The weights in troy grains have been converted into tolás by dividing them by 180.

TABLE of Comparison of the Told and Man with the Gold and Silver, or Troy, weights of other countries.

PLACE AND DENOMINATION.		Weight of a single lb. mark, etc. in tolás.	Number equal to 1 man, or 100 lbs. roy.
ALEPPO.....	Metical.....	0.405	7890.410
BASRA .....	Miscal .....	0.450	8000.000
CAIRO .....	Rottolo.....	36.965	86.564
CALICUT .....	Miscal .....	0.383	8347.826
CHINA .....	Tael .....	3.221	993.446
CONSTANTINOPLE..	Chequee .....	27.538	116.199
DAMASCUS.....	Ounce .....	2.600	1252.173
DENMARK.....	Mark .....	20.183	158.546
ENGLAND.....	Pound .....	32.000	100.000
FRANCE .....	Kilogramme.....	85.745	37.320
GERMANY .....	Cologne mark .....	20.044	159.645
HOLLAND.....	Mark .....	21.100	151.658
ITALY ...	Florence and Leghorn libra ..	29.111	109.923
MOCHA .....	Vakia .....	2.655	1205.020
PEGU.....	Tical.....	1.138	2427.307
PERSIA .....	Dirham.....	0.839	3812.297
PORTUGAL.....	Mark .....	19.675	162.642
PRUSSIA .....	Mark .....	20.050	159.600
ROME .....	Libbra .....	29.077	110.049
RUSSIA .....	Pound .....	35.102	91.161
SPAIN .....	Mark .....	19.725	162.230
VENICE.....	Mark .....	20.452	156.457
VIENNA.....	Mark .....	24.072	132.933

The principal dealings in bullion being with England, where it is weighed by the pound troy, while in India it is received by the tolá, a simple table for the mutual conversion of these two weights (without regard to mans and sers) may be useful: it needs no explanation.

TABLE for the mutual conversion of Tolds and Pounds Troy.

TOLÁS into POUNDS TROY and DECIMALS.				TROY POUNDS into TOLÁS.			
Tolás.	Pounds.	Tolás.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Tolás.	Pounds.	Tolás.
1000	31.2500	550	17.1875	100	3200	55	1760
990	30.9375	540	16.8750	99	3168	54	1728
980	30.6250	530	16.5625	98	3136	53	1696
970	30.3125	520	16.2500	97	3104	52	1664
960	30.0000	510	15.9375	96	3072	51	1632
950	29.6875	500	15.6250	95	3040	50	1600
940	29.3750	490	15.3125	94	3008	49	1568
930	29.0625	480	15.0000	93	2976	48	1536
920	28.7500	470	14.6875	92	2944	47	1504
910	28.4375	460	14.3750	91	2912	46	1472
900	28.1250	450	14.0625	90	2880	45	1440
890	27.8125	440	13.7500	89	2848	44	1408
880	27.5000	430	13.4375	88	2816	43	1376
870	27.1875	420	13.1250	87	2784	42	1344
860	26.8750	410	12.8125	86	2752	41	1312
850	26.5625	400	12.5000	85	2720	40	1280
840	26.2500	390	12.1875	84	2688	39	1248
830	25.9375	380	11.8750	83	2656	38	1216
820	25.6250	370	11.5625	82	2624	37	1184
810	25.3125	360	11.2500	81	2592	36	1152
800	25.0000	350	10.9375	80	2560	35	1120
790	24.6875	340	10.6250	79	2528	34	1088
780	24.3750	330	10.3125	78	2496	33	1056
770	24.0625	320	10.0000	77	2464	32	1024
760	23.7500	310	9.6875	76	2432	31	992
750	23.4375	300	9.3750	75	2400	30	960
740	23.1250	290	9.0625	74	2368	29	928
730	22.8125	280	8.7500	73	2336	28	896
720	22.5000	270	8.4375	72	2304	27	864
710	22.1875	260	8.1250	71	2272	26	832
700	21.8750	250	7.8125	70	2240	25	800
690	21.5625	240	7.5000	69	2208	24	768
680	21.2500	230	7.1875	68	2176	23	736
670	20.9375	220	6.8750	67	2144	22	704
660	20.6250	210	6.5625	66	2112	21	672
650	20.3125	200	6.2500	65	2080	20	640
640	20.0000	190	5.9375	64	2048	19	608
630	19.6875	180	5.6250	63	2016	18	576
620	19.3750	170	5.3125	62	1984	17	544
610	19.0625	160	5.0000	61	1952	16	512
600	18.7500	150	4.6875	60	1920	15	480
590	18.4375	140	4.3750	59	1888	14	448
580	18.1250	130	4.0625	58	1856	13	416
570	17.8125	120	3.7500	57	1824	12	384
560	17.5000	100	3.4375	56	1792	11	352

To convert the decimals of a lb. into ounces and dwts., and vice versa.

12 oz. = 1.000	6 oz. = 0.500	20 dwt. = 0.083	9 dwt. = 0.037
11     .916	5     .416	18     .075	7     .029
10     .833	4     .333	16     .066	5     .020
9     .750	3     .250	14     .058	3     .012
8     .666	2     .166	12     .051	2     .008
7     .583	1     .083	10     .041	1     .004

1 ounce troy = 2.667 tolás, or 2 tolás 8 máshas.  
 $7\frac{1}{2}$  dwts. „ = 1 tolá, and 1 dwt. = 1.33 tolá.

The same degree of correspondence cannot be expected between the Indian weights and the avoirdupois weights of England; but, as the latter are employed in all the transactions of commerce, excepting those of bullion and some other trifling articles, it becomes necessary to give tables for their conversion at greater length. In these, as on former occasions, the system of expressing fractions in decimals has been preferred, from the very great facility it affords in taking out the equivalents of quantities to which the tables do not extend. Decimal numeration is too well understood in the present day to require explanation, but one example may be advantageously given as applying to all the tables hereafter constructed on the same principle:

*Required the equivalent of 57,353 mans, 35 sers, 6 chhatdks, in avoirdupois pounds.*

Taking the numbers opposite to 57, 35, and 30 respectively, and removing the decimal point,—in the first three places, to the right hand;—in the second, one place to the right;—and in the third, one place to the left, we have

57,000 mans	=	4690286.
350	=	38800.
3	=	246.857
37 sers	=	76.114
6 chhats.	=	.771

lbs. 4719409.742 = 12 ounces nearly.

Since 35 sers are exactly equal to 72 pounds avoirdupois, the following simple and accurate rules for their mutual conversion, will be found equally convenient with the table.

**RULE I.**—*To convert Indian weight into avoirdupois weight.*

1. Multiply the weight in sers by 72, and divide by 35: the result will be the weight in lbs. av.
2. Or, multiply the weight in mans by 36, and divide by 49: the result will be the weight in cwt. av.

**RULE II.**—*To convert avoirdupois weight into Indian weight.*

1. Multiply the weight in lbs. av. by 35, and divide by 72; the result will be the weight in sers.
2. Or, multiply the weight in cwts. by 49, and divide by 36: the result will be the weight in mans, or maunds.<sup>1</sup>

One ton = 27.222 mans, or  $27\frac{1}{4}$  mans nearly.

One man =  $82\frac{2}{7}$  lbs. av. exactly.

<sup>1</sup> For facility of recollection this rule may be expressed in *arithmetical* poetry thus:

Of one hundred weight should you incline  
A sum in Indian mans to fix;—  
First multiply by forty-nine,  
And then divide by thirty-six.

TABLE for converting *New Bazar Mans (or Maunds), Sers, and Chhatdks, into Avoirdupois Pounds, and Decimals.*

Mans.	Pounds, Avoir.	Mans.	Pounds, Avoir.	Sers.	Pounds, Av.	Value of oz. and dram in decimals of lb.
100	8228.571	55	4525.714	sers 40	82.286	oz. dec. 16 = 1.0000
99	8146.285	54	4443.429	39	80.228	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ .9687
98	8064.000	53	4361.143	38	78.171	15 $\frac{1}{4}$ .9375
97	7981.714	52	4278.857	37	76.114	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ .9063
96	7899.428	51	4196.572	36	74.057	14 $\frac{1}{4}$ .8750
95	7817.142	50	4114.286	35	72.000	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ .8438
94	7734.857	49	4032.000	34	69.943	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ .8125
93	7652.571	48	3949.715	33	67.886	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ .7813
92	7570.285	47	3867.429	32	65.829	12 $\frac{1}{4}$ .7500
91	7488.000	46	3785.143	31	63.771	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ .7188
90	7405.714	45	3702.857	30	61.714	11 $\frac{1}{4}$ .6875
89	7323.428	44	3620.572	29	59.657	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ .6563
88	7241.143	43	3538.286	28	57.600	10 $\frac{1}{4}$ .6250
87	7158.857	42	3456.000	27	55.543	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ .5938
86	7076.571	41	3373.715	26	53.486	9 $\frac{1}{4}$ .5625
85	6994.285	40	3291.429	25	51.429	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ .5313
84	6912.000	39	3209.143	24	49.371	8 $\frac{1}{4}$ .5000
83	6829.714	38	3126.858	23	47.314	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ .4688
82	6747.428	37	3044.572	22	45.257	7 $\frac{1}{4}$ .4375
81	6665.143	36	2962.286	21	43.200	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ .4063
80	6582.857	35	2880.000	20	41.143	6 $\frac{1}{4}$ .3750
79	6500.571	34	2797.715	19	39.086	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ .3438
78	6418.286	33	2715.429	18	37.029	5 $\frac{1}{4}$ .3125
77	6336.000	32	2633.143	17	34.971	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ .2813
76	6253.714	31	2550.858	16	32.914	4 $\frac{1}{4}$ .2500
75	6171.428	30	2468.572	15	30.857	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ .2188
74	6089.143	29	2386.286	14	28.800	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ .1875
73	6066.857	28	2304.000	13	26.743	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ .1563
72	5924.571	27	2221.715	12	24.686	2 $\frac{1}{4}$ .1250
71	5842.286	26	2139.429	11	22.628	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .0938
70	5760.000	25	2057.143	10	20.571	1 $\frac{1}{4}$ .0625
69	5677.714	24	1974.858	9	18.514	15 drs. = .0586
68	5595.429	23	1892.572	8	16.457	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ .0547
67	5513.143	22	1810.286	7	14.400	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ .0508
66	5430.857	21	1728.000	6	12.343	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ .0469
65	5348.571	20	1645.715	5	10.286	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ .0430
64	5266.286	19	1563.430	4	8.229	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ .0391
63	5184.000	18	1481.144	3	6.171	9 $\frac{1}{2}$ .0351
62	5101.714	17	1398.858	2	4.114	8 $\frac{1}{2}$ .0312
61	5019.429	16	1316.573	1	2.057	7 $\frac{1}{2}$ .0274
60	4937.143	15	1234.287	Chhat. 8	1.028	6 $\frac{1}{2}$ .0234
59	4854.857	14	1152.000	4	0.514	5 $\frac{1}{2}$ .0194
58	4772.572	13	1069.715	3	0.386	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ .0156
57	4690.286	12	987.430	2	0.257	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ .0117
56	4608.000	11	905.144	1	0.129	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ .0078

(The last column serves for the conversion of the decimals of a pound avoirdupois into ounces and drams. It will be found useful also with the two following Tables.)

TABLE for the conversion of *Mans* (or *Maunds*) into *Tons*, *Hundred-weights*, and *Pounds*.

Mans.	Tons.	cwts.	lbs.	Mans.	Tons.	cwts.	lbs.
100000	3673	9	43.00	100	3	13	52.57
10000	367	6	105.10	90	3	6	13.72
9000	330	12	27.39	80	2	18	86.86
8000	293	17	61.68	70	2	11	48.00
7000	257	2	95.97	60	2	4	9.14
6000	220	8	18.26	50	1	16	82.29
5000	183	13	52.55	40	1	9	43.43
4000	146	18	86.84	30	1	2	4.57
3000	110	4	9.13	20	0	14	77.71
2000	73	9	43.42	10	0	7	38.85
1000	36	14	77.71	9	0	6	68.57
900	33	1	25.13	8	0	5	98.28
800	29	7	84.56	7	0	5	16.00
700	25	14	31.99	6	0	4	42.11
600	22	0	91.42	5	0	3	75.42
500	18	7	38.85	4	0	2	105.14
400	14	13	98.28	3	0	2	21.65
300	11	0	45.71	2	0	1	52.57
200	7	6	105.14	1	0	0	82.28

TABLE for converting *Avoirdupois weights* into *British Indian weights*.

Tons.	Mans or Bazar Maunds.			Cwts.	Mans or Bazar Maunds.			Lbs.	Mans or Bazar Maunds.		
	mns.	sr.	chhat.		mns.	sr.	chhat.		mns.	sr.	chhat.
100	2722	10	10	19	25	34	$7\frac{3}{4}$	100	1	8	$9\frac{1}{4}$
90	2450	1	9	18	24	20	$0\frac{1}{4}$	90	1	3	$12\frac{1}{4}$
80	2177	32	8	17	23	5	$9\frac{5}{8}$	80	0	38	$14\frac{1}{2}$
70	1905	23	7	16	21	31	2	70	0	34	0
60	1633	14	6	15	20	16	$10\frac{7}{8}$	60	0	29	$2\frac{1}{2}$
50	1361	5	5	14	19	2	$3\frac{3}{4}$	50	0	24	$4\frac{1}{2}$
40	1088	36	4	13	17	27	$12\frac{5}{8}$	40	0	19	7
30	816	27	3	12	16	13	$5\frac{1}{2}$	30	0	14	$0\frac{1}{2}$
20	544	18	2	11	14	38	$14\frac{3}{4}$	20	0	9	$11\frac{1}{2}$
10	272	9	1	10	13	24	$7\frac{1}{4}$	10	0	4	$13\frac{1}{2}$
9	245	0	$2\frac{1}{3}$	9	12	10	$0\frac{1}{2}$	9	0	4	6
8	217	31	4	8	10	35	9	8	0	3	$14\frac{1}{2}$
7	190	22	$5\frac{1}{2}$	7	9	21	$1\frac{7}{8}$	7	0	3	$6\frac{1}{2}$
6	163	13	7	6	8	6	$10\frac{3}{4}$	6	0	2	$14\frac{1}{2}$
5	136	4	$8\frac{1}{2}$	5	6	32	$3\frac{5}{8}$	5	0	2	7
4	108	35	10	4	5	17	$12\frac{1}{2}$	4	0	1	$15\frac{1}{2}$
3	81	26	$11\frac{1}{2}$	3	4	3	$5\frac{1}{2}$	3	0	1	$7\frac{1}{2}$
2	54	17	13	2	2	28	$14\frac{1}{2}$	2	0	0	$15\frac{1}{2}$
1	27	8	$14\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	14	$7\frac{1}{2}$	1	0	0	$7\frac{3}{4}$



The British Indian system of weights having been ordered by Regulation VII. of 1833, to supersede the bázár weights previously used, (of which the unit was the old Murshidábád rupee weight of 179.666 troy grains, called the sikká weight), in all Government transactions, a corresponding adjustment was made of all the weights in use at the several Government offices of the metropolis—the custom-house, the mint, the treasury, the bank, and the police; and sets of standard ser and tolá weights of brass were ordered to be prepared at the mint for distribution to all the collectors' offices of the Bengal presidency.

The Regulation in question expressly avoided enforcing the change by any penal enactment, trusting that the sense of public convenience would quickly ensure its substitution for the irregular system now prevalent; and directing only that the verification and adjustment of all weights at the Calcutta and Sagar assay offices, should be made for the future in accordance with the new scale.

In the ordinary dealings of commerce, the difference between the bázár weights and the new weights is not recognizable: indeed the error of single large weights is generally found to exceed the amount of modification now introduced: no inconvenience therefore remains from the still general use of the old bázár weights, while the principal European mercantile establishments of the town, as well as all the native bullion merchants, have already had their weights adjusted to the new system.

Where it may be required, however, to know the precise difference between the old and new system, recourse may be had to the following table. The new *man* will be seen to be one chhaták and a quarter, nearly, heavier than the old bázár *man*: which would induce an increase in the price of articles to the trifling extent of one-fifth per cent. or three *ánás* in a hundred rupees.

TABLE for the mutual conversion of Tolás and old Sikká Weight of Bengal.

Old Sikká Weight into Tolás.				Tolás into Sikká Weight.			
Old Sikká Weight.	Tolás.	Old Sikká Weight.	Tolás.	Tolás.	Old Sikká Weight.	Tolás.	Old Sikká Weight.
3200	3194.060	800	798.515	3200	3205.948	800	801.487
1600	1597.030	700	698.700	1600	1602.974	700	701.801
1500	1497.216	600	598.886	1500	1502.789	600	601.115
1400	1397.401	500	499.072	1400	1402.604	500	500.929
1300	1297.587	400	399.257	1300	1302.419	400	400.734
1200	1197.772	300	299.443	1200	1202.220	300	300.557
1100	1097.958	200	199.628	1100	1102.044	200	200.371
1000	998.144	100	99.814	1000	1001.859	100	100.185
900	898.329	1 <i>áná</i>	0.062	900	901.673	1 <i>másha</i> .	0.084

This table will answer equally well for the conversion of old bázár mans or sers into new mans and sers, the ratio being the same, namely, as 180 : 179.666.

#### FACTORY WEIGHTS.

There is another species of weight employed in some branches of the commerce of Calcutta which it will be necessary to expel before uniformity can be established. This is the system of factory weights originally used by 'the English factory at Bengal,' and now generally retained in the commercial transactions of the Government, although long since superseded in their customs and revenue business by the bázár weights.

It would appear to have been adopted in 1787 to save calculation in the home remittances of produce, three factory mans being almost exactly equal to two hundred-weight avoirdupois.

A moment's inspection of the Calcutta price-current will be sufficient to prove the great inconvenience which the retention of the two-fold system must cause. Some articles are quoted at 'sikká rupees per bázár man,' others at 'sikká rupees per factory man,' and others again at 'current rupees per factory man,' the current rupee being an imaginary money, of which 116 are assumed as equal to 100 sikkás?

To increase the perplexity, the same article is often estimated in a different scale as it comes from different places; thus, Radnagor and Bauleah silk are sold per bázár ser: while Kasimbázár and Gonatea silk are sold per factory ser. Tin, iron, verdigris, Japan and English copper, per 'sikká rupees and factory man: '—steel, zinc, lead, mercury, and South American copper, per current rupees and factory man!—Gum-Benjamin is sold by factory, all other gums by bázár, weight:—stick-lac by the former, but shell-lac and lac dye by the latter!

Many more examples might be furnished of similar inconsistency. Saltpetre, indigo, silk the produce of the Straits, and metals, are the principal articles sold by the factory maund; while grain, sugar, cotton, most articles of food, and all of retail bázár consumption, are sold by the bázár weight.

The old bázár maund was defined to be ten per cent. heavier than the factory maund; therefore the latter will be equal to 74 lbs. 10 oz. 10.666 dr. avoirdupois; the ser to 1 lb. 33 oz. 13.866 dr.; and the chhaták to 1 oz. 13.366 dr.

From the simple relation of the factory to the bázár weight, there can be no difficulty whatever in substituting the latter in its place, in the valuation of such articles of commerce as are still estimated by the former:—nothing more being necessary than to add ten per cent. to the prices formerly quoted per factory maund. Thus, indigo sold at 100

or 200 rupees per factory maund, will now be 110 or 220 rupees per man, and so of other goods. As such goods are invariably weighed at the custom-house on the new system, and the duty or drawback calculated accordingly, it is only a source of perplexity to buy and sell by the obsolete weight; and to retain two species of weights in a warehouse, must obviously open the door to continual mistakes, if not occasionally even to fraudulent interchange.

The following Table gives the conversion of factory weights into new mans accurately, but in ordinary practice the following simple rules will suffice.

I. Deduct one-eleventh from the weight in factory maunds, sers, or chhatáks; the result will be the weight in British Indian (or bázár) mans, sers, and chhatáks.

II. Add ten per cent. to the price per factory maund, etc., the result will be the price per British Indian (or bázár) man, etc.

The reverse table has not been calculated, because, it is to be hoped, it will never be required.

TABLE for the conversion of Bengal Factory weights into new standard mans and decimals.

Factory weights, mans.	New man.	Factory weights.	New man.
10000	9074.400	mans. 5	4.537
1000	907.440	4	3.630
100	90.744	3	2.722
90	81.669	2	1.815
80	72.595	1	0.907
70	63.520	sers. 20	0.453
60	54.446	10	0.227
50	45.372	5	0.113
40	36.297	4	0.091
30	27.223	3	0.068
20	18.149	2	0.045
10	9.074	1	0.023
9	8.167	chhatáks. 8	0.011
8	7.259	4	0.005
7	6.352	2	0.003
6	5.444	1	0.001

(To reduce the decimals into sers and hundredths, multiply by 4, and move the decimal point one place to the right: to convert the hundredths into chhatáks, multiply by 16 and divide by 100.)

#### CURRENT RUPEE PRICES.

By a fortunate chance we are able to meet the apparently perplexing practice of estimating the values of some articles in 'current rupees per factory weight,' with a very simple method of expressing their equivalents according to the new system, so as to obviate any supposed

difficulty in eradicating long established habits: for 100 current rupees being equal to  $\frac{10000}{116}$  or 86.207 sikká rupees, and one factory man being equal to .90744 man, as above stated; the ratio of the two modes of valuation will be as 100 to  $86.207 \div .90744$ , or 95 exactly. Hence may be deduced the following simple rules:—

I. Deduct five per cent. from the price or value quoted in 'current rupees per factory weight,' and the result will be its equivalent in sikká rupees per bázár (or new) weight.'

II. Add one and a third per cent. to the price or value quoted in 'current rupees per factory weight,' and the result will be its equivalent in Farrukhábád, Madras, or Bombay rupees, per bázár (or new) weight.

The following table is constructed on this principle, and is applicable to mans, sers, and chhatáks, as the case may be:

TABLE for the conversion of values quoted in current rupees per factory maund, ser, or chhaták into their equivalents in sikká or Farrukhábád rupees per new standard (or bázár) weights.

Current rupees per factory man, etc.	Sikká rupees per new man, etc.	Fd. Mad. Bom. Rs. per new man, etc.	Current anás per factory man, ser, etc.	Decimals of sikká rs. per new man, etc.	Decimals of Fd. Mad. Bom. rs. per new man, ser, etc.
1000	950.	1013.333	15	0.891	0.950
100	95.	101.333	14	.831	.886
90	85.5	91.200	13	.772	.823
80	76.	81.066	12	.7125	.760
70	66.5	70.933	11	.653	.696
60	57.	60.800	10	.594	.633
50	47.5	50.666	9	.534	.570
40	38.	40.533	8	.475	.506
30	28.5	30.400	7	.416	.443
20	19.	20.266	6	.356	.380
10	9.5	10.133	5	.297	.316
5	4.75	5.066	4	.2375	.253
3	2.85	3.040	3	.178	.190
2	1.90	2.026	2	.119	.126
1	0.95	1.013	1	.059	.063

(To reduce the decimals into anás and pā'is, see Table p. 12.)

The only other denomination used extensively at the Presidency is the salt man, which is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. heavier than the bázár man, having 82 tolás to the ser. It is much to be regretted that this absurd weight should not only have been retained, but that after the promulgation of the new regulation, the Government ordered a completely new and expensive series of brass weights to be made up for the Salt Board, at considerable cost, on the old system! It would of course have been just as simple to order the weighments of salt to be made

with the new *man*, and  $2\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. surplus to be levied on the gross amount to cover wastage; the weights would then have been convertible to general use, whereas now they are confined to one specific purpose.

In the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, the weights of commerce have been long since made to conform with the avoirdupois system, by assuming the nearest approximation in pounds to the local *man*, and adjusting the latter to it. Thus at Madras the 'man' is assumed as equal to 25lbs. avoirdupois: and at Bombay the more convenient equivalent of 28lbs., or one quarter cwt., has been adopted for the standard man. As these weights (especially the latter) are convenient by their direct relation to the commercial unit of England, it is neither to be expected nor to be wished that they should be exchanged for the weights of Bengal. Indeed, it should be remembered, that the use of purely English weights, even in Calcutta counting-houses, can lead to no confusion:—it is the introduction of a fictitious native weight, like the factory man, that is objectionable, as being neither Indian nor English.

The ser at Madras contains 8 paláms<sup>1</sup> of 10 pagodas each, so that, like that of Bengal, it has the sub-division into 80 parts. In the Malabar system, also used at Madras,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  paláms (fanams) make a ser, and the tolá occupies the place of the man; it is equal to 23.192lbs.

The ser at Bombay is divided into 30 pá'ís, or 72 táńks,<sup>2</sup> or 72 troy grains each.

The conversion of the Madras and Bombay mans into the bázár man of Bengal requires another table. A practical estimate of their relative values may, however, be held in the memory by means of the following simple ratios:—

Ten Madras mans = 3 mans,  $1\frac{1}{3}$  sers, Bengal, nearly.

Three Bombay mans = 1 man, 1 ser, nearly.

The exact ratios between the cwt. and the man given in page 100, are of course applicable to the derivatives of the avoirdupois pound in the other Presidencies.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Generally, though corruptly, written 'pollam or pullam.' TAM. from s. पल.]

<sup>2</sup> [s. टंक *ṭank*, MAR. टंक, टांक *ṭank* or *ṭank*.]

<sup>3</sup> The readiest practical method of reducing the Indian to the English system, where the utmost accuracy is not required, is derived from the equation, 300 mans = 11 tons. Hence we have the following rules in addition to those given in page 100:—

III. Add a tenth to a sum of mans, and divide by 30 results—the weight in tons.

IV. Multiply a sum in tons by 30, and deduct an eleventh from the product: results—its value in mans.

V. Deduct one-third from a weight in mans, and increase the remainder by one-tenth: results—the weight in cwt. nearly.

VI. Add one-half to a given weight in cwt., and diminish the sum by one eleventh: results—the equivalent in mans, nearly.

For the more exact conversion of one denomination into the other, the following table may be consulted :

TABLE for the mutual Conversion of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay mans.

Bengal mans.	Madras mans.	Bombay mans.	Madras mans.	Bengal mans.	Bombay mans.	Bengal mans.
1000	3291.428	2938.775	1000	303.820	1000	340.278
100	329.143	293.877	100	30.382	100	34.028
90	296.229	264.492	90	27.344	90	30.625
80	263.315	235.104	80	24.306	80	27.222
70	230.401	205.716	70	21.268	70	23.819
60	197.487	176.328	60	18.230	60	20.416
50	164.571	146.938	50	15.191	50	17.014
40	131.656	117.552	40	12.152	40	13.612
30	98.742	88.164	30	9.114	30	10.209
20	65.828	58.775	20	6.076	20	6.806
10	32.914	29.388	10	3.038	10	3.403
1	3.291	2.939	1	0.304	1	0.340
sers, 30	2.469	2.203	sers, 30	0.228	sers, 30	0.255
20	1.646	1.469	20	0.152	20	0.170
10	0.823	0.734	10	0.076	10	0.085
5	0.411	0.367	5	0.038	5	0.042
4	0.329	0.294	4	0.030	4	0.034
3	0.240	0.220	3	0.022	3	0.025
2	0.164	0.147	2	0.015	2	0.017
1	0.082	0.073	1	0.008	1	0.008

The next table will be found very convenient for reducing the decimals of mans in the foregoing, and upon all other occasions, into the ordinary divisions of the native weights, viz., sers and chhataks.

TABLE for converting sers and chhataks into decimals of a man, and vice versa.

Chhtk.	Decimals for				Sers.	Decimals.
	0 ser.	1 ser.	2 sers.	3 sers.		
0	.0000	.0250	.0500	.0750	4	.0000
1	.0016	.0266	.0516	.0766	8	.2000
2	.0031	.0281	.0531	.0781	12	.3000
3	.0047	.0297	.0547	.0797	16	.4000
4	.0062	.0312	.0562	.0812	20	.5000
5	.0078	.0328	.0578	.0828	24	.6000
6	.0094	.0344	.0594	.0844	28	.7000
7	.0109	.0359	.0607	.0829	32	.8000
8	.0125	.0375	.0625	.0875	36	.9000
9	.0141	.0391	.0641	.0891	40	.10000
10	.0156	.0406	.0656	.0906		
11	.0172	.0422	.0672	.0922		
12	.0187	.0437	.0687	.0937		
13	.0203	.0453	.0703	.0953		
14	.0219	.0469	.0719	.0969		
15	.0234	.0484	.0734	.0984		

The three last figures of decimals recurring in the same order after every four sers, it is unnecessary to insert them at length.

## GENERAL TABLE OF INDIAN WEIGHTS.

However desirable it may be, in theory, to reduce the system of weights throughout the vast continent of India to order and uniformity; in practice, it is well known that insuperable difficulties oppose the execution of such a project: if ever effected, it can only be done in the gradual progress of time, by the spread of knowledge, and by the growing inter-communion of the multitudes engaged in the internal traffic of the country, who would by degrees feel the advantage of uniformity in their dealings.

It is a comparatively easy thing for a government, having the sole issue of coin within its own territories, to fix upon a convenient unit of value, and establish it to the supersession of former currencies; but the weights of a country do not so immediately come in contact with the ruling power (even though it have a commercial character itself:) not at least as regards the domestic or market weights, which are localised in a thousand distinct foci under as many modifications of prices, customs, and modes of calculation and sub-division.

It is but lately that the Legislature has attempted to equalise the weights of England, and then only by the retention of a double system. India does, however, in some respects, offer a better chance of success than the countries of Europe, where each locality has, by municipal laws, rendered permanent and cognate its own system, however differing from that of its neighbour. Here, all is vague—the standards of reference being in most cases the local rupee or copper coin, themselves subject to variation; or of modern introduction, and capable of equalisation.

Thus, throughout the Maráthí states, the *ser* is referred to the Puna or Ankusí rupee: in Gujarát, to the Baroch rupee: in Ajmír, to the Sálimsáhi; in Bengal, to the old Murshidábád rupee; all comparatively modern. In Madras, the coin of that presidency, or of Mysore, or Pondicherry, are appealed to; but more generally the English *avoirdupois* unit has become familiarised, as has been already stated, by the adoption of 25 lbs., to represent the commercial ‘man.’

By perseverance, therefore, in upholding one common system for the whole of British India, or at least for the Bengal presidency, a system founded on the previous habits and institutions of the country; by connecting it (as has been done) with a rupee of general, and to be hereafter exclusive, circulation; by restricting Government transactions to this system, and affording facilities of adjustment by depositing standard weights in public offices all over the country;—there is some reason to hope that, eventually, the incongruous mass now prevalent

will gradually give place to the convenience of an universal and single species of weight.

There is another argument in favour of its feasibility, namely, that India does not, properly speaking, possess dry or liquid measures. Where these are employed, they depend upon, and in fact represent the ser or the man weight; the mention of measures has been accordingly omitted in the foregoing scheme for Bengal, leaving the value of any vessel of capacity to rest solely on the weight contained in it.

The mode in which this is effected for the 'dry measures' of South and West India is, by taking an equal mixture of the principal grains, and forming a vessel to hold a given weight thereof, so as to obtain an average measure. Sometimes salt is included among the ingredients.<sup>1</sup> Trichinopoly is the only place where grain is said never to be sold by weight. The markál<sup>2</sup> and para<sup>3</sup> are the commonest measures; the latter is known throughout India; in Calcutta it is called 'ferrah,' and is used in measuring lime, etc. which is still recorded however in mans weight.

Of the origin or antiquity of the Indian weights it would be out of place here to institute an inquiry; the ancient metrology of the Hindús has been fully described by Mr. Colebrooke, in the 'Asiatic Researches,' v. As with the coins, so with the weights, Southern India retained most of the names and terms properly Hindú, *pala*,<sup>4</sup> *tuld*, *visa*,<sup>5</sup> *bhdá*,<sup>6</sup> *khdri* (? *khandi*), *báha*. Throughout the Moghul empire, on the contrary, the ser and man were predominant. The word 'man,' of Arabic or Hebrew origin,<sup>7</sup> is used throughout Persia and Northern India; but, as might be expected, it represents very different values in different places: thus the *man* of Tabriz is only  $6\frac{1}{3}$  lbs. avoird., while that of Palloda, in Ahmadnagar, is  $163\frac{1}{2}$  lbs.

It is probable that the ser, a Hindú weight (*setak*), was more uniform than the man, since it was founded upon the tolá (*tolaká*), which, with its subdivision, the *vasa*, must in very ancient times have been extensively known throughout commercial Asia. There can be little doubt that the 'tae or tael' and 'mace' of the Chinese are identical in origin. The variations of these weights may have been smaller, because their use was nearly confined to the precious metals and other

<sup>1</sup> "In Belary this is called the *nou-danium* measurement; from the 'nine' sorts of grain used: rice, wheat, coolty, pasaloo, mernoomooloo, oil seeds, Bengal grain, aunnomooloo, and nooloo. In Darwar, they take, wheat, toor, hurburr, roolthee, moony, oored, juwaree, paddy, and mudkee."—Kelly's 'Metrology.'

<sup>2</sup> [Properly *Marakhdá*, from the Tamil.]

<sup>3</sup> [MAL. *Para*.]

<sup>4</sup> [S. पल H. پل. <sup>5</sup> H. س. तुला. <sup>6</sup> H. بهار, س. भार. <sup>7</sup> S. खारी.]

<sup>8</sup> The Hebrew maneh was equal to 13110 grs. tr. or 72.83 tolás. The Greek mina to 6244 grs. or 33.57 tolás.



articles of value; the ser is quoted at the highest denomination of this class of weights in one Sanskrit work. For gross produce a greater latitude was required, and larger sers were introduced to suit the value of each article; the weight apparently, rather than the price, being made variable: while to prevent the ambiguity which might follow, it became necessary to define the ser employed as of 30, 40, 60, 72, 80, 90, or even as far as 120 tolás; and probably when the current coin began to vary from the original tolá, the mention of this weight became obsolete, and reference was made direct to the rupees of the local currency. It is to meet this mode of expression that, in the following table, the value of every ser has been given in the standard tolá of 180 grains.

The *man* of India may, as a genus, be divided into four different species: 1. That of Bengal, containing 40 sers, and averaging about 80 lbs. avoirdupois. 2. That of Central India (Málwá, Ajmír, etc.), generally equal to 40 lbs. avoirdupois. and containing 20 sers, so that the ser of this large portion of the continent assimilates to that of Bengal. 3. The *man* of Gujarát and Bombay, equal to  $\frac{1}{4}$  cwt. or 28 lbs. and divided into 40 sers of a smaller grade. 4. The *man* of Southern India, fixed by the Madras Government at 25 lbs. avoirdupois. There are however many other varieties of mans, from 15 to 64 sers in weight, which it is unnecessary to particularise.

Abú'l-Fazl defines the *man* of Akbar's reign to be 40 sers of 30 dāms; each dām being five tánk. The tánk is in another place described as 24 ratís: the másha of eight ratís has been assumed, from the weight of Akbar's coins, to be 15.5 grs. troy. This would make the emperor's *man* =  $34 \frac{3}{4}$  lbs. av., agreeing pretty well with that of Central and Western India. The tánk, as now existing in Bombay, is 72 grains; in Dharwár it is 50 grains; in Ahmadnagar, 268 grains. Its present weight consequently affords no clue for the verification of the above estimate, however desirable it may be to determine the point. In one part of the 'Ayín-i Akbarí,' the dām is called 20 máshas, 7 ratís, which would increase the *man* to about 47 lbs. In the absence of better evidence, it may be safe to reckon it in round terms at one-half of our present standard *man*.

#### ORIGIN OF THE PRESENT TABLE OF INDIAN WEIGHTS.

In 1821, the Court of Directors called upon their commercial agents, collectors of customs, and other public officers of the three Presidencies, to procure and forward to England accurate counterparts of the standard weights and measures in use throughout their territories in the East. The order was promptly obeyed, and the

required models sent home, with certificates and explanations. The packages as they arrived were placed under charge of Dr. Kelly, who was assisted in his examination and comparison of the weights by Mr. Bingley, Assaymaster, and of the measures by Mr. Troughton, both of whom had zealously co-operated in comparing the standards sent to the English Government from other parts of the world.

The dispatches accompanying the standards from India contained full information on the money and trade, as well as on the metrology of most places: this is embodied at length in the supplement to Kelly's 'Cambist,' whence it was subsequently collected in an octavo volume, entitled Kelly's 'Oriental Metrology.'

It is from these sources that the accompanying table has been drawn up, exhibiting in an abridged form the principal commercial weights of India and Asia. Most of the subdivisions peculiar to each place have been necessarily omitted for want of space, but, where possible, the formation of the ser, etc., from the local unit is mentioned. It may be generally assumed that the *man* system follows the common scale, viz.:

16 chhatáks = 1 ser.

40 sers = 1 man.

20 mans = 1 khandí<sup>1</sup> or mání.

The use of a five ser weight also universally prevails under the name of Panserí,<sup>2</sup> dharí,<sup>3</sup> or vísa.<sup>4</sup> The *dharí* from its name, however, seems to be properly a measure, and accordingly, while in Málwá it is equal to 5 sers, in other places it is found of 4, 4½, 5½, 10, 11, and 12 sers. The terms adholá, adheli,<sup>5</sup> 'half,' páo,<sup>6</sup> powah, 'quarter,' adhpáo 'half-quarter,' frequently occur: they explain themselves.

The only novelty in the present table is the insertion of the two last columns, expressing the equivalents of the local weights in the standard man and tolá of the British Indian system. The column containing their values in avoirdupois pounds, ounces, and drams is according to the London determinations of Kelly.

Where the ser only of any place is mentioned in the first columns, the value of the man of the same place, expressed in parts of the standard man, is inclosed in parentheses to prevent mistakes: it may be remarked that the ratio of the man will answer equally well for the

<sup>1</sup> [From s. खण्ड *khaṇḍa*: it is commonly written 'candy.']

<sup>2</sup> Written *punchserree*, *punchser*, and *punchaseer* in KELLY.

<sup>3</sup> [ح. धरि *dharí*.] Written *dhurree*, *dhurra*, *dhuldee*, *dudda*, *dhadium*, in KELLY.

<sup>4</sup> Written *vis*, *viss*, *visay*, *vesey*, *biss*, in KELLY.

<sup>5</sup> ح. ادھیلی

<sup>6</sup> ح. پاؤ

ser, it being understood that the subdivision into 40 sers holds for the mans of the two places compared. To reduce any local weight into the standard denomination, or into the bazár man of Calcutta, nothing more is necessary than to multiply by the number in the last column, and convert the decimals into sers, if so required, by means of the second table in page 108.

The column of 'tolás per ser' will best express to a native the value of the weights of any particular locality; being the customary mode of estimation throughout the country.

In expressing the dimensions of the markál, the parra, and a few other dry or liquid measures; sometimes gallons and sometimes cubic inches have been introduced by Kelly. It may be convenient, therefore, to explain that, by the enactment of the 1st January, 1826, one imperial measure was established as a substitute for the variable wine, ale, and corn gallons of England, with their multiples and divisions.

This imperial gallon was made to contain 10 lbs. avoirdupois weight of distilled water, weighed in air at the temperature of 62° Far., the barometer standing at 30 inches. It has a capacity, therefore, of 277.274 cubic inches. Some of the most useful derivatives of this unit are here subjoined for the sake of reference.

Imperial dry and liquid measures.				Cubic contents.	Avoirdupois weight.	Indian weights.
1 pint,	.....	.....	.....	34.659 c. i.	1 lb. 4 oz.	48.611 tolás.
2 =	1 quart,	.....	.....	69.318 "	2 lbs. 8 "	97.222 "
8 =	4 =	1 gallon,	.....	277.274 "	10 lbs.	4.861 ser.
64 =	32 =	8 =	1 = 1 bushel,	1.284 c. f.	80 "	38.888 "
512 =	256 =	64 =	8 = 1 quarter,	10,269 "	640 "	7.777 man.
2048 =	1024 =	256 =	32 = 1 chaldron	41,075 "	2560 "	31.111 "

The old wine gallon contained 231 cub. inches; the ale gallon 282 c. i., and the corn gallon 268.8 c. i.; whence are obtained the following multipliers to convert them into imperial measure, viz., .833, 1.017 and .969 respectively.

It will be remarked that the gallon nearly corresponds with the panserí or dhari of the Indian corn measures, while the bushel bears the same proximity to the man weight. Standards of the bushel, gallon, quart, and pint, are deposited in the Assay-offices of the three Presidencies.

The following is the scale of measures in use at Madras:—

		cub. inches.
	1 walak, <sup>1</sup> =	11.719.
8 walaks,	= 1 paḍi, =	93.752.
8 paḍis <sup>2</sup>	= 1 markál, <sup>3</sup> =	.750 = 27 lbs. 2 oz. 2 dr. water.
5 markáls,	= 1 parra, =	3,750.
400 parras <sup>4</sup>	= 1 garce <sup>5</sup> =	300,000.

The particulars of the Dry Measure of Ceylon are thus given in the 'Oriental Metrology.'

		gallons.	inch.	inch.
4 cutchundoos, = 1 ser,	=	0.24	=	4.35 diam. + 4.35.
4.8 sers,	= 1 coornly, =	1.15		
2.5 goornies,	= 1 markál, =	2.88		
2 markáls,	= 1 parra =	5.76	=	cube of 11.56 inches.
8 parras,	= 1 amonam, =	46.08	=	5¾ bushels.
9½ amonams,	= 1 last, =	432	=	6¼ quarters.

Thus it will be seen that there is no fixed rule as to the subdivisions and multiples of the parra or markál.

<sup>1</sup> [ واک, vulgarly, Olluck.]

<sup>2</sup> [TAM. Paḍi.]

<sup>3</sup> [TAM. Marakkál. H. مرکال markál.]

<sup>4</sup> [TEL. Parra: in page 110, note 3, incorrectly given as 'MAL. Paḍa.']

<sup>5</sup> [Properly, TEL. Gdriṣa.]

TABLE of the Commercial weights of India, and of other trading places in Asia, compared with the British-Indian Unit of weight, and with the Avoirdupois system of England.

Place.	Denomination of Weight.	Value in English avoirdupois weight.	No. of standard Tolas per ser, etc.	Value of mans, etc. in Mans and decimals.
		lb. oz. dr.	Tolas.	Mans.
Acheen in Sumatra.	Tale, of 16 mace or 64 copangs.	grs. 148.2	0.790	...
	Catty = 100 tales or 20 buncals.	2 1 14 $\frac{1}{2}$	82.370	...
	Bahar, of 200 catties.	423 8 0	...	5.1466
	Bamboo, liquid measure .....	3 10 10	130.890	...
Ahmadábád in Gujarát.	Tolá = 32 válas, or 96 ratis.	grs. 193.440	1.075	...
	Ser (divided into $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ s.).....	1 0 14 $\frac{1}{2}$	41.091	...
	Man, of 40 sers.....	42 4 13	...	0.5140
Ahmadnagar, in Aurangábád.	Tolá = 12 máshas or 96 gunjás	grs. 188.4	1.047	...
	Ser, com. wt. (of 80 Ankusi rs.)	1 15 8	76.562	...
	Man, of 40 sers.....	78 15 12	...	0.9599
	Ser, of capacity (110 Ankusi rs.)	2 11 6	105.425	...
	Man, do. = 12 pailis = 48 sers.	130 2 0	...	1.5814
Amboyna, in the Moluccas.	Tale, of 16 mace. ....	grs. 455.35	2.529	...
	Bahar, of cloves.....	596 12 0	...	7.2521
	Coyang, of rice (2,500 catties)...	3255 8 0	...	39.5632
Ahmode, Gujarát.	Man = 40 sers of 40 Baroch rs.	40 8 12	39.424	0.4928
	„ for grain = 40 sers of 41 do.	41 9 5	40.416	0.5052
	„ for cotton = 42 sers „ „	43 10 10	...	0.5306
	„ of 40 sers (of 36 dokarás)...	27 3 8	26.464	0.3308
Anjar, Bhuj.	Kalsi, measure = 64 máps.	30361. (cc.in.)	...	...
	Khandí (= 35 telong <sup>1</sup> of 16lbs.)	560 0 0	...	6.8056
Anjengo, Travancore, M.	Man (20 to the khandí). ....	28 0 0	...	0.3402
Arkát, Madras.	Pakká ser, <sup>2</sup> of 24 paláms.....	1 13 0	70.486	(0.8811)
	Padí, for grain = 47 paláms. ....	3 8 12	137.930	...
Aumodh, Kalpi.	Ser, for cotton (see Kalpi). ....	1 8 0	58.336	(0.7292)
	„ „ grain, etc.....	2 0 8	78.993	(0.9872)
Aurangabander in Sindh.	Tolá = 12 máshas, or 72 ratis....	grs. 187.5	1.041	...
	Ser, of 64 pice. ....	1 13 13	72.461	...
	Man, of 40 sers.....	74 10 10	...	(0.9074)
Bagulkotá, M.	Kachchá ser, <sup>3</sup> for groceries, oil, etc.	0 8 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	20.	(0.2488)
	Pakká ser, for grain (116 $\frac{1}{2}$ c. i.)	3 6 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	133.	(1.6616)
Bairseah, Málwá.	Ser, of 80 Bhopál rupees.....	1 14 13	73.892	(0.9362)
	Man, of 40 sers.	77 1 12	...	0.9371
Banda, Moluccas.	Catty, of 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. Dutch. ....	6 1 10	...	0.0740
	Bahar, of 100 catties. ....	610 0 0	...	7.4132
	Soekal, of nutmegs, 28 catties...	170 12 13	...	2.0757
Bangalore, in Maisúr.	Kachchá ser, of 24 rupees. ....	0 10 0	24.304	(0.3038)
	„ man, of 40 sers.....	25 0 0	..	0.3038
	Khandí, of 20 mans.....	500 0 0	...	6.0764
	Pakká ser, for grain, 84 rupees	2 1 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	81.840	(1.0230)
	Khandí, of 20 kolagas, or 160 sers.	336 12 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	4.0926
Banjar Massin, in Borneo I.	Markál, of 9, 10, 12, etc., to 96 srs.			
	Tale, of 16 mace. ....	grs. 614.4	3.413	...
Bantam, Java.	Pecul and catty (see China)			
	Last, grain measure = 230 ganton	3066 10 10	...	37.2685
	Tale, for gold, musk, etc.....	grs. 1055	5.860	...
	Bahar = 3 peculs of 100 catties.	396 0 0	...	4.8124
Banswarra.	Coyang, of rice = 200 gantams.	8681 0 0	...	105.4982
Bardoler, Sárat.	See Malwa.			
	Man, of 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ sers, 2 pice. ....	37 4 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	0.4529

<sup>1</sup> Properly, TAM. *Tulám*. <sup>2</sup> پکا سیر *pakká ser*, 'a full, complete, or correct ser.'

<sup>3</sup> کچھا *kachchá*, the converse of *pakká*.

Place.	Denomination of Weights.	Value in Eng- lish avoird- upois weight.	No. of stand- ard Tolas per ser, etc.	Value of mans, etc. in Mans. and decimals.
Baroda, Baroch.	Ser, (pergunna,) 42 Babásáhi rs.	1 0 13.8	41.186	...
	Man, of 42 sers. ....	44 9 10	...	0.5420
	Khandi, of 20 mans. ....	892 1 4	...	10.8411
	The town ser has 41 Babás. rs.	1 0 9.5	40.286	(0.5036)
	The Sesamum man is of 40 sers.	42 7 10.8	...	0.5162
Batavia, Java.	Mark, of 9 reals. ....	grs. 422	2.344	...
	Bahar=3 peculs, of 100 catties.	406 14 0	...	4.9446
	Coyang, of rice=3,300 lbs. Dutch	3581 0 0	...	43.5190
	Timbang, of 5 peculs. ....	678 2 0	...	61.7133
	Kanne, liquid measure. ....	91 c. i.	...	...
Bauleah, Bengal.	Ser, of 80 sá. wt. or tolás. ....	...	80.	1.0000
	Ser, of 60 sá. wt. for liquids, etc.	...	60.	0.7500
Belgaum, Maráthi country.	Ser, of 24 Shápári rs. (174 grs.)	0 9 8	23.091	...
	Man, of 44 sers. ....	26 3 15	...	0.3189
Bellary, Mad. Ced- ed Distr.	Tolá, of 30 Kántarái fanams. ...	grs. 176.25	0.979	...
	Ser, of 21 Mysore rs. or tuláms	0 8 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	20.621	(0.2578)
	Man, of 48 sers. ....	25 6 0	...	0.3083
	Man, for cotton (=1 $\frac{1}{2}$ naga.) ...	26 5 4	...	0.3199
	Thimappoo, grain measure, 112 rs.	...	112.	...
Benáres.	Marká chunám do.=12 sers. ...	...	1008.	0.3150
	Tolá, of 215 grains troy. ....	...	1.194	...
	Ser, of 105 sá. wt. ....	2 10 0	105.	1.3125
	Ser, of 103 sá. wt. ....	2 9 2	103.	1.2875
	Ser, of 96 sá. wt. ....	2 6 7	96.	1.2000
Bencoolen, Sum.	Tale, for gold, etc.=638 grains.	...	3.940	...
	Catty, of 16 tales. ....	1 7 5	56.666	...
Betelfaki, Arab.	Frazil, of 10 mans. ....	20 6 4	...	0.2477
	Bahar, of 40 frazils. ....	815 10 0	...	9.9121
Bhopál, Bhilsa.	Same as Málwá.			
Birman Empire.	See Rangoon.			
Bombay.	Tank, of 24 rátis, (for pearls.) ...	grs. 72	0.400	...
	Tolá, (formerly 179 grs.) ....	grs. 180	1.000	...
Commercial weight.	Ser, of 30 pice or 72 tanks. ....	0 11 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	27.222	...
	Man, of 40 sers. ....	28 0 0	...	0.3402
Grain measure	Khandi, of 20 mans. ....	560 0 0	...	6.8056
	Ser, of 2 tipprees. ....	0 11 3.2	24.836	(0.3104)
	Para, of 16 pallis or adholis. ....	44 12 12.8	...	0.5444
	Khandi, of 8 paras. ....	358 6 4	...	4.3553
	Parra, salt measure, 6 gallons ...	1607.6 c. i.	...	...
Borneo.	Ser, for liquids, 60 Bom. rs. ....	1 8 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	60.	(0.7448)
	See Banjar Massin.			
Baroch, Gujarát.	Man,=40 sers, of 40 rs. ....	40 8 12	39.408	0.4928
	Man, for grain, 41 do. ....	41 9 5	...	0.5052
	Man, for cotton, 42 sers. ....	43 9 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	0.5397
Bushire, Persia.	Man, Tabrizi=720 miskáls. ....	7 10 15	29.888	0.0934
Basra, Arab.	Man, of 24 vakias Sophi. ....	116 0 0	...	1.4097
Baghdád, "	Man=6 okas of 400 dirhams. ...	16 8 0	641.600	0.2005
Cachar, Tonquin.	Tale, of 10 mace, or 1000 kás. ...	grs. 590.75	3.282	...
Calcutta.	(See the foregoing pages.)	lbs. 82 $\frac{7}{8}$	80.	1.0000
	Grain weights or measures are de- rived from the others, thus.—			
	1 kunkí=5 chhatáks	...	25.	...
	1 raik=4 kunkí=1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ser. ...	...	90.	...
	1 palli=4 raiks=5 sers. ....	...	400.	...
	1 soalli=20 pallis=2 $\frac{1}{2}$ mans.	lbs. 205 $\frac{1}{2}$	5400.	2.500
Calicut, Malabar.	Ser, of 20 Súrat rs. ....	0 8 2 $\frac{3}{8}$	19.849	(0.2481)
	Man, of 68 sers. ....	34 11 11	...	0.4220

Place.	Denomination of Weights.	Value in English avoirdupois weight.			No. of standard and Poles per ser, etc.	Value of mans, etc. in Muns and decimals.
		lb.	oz.	dr.		
Cambay, Malabar.	Same as Sûrat.					
Canton.	See China.					
Cape Town.	91½ Dutch=100 English weight					
Carwar, Kanára.	Man, of 42 sers. ....	26	0	0	...	0.3159
Ceylon.	See Colombo.					
Chanador, in Ah-madnagar.	Ser, of 74 Ankusi rs. 10 más. ....	1	13	8	71.702	(0.8963)
	Ser of capacity=72 tanks. ....	2	5	7	90.995	...
	Man,=64 sers. ....	149	12	0	...	1.8200
China.	Tale, see page 16 (=579,84 grs.)	0	1	5½	3.221	...
	Catty, of 16 tale. ....	1	5	5½	51.586	...
	Pecul, of 100 catties. ....	133	5	5½	...	1.4987
Cochin, Malabar.	Man, of 25 lbs. of 42½ sers. ....	27	2	11	...	0.3301
Coimbatore, Mysore	Man, of 40 sers. ....	24	1	0	...	0.2923
	Palám, (of 10 pagodas.) ....	grs. 528½			2.936	...
	Tolá, for cotton. ....	7	8	0	291.666	...
Colachy, Travancore.	Man=125 paláms, of 105 grs. ....	18	12	13	...	0.2284
	Khandi, of 20 mans. ....	376	1	2	...	4.5702
Colombo, Ceylon.	Khandi or Bahar. ....	500	0	0	...	6.0764
	Garce, (82 cwt. 2 qrs. 16½ lbs.) ...	9256	8	0	...	112.4921
	Markál, dry meas.=10 sers. ....	galls. 2.88			...	...
	Parra, do. ....	" 5.76			...	...
Comerecolly, Bn.	Ser, for metals, 58 sa. wt. ....	1	7	9	58.	(0.7160)
	(other sers of 60 and 78 do.) ...					
Coolpahar, Calp.	Ser. ....	3	1	6½	120.000	(1.5000)
Cossimbázár, Bn.	Sers, of 76, 78, 80, and 82.10 tol.					
Calpi, Agra.	Ser, for sugar, metals, grain. ....	2	1	15	82.487	(1.0310)
	Ser, for ghi. ....	2	6	3	92.816	(1.1602)
	Ser, for cotton. ....	2	6	12	94.184	(1.1773)
	Ser, for grain, wholesale. ....	2	7	5	95.552	(1.1944)
Dharwár, Bom.	Kachchá ser, of 72 tanks. ....	0	8	3½	20.0	(0.2488)
	Pakká ser=116 Mad. rs. ....	2	15	11½	116.0	(1.4488)
	Dhará, liquid measure, 12 sers.					
Dewas, Malwa.	Ser, of 80 Ujjain rupees. ....	1	15	10	76.866	...
	Man, of 64 sers. ....	137	8	2	...	1.6712
Dindor, Ahmad.	Ser, of 76 Ankusi rs. ....	1	13	15	72.765	(0.9096)
	Ser, of capacity, 72 tanks. ....	2	7	6½	95.778	...
	Man, of 64 sers. ....	157	10	0	...	1.9136
Dungurpur.	Ser, of 52 Sálimaní rs. ....	1	4	0¾	48.725	(0.6090)
	Man, of 40 sers. ....	50	1	14	...	0.6090
Dakhan, Puna.	Ser, 72 tanks or tolás (80 Ank. rs.)	1	15	8½	76.638	...
	Man, of 12½ sers, for ghi, etc. ....	24	10	4½	...	0.2994
	Man, of 14 " for metals. ....	27	9	9½	...	0.3353
	Pala of 12½ " for iron, etc. ....	236	9	2	...	2.8749
	Man, of 48 " for grain. ....	94	9	8	...	1.1494
Faifoe, Coc. Chi.	Same as in China.					
Farrukhabád, Agra.	Ser, wholesale 110 sa. wt. ? <sup>1</sup> ...				110.	(1.3625)
	" retail 94 " ? ...				94.	(1.1750)
	" for spice, 82. ....				82.	(1.0250)
Gerouki, Kalpi.	Ser, for all purposes. ....	1	15	0¾	75.460	(0.9431)
Ghouhon, "	Ser, for wholesale. ....	2	2	0	82.638	(1.0330)
Goa, Malabar.	Quintal, of 4 arobas. ....	129	5	5	...	(1.5717)
	Khandi, of 20 mans. ....	495	0	0	...	6.0156
Gamron, Persia.	Man, Tabrí. (Tabrizi?) ....	6	12	0	262.400	0.0820
	Man, Sháhi (=2 Tabrizi) ....	13	8	0	524.800	0.1640

<sup>1</sup> These are marked in Kelly 11 and 14 Farrukhabád sikká weight, which must be a mistake for 110, and, probably, 94.

Place.	Denomination of Weights.	Value in English avoirdupois weight.	No. of standard Tols per ser, etc.	Value of mans, etc. in mans and decimals.
		lb. oz. dr.	Tols.	Mans.
Gamron, Persia.	Man, Copra, for provisions .....	7 12 0	301.440	0.0942
Hansut, Barôch.	Market ser, of 38 Baroach rs. ....	0 15 7	37.521	(0.4690)
	" man, of 40 sers. ....	38 9 9	...	0.4690
	Oil man, of 42 sers. ....	40 8 6	...	0.4925
	Pergunna ser, of 38½ Baroach rs. ....	0 15 11	38.129	(0.4766)
	" man, of 40 sers. ....	39 3 10	...	(0.4768)
Haveri, Mad. Doab.	Kachchâser, for groceries, 23½ rs. ....	0 9 9	23.242	(0.2905)
	Dhary (for selling) = 12 sers. ....			
	Pakkâ ser, for grain (82 cub. in.)	2 6 13	94.336	(1.1792)
Haidarâbâd, Mad.	Ser, of 80 Haidarâbâd rupees.	1 15 12	77.170	(0.9646)
	Kachchâ man, of 12 sers. ....	23 13 0	...	0.2893
	Pakkâ " of 40 " ....	79 6 0	...	0.9646
	Pala, of 120 sers for selling. ....	238 2 0	...	2.8938
Indor, Mâlwa.	Ser, of 82 Ujjain rupees	2 0 6¾	78.803	(1.9850)
	Man, of 20 sers (for grain) ....	40 8 6	...	0.4925
	Mauni, of 12 mans	486 4 8	...	5.9096
	Man, of 40 sers, for opium, etc.	81 0 12	...	0.9849
Islâmpur, Calp.	Ser (see Calpi). ....	2 0 12	79.600	(0.9950)
	Pakkâ ser. ....	2 0 15	80.056	(1.0007)
Jâmkhair, Ah-madnagar.	Ser, commercial, of 80 Ankusi rs.	1 15 8½	76.638	(0.9580)
	" of capacity = 72 tanks. ....	2 4 14½	89.702	(1.1213)
	Man, of 64 sers? ....	147 10 0	...	1.7941
Japan.	Pecul (same as China) ....	lbs. 133½	...	1.6254
Jaulnah, Hyder.	Tola, of 12 mâshas.	grs. 184.5	1.025	...
	Pakkâ ser, of 80 rs. for grain. ....	2 0 1	77.926	...
	" man, of 40 sers. ....	80 2 8	...	0.9471
	Kachchâ man, of 12 sers (for ghî, liquids, etc.), measure. ....	24 0 12	...	0.2922
Java.	See Batavia.			
Judda, Arab.	Man, of 30 vakias. ....	2 3 9¾	86.400	0.0270
	Bahar = 100 mans, or 10 frazils.	222 8 0	...	2.7039
Jumbusur, Guj.	Market ser, of 40 Baroach rs. ....	1 0 2½	39.270	...
	" man, of 40 sers. ....	40 6 4	...	0.4908
	Cotton " of 42 " ....	1 0 9	40.256	0.5153
	Pergunna ser, of 40½ Bar. rs. ....	...	40.000	(0.5000)
Jungypur, Ben.	Ser, of 16 chhatâks. ....	1 8 0½	58.408	(0.7301)
	" liquid measure. ....	c. i. 50½	...	...
Junkceylon, Is.	Bahar = 6½ Ben. fac. mans. ....	485 5 51¾	...	5.8981
Kati, Abed.	Ser of 80 Ankusi rs. ....	1 15 8½	76.638	(0.9580)
	" of capacity = 95 do. ....	2 5 8	91.146	(1.1393)
	" = 100 do. ....	2 7 6½	95.778	(1.1972)
Kutul, " Kotâ, Ajmir.	" of 30 Kotâ rs. ....	0 12 0	29.166	(0.3646)
	Man, of 40 sers. ....	30 0 0	...	0.3646
	Seyn (measure), of 864 Kotâ pice.	34 2 3	...	0.4148
Kurda, Gujarât.	Ser, of 80 Ankusi rs. ....	1 15 8½	76.638	(0.9580)
	" of capacity, 90 do. ....	2 3 7½	86.208	(1.0776)
Kumbharia, Sur.	Man, of 40 sers, 8 pice. ....	37 13 10	...	0.4601
Kurod, " Loheia, Arab. "	" " " 15 " ....	37 15 8½	...	0.4615
	Quintal, of 100 rottolos. ....	62 8 0	...	0.7596
Luckipur, Ben.	Fact. and Bz. weights of Calcutta.			
Lukhinow, Oudh.	Ser, of 100 Lukhinow rs. ....	2 7 6¾	95.817	(1.1977)
Macassar, Celebes Is.	Tale, of 16 mace = 614 grains. ....	...	34.111	...
Madras.	Pecul, of 100 catties	135 10 0	...	1.6483
	Pagoda weight = 52.56 grs. ....	...	0.292	...
	Man, of 40 sers, or 8 vis. ....	25 0 0	24.304	0.3038
	Khandi, of 20 mms. ....	500 0 0	...	6.0764
	Garee, for grain = 12.8 mms. ....	320 0 0	...	3.8888



Place.	Denomination of Weights.	Value of Eng- lish avoirdupois weight.	No. of stand- ards per ser, etc.	Value of mans. etc. in mans and decimals.
		lb. oz. dr.	Tolas.	Mans.
Madras.	Padí, oil measure = 8 olluks, or Parra, for chunám = 5 markáls. Mangelin, for pearls = 6 grains. 18 Mad. chows = 55 Bom. chows.	cub.in. 9375 cub.in. 3750		
Madurá, Carn.	Ser, of 80 Madurá pagodas ..... Man, of 39.244 sers.....	0 10 4 25 0 0	24.913 ...	... 0.3038
Malabar.	Palám, of 9 Pondich. rs. 1 kás.... Tulám, of 40 sers.....	grs. 1624 23 3 1	9.022 ...	... 0.2817
Malacca, Malay.	Catty, of 20 buncals, for gold.... Pecul=100 com. catties of 16 tales Bahar, of 3 peculs..... Ganton, measure. ....	2 0 12 135 0 0 405 0 0 6 8 0	79.600 ... ... 252.775	... 1.6407 4.9219 ...
	Kip, of tin = 30 tampang. .... Ser, of 100 sa. wt. (72 c. i.).....	40 11 0 2 9 0	... 100.	0.4945 (1.2456)
Malda, Ben.	„ 96 (at Mogulbari)..... „ 82.10 (at Jelapir)..... „ 80 (English bázár).....	2 7 5½ 2 1 14 2 0 14½	95.665 82.336 79.942	(1.1958) (1.0292) (0.9993)
Málwá, Central India.	Tolá, of 12 máshas ..... Ser, of 84 Sálmsáhi rs..... Man, of 20 sers.....	grs. 190 2 0 6 40 7 8	1.055 78.689 ...	... ... (0.4918)
Mangalor, Mal.	Ser, of 24 Bombay rs, (42.79 grs.) Man, market, of 46 sers. .... „ Company's (16 rs. heavier). „ for sugar = 40 sers. ....	0 9 13 28 2 4 28 8 13 24 7 8	23.850 ... ... 84.000	... 0.3419 0.3469 0.2973
Manilla, Phil. Is. Massuah, Red Sea. Masulipatam, M.	Ser, of capacity = 84 Bomb rs.... Spanish weights and Chin. pecul. Rottolo, of 12 vakias (4800 grs.) Tulám = 30 chunáms. ....	..... 0 10 15½ grs. 179.04	26.635 0.995	... ... (0.3418)
	Kachchá ser and man, as Madras. Pakká man = 40 sers of 2lbs. Ser, of 90 Madras pagodas. .... „ 72 „ „ (for metals) „ 96 „ „ (for cotton)	0 11 4 80 0 0 0 9 0 0 12 0 8 5 6	27.342 ... 21.875 29.165 20.210	(0.9722) ... (0.2734) (0.3646) ...
	Markál, grain measure, 12 sers. Garce, „ „ 4800 „ Ton, of sugar = 2000 French, etc.	galls. 3½ „ 1250 lbs. 2160	...	26.2500
Mauritius.	„ „ grain and coffee = 1400 „ „ „ cloves = 1000 „ „ „ cotton = 750 „	1512 0 0 1080 0 0 810 0 0	... ... ...	18.3750 13.1250 9.8437
Mocha, Arab.	Man, of 40 vakias..... Bahar = 15 frazils, of 10 mans... Teman, measure of rice. .... Gudda, liquid measure = 2 gall.	3 5 0 450 0 0 168 0 0 18 0 0	128.640 ... ... ...	0.0402 5.4687 2.0417 0.2187
Moluccas.	See Amboyna and Banda.			
Mundissor, Mal.	Ser, of 92 Sálmsáhi rs. .... Man, of 15 sers (?). ....	2 3 7¾ 34 4 4½	86.246 ...	(1.0781) 0.4042
Maisúr, Province.	Ser = 24 Maisúr rs. of 179 grs. „ of 79 Ank. rs. 4 máshas ... „ „ capacity, 99 Ank. rs. 2m.	0 9 13 1 15 4½ 2 7 2½	23.850 37.030 95.018	(0.2981) (0.9504) (1.1877)
Nassuk, Ahmad.				
Natal, Sumatra.	Tompong, (Benj. wt.) 20 catties Catty ootan (for do. and camphor) Tale, for precious metals .....	80 0 0 4 0 0 grs. 584	... 155.555 3.244	... ... ...
Negapatam, Car.	Sukat, grain measure = 12 pakkás Ser, of 8 paláms .....	cub.in. 4029 0 9 10½	... 23.470	... ...
	Man, of 41,558 sers. ....	25 0 0	...	0.3038
New Hoobly, M. Doab.	Kachchá ser = 20½ Mad. rs. ... Pakká ser = 106½ do. ....	0 8 6 2 11 13	20.352 106.488	(0.2594) (1.3311)

Place.	Denomination of Weights.	Value in Eng- lish avoird- pois weight.	No. of stand- ard Tolas per ser, etc.	Value of Mans, etc., in Mans and decimals.
		lb. oz. dr.	Tolas.	Mans.
New Hoobly, Doáb	Dhará contains 13 sers. ....	1 15 10	76.864	...
Nolye, Málwa.	Ser, of 80 Ujjain rs. ....	39 8 8	...	0.4805
	Man, of 20 sers. ....	0 8 8½	20.736	(0.2592)
Nolgund, Mad.	Kachchá ser = 20½ Mad. rs. ....	2 13 5½	110.210	(1.3776)
Doáb.	Pakká ser = 110½ M. rs. 96.6 c. l. ....	0 15 6¾	37.483	...
Okalesur, in Ba- roch.	Ser, of 38 Baroch rs. ....	38 8 13	...	0.4685
	Man, of 40 sers. ....	1 0 2¾	39.306	(0.3913)
	Pergunna ser, 39½ Br. rs. ....	40 6 13	...	0.3912
Omutwara, Mál.	Man, 40 sers. ....	1 15 3¾	75.916	(0.9489)
	Ser, of 81 Salimsáhi rs. ....	54 10 8	...	0.6612
Onor, in Canára.	Man, of 28 sers. ....	25 0 0	...	0.3038
	Háne, grain measure. ....	1 15 10	16.866	(0.9608)
Ujjain, Málwa.	Ser, of 80 Ujjain rs. ....	33 5 13	...	0.4054
	Man, of 16½ sers. ....	400 5 12	...	4.8655
Paichal, Súrat.	Máni, of 12 mans ....	45 4 0	...	0.5469
Palamkota, Car- nátic.	Man, of 48 sers, 8 pice Súrat. ....	12 8 0	...	0.1519
	Tulám, of 100 paláms, (½ a mn.) ....	4 15 0	192.014	0.0600
	Paði, for metals. ....	galls. ¾	...	...
Palimbang, Sum.	Marakkál, retail = 1½ gall. reven. ....	grs. 9494	52.744	...
	Catty, of 10 tales ....	81 6 0	...	0.9888
Palloda, Ahmad.	Bally, of 10 gantangs ....	1 15 2	75.651	(0.9456)
	Ser, of 78 Ank. rs. 10½ máshas. ....	2 8 13	99.195	...
	„ of capacity, 103½ Ank. rs. ....	163 4 0	...	1.9839
Pandri, Kalpi.	Man, „ of 64 sers. ....	2 11 12	106.340	(1.3292)
Panwari, „	Ser. ....	2 2 2	82.943	(1.0368)
Parnair, Ahmad.	„ of 76½ Ankusí rs. ....	1 14 2½	73.296	(0.9162)
	„ of capacity, 95 rs. 7 m. ....	2 5 2	90.233	(1.1279)
Patna, Bihár.	Tolá, of 12 máshas. ....	grs. 209	1.161	...
	Ser, from 45 to 81 sá. wt. ....	...	80.	1.000
Pegu, Birma.	Tical, 100 to the vis. ....	grs. 237½	1.368	...
	Khandi, 150 vis, reckoned at ...	600 0 0	...	6.0764
	Basket, rice measure, 16 vis. ....	58 0 0	...	0.7048
Persia.	Man of Shiráz = 600 miscals. ....	12 10 14.4	493.172	0.1641
	Man of Tabriz, 300 do. 150 dirhs. ....	6 5 7.2	246.530	0.0770
	Artaba, corn measure, 2 bushels	...	...	...
Pratápgarh, Aj- mir.	Ser, of 80 Sálimsáhi rs. ....	1 14 13½	74.967	...
	Man, of 20 sers. ....	38 8 14	...	0.4686
Pondicherry, Car.	Ser, of 24¼ Pon. rs = 731¼ fan. ....	0 9 11½	23.622	...
	Man, of 8 vis. ....	25 14 5½	...	0.3146
	Garce of grain, = 100 markáls. ....	qurs. 13½	...	...
Penang.	Malay pecul, of 100 catties. ....	142 10 10½	...	1.7338
	Bahar, of 3 peculs. ....	428 0 0	...	5.2013
	Gantang measure, = 4 chupahs. ....	27.165	...	...
Puna.	See Dakhan.	...	...	...
Quilon, Trav.	Olunda, or old Dutch pound ...	1 1 8	42.535	...
	Man, of 25 old Dutch pound. ....	27 5 8	...	0.3225
	Tulám, of 100 pal. for cotton. ....	16 11 5.6	...	0.2029
	„ for spices. ....	15 9 7.3	...	0.1894
Radnagor, Ben.	Sers of 62, 64, and 80 sá. wt. ....	...	80.	1.000
	Bágt, for paði = 5 sers of 62 ...	...	310.	(0.7750)
Rahorí, Ahmad.	Ser, of weight = 77 Ank. rs. ....	1 14 5¾	73.790	(0.9223)
	„ of capacity = 115½ do. ....	2 13 8½	110.666	(1.3833)
Rangoon.	Vis of 100 tikals. ....	3 5 5¾	140.	...
	Khandi, of 150 vis, reckoned. ....	550 0 0	...	6.0764
	Ten, or basket of rice = 16 vis. ....	58 4 0	...	0.7078

Places.	Denomination of Weights.	Value of Eng- lish avoird- upois weight.	No. of stand- ard tolas, per ser, etc.	Value of Mans, etc. in Mans, and decimals.
Rámbhari, Ah- madnagar.	Ser, of 74 Ankusí rs. ....	lb. oz. dr. 1 13 23	Tolas. 70.901	Mans. (0.8863)
	„ of capacity, 102 do. ....	2 8 3	97.750	...
Rungypur, Ben.	Man, of 64 sers ..... Sers, of 60, 65, 73, 80, 90, and 460 tolas; the standard ser ...	160 13 8 .....	... 80.	1.9548 1.000
Rutlam, Málwa.	„ of 84 Sálimsáhi rs. ....	2 0 6	78.689	...
Salangor, Maly.	Man, of 20 sers. ....	40 7 8	...	0.4918
Sankaridrág, Car- natic.	Bahar, of 240 catties ..... Ser, of 8 paláms for provisions.	324 0 0 0 9 12	23.698	3.9374 ...
Santipur, Ben.	Man, of 41.256 sers. .... Sers, of 60, 80, 84, and 96 to- las; also factory weights. ...	25 0 0 .....	...	0.3038 1.000
Seringapatam.	Kachchá ser, of 24 sultání rs. .... „ man, of 40 sers. ....	0 9 11 24 4 8	23.596 ...	... 0.2950
	Pakká ser, of grain; 84 Sul. rs. .... „ kolaga = 16 sers. ....	2 1 15 33 15 12	82.601 ...	... 0.4130
Siam.	Pecul = 50 catties of 20 tales... Buncal, for gold ..... Pecul, of 100 catties, (see China)	129 0 0 grs. 832	... 4.622	1.5677 ...
Singapore, Malay.	Tompong, of 20 cats. for Benzoin Pecul, etc. as in China.	3 8 0	36.110	...
Sinkell, Sumatra.	„ as in China.	.....	80.	1.0000
Sálú, Sunda.	Sers, of 58, 10, 60, 72, 73, 75, and 82.10 tolas; stand. ser.	.....	80.	1.0000
Sunamukí, BI.	Rottolo, of 144 drams. .... Quintal varies from 110 to 150 rot	1 4 0	48.610	...
Suez, Red Sea.	Tolá, of 12 máshas ..... Ser, of 35 tolas ..... Man, of 40 sers. ....	grs. 187.2 0 15 0 37 8 0	1.040 36.458	... (0.4557) 0.4558
Tellicherry, in Malabar.	Ser, of 20 Súrat rupees. .... Man, of 64 sers. ....	0 8 2 32 11 0	19.849	(0.2481) 0.3972
Ternate, Molucc.	Pecul, of 100 catties. .... Man, = 68 lbs Danish. ....	130 3 8.3 74 12 9.6	... ...	1.6826 0.9088
Tranquebar, Cor.	Tulám, of 20 pounds ..... Khandí (30 tuláms), for purchase „ (20 mans), for sale. ....	19 14 11 597 8 10 500 8 2	... ... ...	0.2420 7.2618 6.0826
Travancor, M.	Parra, grain measure ..... Pakká ser, = 27 tuláms. .... Man, = 13.114 sers. ....	qrts. 2 1 14 8 25 0 0	... 74.132 ...	... ... 0.3038
Trichinopoly, Carnatic.	Ser, for metals = 4167.7 grs. ... Marakkál, gr. measure, 1½ gall. See Colombo.	0 9 8 ...	23.167	(0.2896)
Trincomali.	See Arcot.	...	...	...
Vellor.	See Arcot.	...	...	...
Vizagapatam.	See Masulipatam.	...	...	...
Wallahjábád.	See Arcot.	...	...	...

## LINEAR MEASURES.

Notwithstanding the boast of Abú-'l-Fazl, that, among other beneficial effects of Akbar's administration, he had fixed one standard of linear measure for the whole of India, we find at the present day as great irregularity in this branch of our subject, as could have prevailed in his day, or rather much greater; on account of the semi-introduction of European measures in the British Indian territories, and in the Dutch and Portuguese settlements before them.

There is this peculiarity in the linear systems—that the basis of all is the same, the cubit or human fore-arm: and this unit is found in Oriental countries, as in those of the West, divided into two spans, and 24 finger's-breadths. Thus, under the Hindú princes, the *hāth* (in Sanskrit *hasta*) was equal to two *vitesti* or 'spans,' and to 24 *anguls* (*angula*). The *angul* 'finger' is divided into 8 *jau* (s. *yava*) or 'barley-corns.'

The subdivisions of the *yava*—proceeding downwards to the *paramānu*, or 'most minute atom,' according to the arithmetical works of the Hindús—are, of course, theoretical refinements which it is unnecessary to notice: a full account will be found in Colebrooke's treatise in the 'Asiatic Researches:' [epitomised above, vol. i. page 211]. Proceeding upwards, four *hāths* or 'cubits' are equal to a *danda*, or 'staff:' and 2000 *dandas* make a *krosa*, or *kos*, which should be, by this estimation, 4000 yards English, or nearly  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles. The *kos* is generally for convenience now called equal to two English miles. Four *krosa* = one *yojana*, nearly ten miles. The 'Līlāvati' also states that 10 *hāths* make one *bans* or 'bamboo,' and 20 *bans* in length and breadth = 1 *niranga* of arable land.

That the cubit was of the natural dimensions (of 18 inches, more or less) can hardly be doubted; indeed, where the *hāth* is talked of, to this day, among the natives, the natural human measure is both understood and practically used, as in taking the draft of water of a boat, etc. In many places also, both in Bengal and in South India, the English cubit has been adopted as of the same value as the native measure.

The *gaz*, or yard, now in more general use throughout India, is of Muhammadan introduction: whether this is derived also from the cubit (for the Jewish cubit is of the same length) is doubtful; but, like the *hasta*, it was divided into 24 *tasūs*, or 'digits,' corresponding more properly to inches.

Abú-'l-Fazl, in the 'Ayín-i Akbari,' gives a very full description of the various *gaz* in use under the emperors, as compared with the earlier

standards of the Khalífs. He expresses their correct length in finger's-breadths, which may be safely taken as three-quarters of an inch each.

For facility of reference, his list is here subjoined, with the equivalents in English measure at this rate :—

ANCIENT GAZ MEASURES ENUMERATED IN THE 'AYÍN-I AKBARÍ.'

The Gaz-saudá of Hárún-al-Rashíd = $24\frac{2}{3}$ (some MSS. have $25\frac{2}{3}$ ) fingers of an Abyssinian slave, the same used in the Nilometer of Egypt <sup>1</sup>	English.
The Kasbah gaz, of Ibn Abííláh = 24 fingers.....	= 18½ in.
The Yúsufí gaz, of Baghdád = 25 „ .....	= 18¾ „
The small Hashamah gaz <sup>2</sup> of Abú Músa Asharí = 28½ fingers.....	= 21¾ „
The long „ „ „ Mansúr 'Abbás ... = 29¾ „ .....	= 22½ „
The Umriah gaz of the Khalif Umr ..... = 31 „ .....	= 23¾ „
The Mámúniyah gaz of Mámún 'Abbási ..... = 69½ „ .....	= 52½ „
The gaz Masáhat ..... = 28 „ .....	= 21 „
Sikandar Lodí's gaz of 41½ silver Sikandarís <sup>3</sup>	
diameter, modified by Humáyún to 43 „ .....	= 32 „ .....
This was used in land measurements till the 31st year of Akbar.	

<sup>1</sup> The cubit of the Nilometer is supposed to be the same as that of the Jews, which is exactly two feet English :—if so, the 24 digits will be, precisely, inches. Volney, however, makes it 20½ French, or 22 English inches. Some allowance must probably be made for the broad hand of a negro, but the other measures will not be affected by the same error, as they must be referred to the ordinary delicate hand of a native of Asia.

<sup>2</sup> These two are also called the Gaz Mullik and Gaz Ziádiah, because Ziád, the adopted son of Abú Sofián, made use of them for measuring the Arabian Irak.

<sup>3</sup> [Abú-'l-Fazl, in noticing the various descriptions of yard-measures introduced at different times into Hindústán, makes incidental mention of certain coins designated Sikandarís—upon the basis of a given number of the diameters of which the Gaz of Sikandar Lodí was formed. The class of money described ('Num. Chron.'), evidently furnished, among their other uses, the data for this singularly-defined measure. Any tyro in Indian numismatology, under whose eye many specimens of this mintage may chance to pass, cannot fail to remark that, imperfect as their configuration undoubtedly is, as compared with our modern machine-struck money, yet that they hold a high place among their fellows in respect to their improved circularity of form, and general uniformity of diameter—points which had certainly been less regarded in the earlier produce of the Dihlí mints.

The passage alluded to is to the following effect :—

سلطان مسکندر لودي در هندوستان نیز کزي در میان آورد و آنرا  
چهل و یک و نیم اسکندري اندازه گرفت و آن مسبین نقدیست گرد  
نقره امیز جنت اشیانے نیم دیگر افزود بچهل و دو قرار گرفت<sup>a</sup>

With a view to make these coins, even at the present day, contribute towards our knowledge of the true length of this Gaz—which is still a *vezata questio*, I have carefully measured a set of 42 of these pieces, arranged in one continuous line: the result arrived at is, that the completion of the 30th inch of our measure falls exactly opposite the centre of the 42nd coin.

The specimens selected for trial have not been picked, beyond the rejection of five

<sup>a</sup> [Page 172 Sir H. M. Elliot's MS. copy of the 'Ayin-i Akbari.' See also p. 355, vol. i., Gladwin's translation.]

		<i>English.</i>
The Akbarí gaz, for cloth measure .....	= 46 fingers .....	= $34\frac{1}{2}$ in.
The Iláhi gaz, established by Akbar, as the sole standard measure of the empire .....	= 40 „ .....	= $30\frac{3}{4}$ „ <sup>1</sup>
The Akbari bighá, of 3600 square gaz=2600 square yards=0.538, or somewhat more than half an acre, on the above estimation.		

The Iláhi gaz of Akbar was intended to supersede the multiplicity of measures in use in the 16th century; and, in a great degree, it still maintains its position as the standard of the Upper Provinces. In general, however, different measures are employed in each trade, and the cloth-merchant, in particular, has a distinct gaz of his own. Thus the cloth gaz has assimilated in many places to two háths, or one yard; and the frequent employment of English tape-measures, as well as carpenter's two-foot rules, will ere long confirm the adoption of the British standard to the exclusion of the native system, for the linear measure of articles in the bázár.

The true length of the Iláhi gaz became a subject of zealous investigation by Mr. Newnham, Collector of Farrukhabád, and Major Hodgson, Surveyor-General, in the year 1824, during the progress of the great revenue survey of the Western Provinces, when it was found to be the basis of all the records of land measurements and rents of Upper India. As might have been expected, no data could be found for fixing the standard of Akbar with perfect accuracy; but every comparison concurred in placing it between the limits of 30 and 35 English inches; and the great majority of actual measures of land in Rohilkhand, Dihlí, A'grá, etc., brought it nearly to an average of 33 inches. Mr. Duncan, in the settlement of the Benáres province in 1795, has assumed 33.6 inches to the Iláhi gaz, on the authority, it may be presumed, of standards in existence in the city, making the bighá = 3136 square yards.

The results of the different modes of determination resorted to in 1824-5, so characteristic of the rude but ingenious contrivances of the natives, are curious and worthy of being recorded. Maj. Hodgson made the length of the Iláhi gaz—

very palpably worn pieces out of the total 48 of Mr. Bayley's coins, which were placed at my disposal.

The return now obtained I should be disposed to look upon as a little below the original standard, notwithstanding that it slightly differs from the determination of the measure put forth by Prinsep; but I must add that Prinsep himself distrusted his own materials, and was evidently prepared to admit a higher rate than he entered in his leading table.—E. T.]

<sup>1</sup> Should the length of this gaz be taken at 32 or 33 inches, proportionate corrections must be made in the other measures.

From the average measurement of 76 man's finger's-breadths.....	= 31.55 in.
From the average size of the marble slabs in the pavement of the Taj at Agra (said to be each a Sháh-jahání gaz of 42 fingers?).....	= 33.58 „
From the side of the reservoir at the same place, called 24 gaz .....	= 32.54 „
From the circuit of the whole terrace, 532 gaz (?) .....	= 35.80 „
Mr. Newnham, from the average size of 14 Chár-yári rupees, supposed to be each one finger's-breadth, makes it .....	= 29.20 „
From the testimony of inhabitants of Farrukhabád.....	= 31.50 „
From statement in the 'Ayin-i Akbari,' of the weight of the cubic gaz of 72 kinds of timber (this would require a knowledge of the weights)	
Halhed, from average measurement of 246 barley-corns .....	= 31.84 „
From $\frac{1}{2}$ sum of diameters of 40 Mansúri pice .....	= 32.02 „
From $\frac{1}{2}$ of 4 human cubits measured on a string .....	= 33.70 „
From average of copper wires returned by Tahsildárs of Murádábád as counterparts of the actual measures from which their bighás were formed .....	= 33.50 „
Mr. Duncan, as above noticed, assumed the Iláhi gaz at Benáres .....	= 33.60 „
In Bareilly, Bulanshahr, Agra, as in the following table, it is .....	= 32.5 „

It is natural to suppose that the gaz adopted for measuring the land should vary on the side of excess, and probably all the above, thus derived, are too long. The Western Revenue Board, thinking so many discrepancies irreconcilable, suggested that the settlements should everywhere be made in the local bighá, the surveyors merely noting the actual value of the Iláhi gaz in each village, and entering the measurement also in acres; but the Government wisely determined rather to select a general standard, which should meet as far as possible the existing circumstances of the country. Thus the further prosecution of the theoretical question was abandoned, and an arbitrary value of the Iláhi gaz was assumed at 33 inches, which was in 1825-6 ordered to be introduced in all the revenue-survey records, with a note of the local variation therefrom on the village maps, as well as a memorandum of the measure, in English acres. Mr. Holt Mackenzie thus describes the convenience which the adoption of this standard (sanctioned at first only as an experiment and liable to reconsideration) would afford in comparisons with English measures:—

'Taking the jureeb (side of the square beegh,a) at 60 guntehs, or 60 guz, the beegh,ha will be 3600 square guz, or 3025 square yards, or five-eighths of an English acre (3 roods, 5 perches). The jureeb will be equal to 5 chains of 11 yards, each chain being 4 guntehs. In those places where the jureeb is assumed at 54 gaz square, it would equal  $4\frac{1}{2}$  chains, giving 2450 $\frac{1}{2}$  square yards (or 2 roods, 10 perches). In either case the conversion from one to another would be simple, and the connection between the operations of the surveyors and the measurements of the revenue officers would be easily perceived.'

This convenient bighá of 3600 square Iláhi gaz, or 3025 square yards, or five-eighths of an acre, may be now called the standard of the Upper Provinces. It is established also at Patna, and has been introduced in the settlements of the Ságar and Narbadda territories.

The notice of land measurement seems altogether to have been overlooked in the returns from the Bengal revenue officers, to the Hon. Court's circular; so that, with the exception of the facts gleaned from the official correspondence above alluded to, and other information hastily acquired from private sources, the present table exhibits nearly a blank in regard to the bighás of Bengal Proper, Bihár, Cuttack, and Central India. Rennell's general estimate of the area of Bengal in bighás of 1600 square yards merely followed the measure in use at Calcutta. The permanent settlement in these provinces left the land unmeasured, and obviated the necessity of an actual survey. In general terms, however, the bighá of the Bengal provinces may be assumed at 1600 square yards, or about one-third of the English acre, and a little more than half of the up-country bighá.

In Madras, Sir T. Munro established a measure (called ground or *mdni*) of  $60 \times 40$ , or 2400 square feet, of which 24 make a *káni* = 57600 square feet, = 6400 square yards, or exactly four Bengal bighás. The Madras *káni* is to the English acre as 1 to 1.3223, or as 121 to 160 nearly. In the *jágir*, the *adi* or Malabar foot is used, which is 10.46 inches; 24 *adis* = 1 *káli*, and 100 square *kális* = 1 *káni*, or nearly an English acre. The common *káli*, however, is 26 *adies*, or  $22\frac{2}{3}$  feet, which makes the *káni* = 1 acre,  $28\frac{2}{3}$  perches.

Of the land measures of the Bombay Presidency, Kelly's tables are altogether silent; but as the cubit and gaz are stated to correspond with 18 and 27 inches respectively, doubtless the square measure has also been brought to agree with some aliquot or multiple of the English acre.

It is much to be regretted that the information on this most important point should have proved so defective; but in justification of the officers to whom the Court's circular was addressed, it should be stated that the draft of instructions did not specifically allude to square measures, merely directing that 'for measures of length, one that is nearest to the cubit or ell, should be selected as the model to be sent home.'



Table of Linear and Square Measures of India.

Place.	Denomination.	Value in English mens.
Agra, Presidency	Standard Iláhi gaz, assumed at .....	33 inches.
	Standard bighá of Western Provinces = 60 × 60 gaz = 3600 gaz .....	8025 sq. yds. ( $\frac{5}{8}$ acres).
	Local gaz varies from 32.8 to 33.25 av. ....	32.625 inches.
Ahmadábád .....	Gaz, for cloth .....	27.75 "
	" " velvet .....	34.25 "
	" " artificers .....	23.33 "
Ahmadnagar ...	Háth of 14 tasús .....	14.00 "
	Gaz, of $1\frac{1}{2}$ háth .....	24.50 "
Alligarh .....	" from 30.5 to 33.4 .....	33.00 "
Molucca .....	Covid, or cubit .....	18.13 "
Ahmod .....	Gaz .....	27.12 "
Anjar .....	" of 34 tasús .....	26.40 "
Aurangabander	" " 16 garce .....	32.00 "
Bagulkota .....	" " 24 tasús .....	32.87 "
Bangalor .....	Háth = 19.1 inches .....	38.90 "
Bantam .....	Hasta .....	18.00 "
Bareli .....	Gaz, from 32.0 to 33.4 .....	32.90 "
Baroda .....	" of 24 tasús .....	27.12 "
Batavia .....	Ell = 27 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, Foot = .....	12.36 "
Bauleah .....	Cubit (or háth) .....	18. "
Benáres .....	Gaz, tailor's .....	33. "
	" weaver's .....	42.5 "
	" cloth-merchant's .....	37.5 "
	" architect's (máimári) .....	25.33 "
	Bighá, by Reg. II., 1795 .....	3136 square yards.
Bencoolen .....	Hailoh, or two cubits .....	36 inches.
Betelfakí .....	Gaz .....	27 "
Bombay .....	Háth = 18 inches; the gaz = .....	27 "
Bulandshahr ...	Gaz (originally 33) .....	31.75 "
Baroch .....	Zil'a gaz .....	27.25 "
	Wusa .....	89.6 square inches.
	Bighá = 20 wusa .....	2 roods, 20 perches.
Bushire .....	Half gaz, Sháhi .....	20 inches.
	" " Bushíri .....	18.4 "
Basrah .....	Aleppo yard .....	26.4 "
	Baghdád .....	31.6 "
Calcutta .....	Bighá = 20 katthá of 16 chhatáks .....	1600 square yards.
	Katthá .....	720 sq. feet = 80 sq. yds.
	Chhaták .....	45 " " = 5 " "
Calicut .....	Gaz .....	28.6 inches.
Kalpi .....	" = 16 girás .....	40 "
Cambay .....	" .....	28 "
	Morgen of 600 square roods .....	2 English acres.
China .....	Mathematical foot .....	13.12 inches.
	Builder's " .....	12.7 "
	Tailor's " .....	13.33 "
	200 lis = 1 degree .....	69.166 miles.
Chittagong .....	Nal, or bamboo, of 8 háths = .....	12 feet.
(Mug land mea- sures) .....	Ganda, of 4 kauris = 2 × 3 nals = .....	96 sq. yds.
	Káni = 20 gandas = 12 × 10 nals = .....	1920 sq. yds.
	Dun = 16 kánis .....	30720 sq. yds. or 6.35 acres.
	Sháhi measures, 4 times greater .....	Seldom used now.
Kásimbazar .....	Háth .....	19.12 inches.
Dharwár .....	Háth, for cotton cloths .....	19.36 "
	Gaz .....	32.75 "
Dihli .....	Average bighá .....	2500 sq. yds.
Etawa .....	Gaz from 32 to 33 .....	32.50 inches.
Farrukhábád ...	Cloth gaz = 12 muts (palms) = 48 angul .....	36 "
	Háth, or cubit = 24 angul or fingers .....	18 "
	Land gaz 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ muts or 42 fingers = } 14 girás on cloth, g. of 16 .....	31 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

Place.	Denomination.	Value in English meas.
Farrukhábád ..	Bighá, of 20 biswa = 36.00 Iláhi gaz ..	2756½ square yards.
Goa .....	Portuguese Covado .....	26.66 inches.
Gamron .....	Gaz, 93 = 100 English yards .....	38.7 "
Hansut .....	" of 24 tasús .....	27.12 "
Hávari .....	" " " " .....	34.75 "
Haidarábád ..	Cloth measure .....	35.33 "
Japan .....	Inc. ....	75.00 "
Jaulná .....	Gaz .....	33.6 "
Jambusur .....	" .....	27.12 "
Jungle Maháls	Bighá, 80 × 80 háths .....	1600 square yards nearly.
Bancura .....	Gaz, of two háths = .....	36 inches nearly.
Loheia .....	Peek .....	27.0 inches.
Madras .....	Máni, 60 × 40 feet .....	2400 square feet.
	Káni = 24 máni .....	1.3223 acres.
Malabar .....	Foot .....	10.46 inches.
Malacca .....	Kovid .....	18.12 "
Málwa .....	Gaz (from 28 to 32) .....	30.00 "
	Bighá, of 20 wusas .....	2 roods nearly.
Massuah .....	Peek .....	27.0 inches.
Masulipatam ..	Yard .....	38.25 "
Meerut .....	Land gaz .....	33.00 "
Mocha .....	Kobid = 19 inches. Gaz .....	25. "
Murádábád .....	Gaz, from 31.6 to 35.8 .....	33.50 "
	Jarib = 20 gathás of 3 gaz .....	167.5 feet.
	Bighá = 18 × 18 = 324 square gathás ..	2304 square yards.
New Hoobly ..	Gaz .....	31.75 inches.
Noulgund .....	Gaz .....	33. "
Palamkota .....	Gajum, for cloth .....	36.45 "
Pandri .....	Gaz .....	40.75 "
Panwari .....	" .....	36.37 "
Patna .....	" for carpets, etc. (iláhi) of 44 fingers	33. "
	" for broad cloth .....	42.5 "
	Jarib, 20 bamboos of 3 gaz .....	55 yards.
	Bighá, 20 × katthás or bamboos .....	3025 square yards.
Persia .....	Guerze, royal .....	37.5 inches.
	Common measure .....	25.0 "
	Parasang, 20th of a degree at the equator	
Rangoon .....	Taong, or cubit .....	19.1 "
	Taing, or 1000 dhas .....	2 miles, 293½ yards.
Rangipur .....	Gaz, for bálfa cloths .....	63 inches.
Seringapatam ..	Gajah .....	38.5 "
Siam .....	Vouah (2000 = 1 league) .....	75.75 "
Sunamuky .....	Corah, used at the factory .....	52.4 "
Sárat .....	Gaz, builder's .....	27.6 "
Saidábád .....	Gaz, land, 31.3 to 32.7 .....	32.0 "
Tellicherry .....	Gaz .....	28.4 "
Tirhút .....	Revenue lagi, of 6½ háths = .....	9 feet 9 inches.
	Bighás, 20 × 20 lagi = .....	4900 square yards.
	Small lagi, or rod, 6½ háths = .....	9 feet 4½ inches.
	Bighá, 20 × 20 ditto = .....	3906½ square yards.
	(In Champaran and Chaprá, the lagi or rod is of 7 háths).	
Travancor .....	Tuda, for timber .....	20.46 cubic inches.
	Mura, of stone-cutters .....	33.02 inches.
	Kolu, in agriculture .....	21.16 feet.
Ságar .....	Standard bighá introduced .....	(See A'gra).

At most of the places omitted in the above table, such as Acheen, Arcot, Belár, Carwar, Ceylon, Cochin, Comercolly, Jangipur, Bengal generally, Penang, Radnagon, Santipur, etc.; English measures alone are used, or at least a cubit founded on the English measure of 18 inches.

[The following notes are extracted from Elliot's 'Glossary,' already put under contribution (page 92):—

"The Biswa, from بیس 'twenty,' is the twentieth part of a 'Beeg, ha,' and besides being a measure of land, is also used to signify the extent of proprietary right in an estate. Each estate or village is considered an integer of one 'Beeg, ha,' which is subdivided into imaginary Biswas and Biswancees, to show the right of any particular party. Thus, the holder of 5 Biswas is a holder to the extent of one-fourth of the entire village; precisely in the same way as the *As* was used amongst the Romans. Thus, *heres ex sumuncia*, 'heir to one twenty-fourth'—*heres ex dodrante*, 'heir to three-fourths'—*heres ex asse*, 'sole proprietor.' (Cic. Att. iv. 15, vii. 8.—Cic. pro Cæcina, c. 6.—Plin. l. v. Ep. 5.) In the same manner *bes*, *besstis*, was used to express a *biswa burar*—'socius ex besse'—and thus in sound and meaning (of course there is no real connection) there is a close resemblance between the words. *Bes*, when it was thus applied as a sub-division of the *As*, was the eighth part of a *Jugerum* or acre; not, as is usually supposed, two-thirds.—'Partes duæ tertiæ pedes decem novem millia et ducentos hoc est *bes*, in quo scripula excii.' (Colum. lib. v. cap. 2).

"Coss, کوس کوس *kos*. The itinerary measure of India, of which the precise value has been much disputed, chiefly on account of the difficulties which attend the determination of the exact length of the Guz, or yard. The 'Ayeen-i-Akberee' lays down distinctly that the Coss consists of 100 cords (*rawah*), each cord of 50 Guz; also of 400 poles (*ban*), each of 12½ Guz: either of which will give to the Coss the length of 5,000 Guz. The following particulars relative to the distances between the old Minars, or Coss pillars, may be interesting, and may be considered to afford the correctest means we have of ascertaining the true standard.

	Road distance in English yards.	Direct distance in ditto.
Octagonal Minar to Nurelah in Delhi .....	4,513	4,489
Minar between Nurelah and Shapoorgurhee .....	4,554	4,401
Minar opposite Aleepoor .....	4,532	4,379
Minar opposite Siruspoor .....	4,579	4,573
Ruins of Minar opposite to Shalimar .....	4,610	4,591
Average...	4,558	4,487

Length of the Coss = 2 miles, 4 furlongs, 158 yards.

It is important to observe that the length of the Ilahee Guz deduced from these measurements is  $32 \frac{318}{1000}$  inches, showing how very nearly correct is the length of 33 inches assumed by the British Government. The measurements taken to the south of Delhi, between the Minars in the Muttra district, closely correspond. Out of twelve distances it is found that eight give 2 m. 4 f. 19 p. 1 y., three give 2 m. 4 f. 25 p. 3 y., and one gives 2 m. 4 f. 38 p. 2 y. It may be proper to remark that it is frequently supposed that the Minars are set up every two Coss, and that the Coss contained 2,500 yards; but the 'Ayeen-i-Akberee' appears sufficiently explicit on the point. The same work gives the values of the local Coss. It says, 'the Guzerat Coss is the greatest distance at which the ordinary lowing of a cow can be heard, which is determined to be 50 Jureeb, or 15,000 Guz.' This Coss resembles the Chinese *li*, i. e. the distance which can be attained by a man's voice exerted in a plain surface, and in calm weather. Another in Bengal is estimated by plucking a green leaf, and walking with it till it is dry. Another is measured by a hundred steps made by a woman carrying a jar of water on her head, and a child in her arms. All these are very indefinite standards. The same may be remarked of the oriental Meel, as well as the European mile, and league. The two former evidently derive their name from the Roman *Milliare*, and the difference of their value in different places proves that the mere name was borrowed, without any reference to its etymological signification. According to the 'Kamoos,' the oriental Meel is a lax and vague measure, but it has been considered by Dr. Lee to be to the English one, as 139 to 112. The league also, from the German *lugen*, 'to see,' (signifying the distance that can be readily seen by the eye on a plain surface) is as indefinite as a Guzerat, or Gao, and a Bengal, or Dhuppea, Coss, and sufficiently accounts for its varying

standard in Europe. Coss is an Indian word: the equivalent word in Persian is Kuroh, the same as the Sanscrit Krosa, of which four go to the Yojan; about the precise value of which different opinions are held. Bopp ('Nalus,' p. 213) says it is equal to eight English miles. Professor Wilson ('Sanskrit Dictionary,' p. 689) estimates it at nine miles, and says other computations make it about five miles, or even no more than four miles and a half, and, in his commentary on the Chinese travels, estimates it at no higher than four. But these travels enable us to fix the distance with tolerable precision. By following Fa-Hian's route between places of which the identity is beyond question, as between Muttra and Canouje, and between Patna and Benares, we find the Yojan in his time to be as nearly as possible seven English miles; and this agrees much better with what we find the Yojan to be, if we resolve it into its component parts. Eight barley-corns equal a finger, twenty-four fingers equal a Dund, one thousand Dunds equal one Krosa, and four Krosa, one Yojan. Now, estimating the finger's breadth at eight barley-corns, this makes the Yojan equal to six miles, one hundred and six yards, and two feet. It is the generally received opinion that from Coss is derived the word 'course,' used by the European residents of India to represent a promenade, but the 'Corso' of Southern Europe gives a much more probable origin.

"JUREEB" جرīb جرīb jarīb. A measuring chain, or rope. Before Akber's time it was a rope. He directed it should be made of bamboo with iron joints, as the rope was subject to the influence of the weather. In our survey measurements we use a chain. A Jureeb contains 60 Guz, or 20 Gut, has, and, in the standard measurement of the Upper Provinces, is equal to five chains of 11 yards, each chain being equal to 4 Gut, has. A square of one Jureeb is a Beeg, ha. Till the new system of survey was established, it was usual to measure lands paying revenue to Government with only 18 knots of the Jureeb, which was effected by bringing two knots over the shoulder of the measurer to his waist. Rent-free land was measured with the entire Jureeb of 20 knots. A Jureeb, in Hebrew and Arabic, signified originally only a measure of capacity, equal to 4 Qafeez, or 384 Mud<sup>1</sup> (Latin, *modius*), and in course of time came to signify the portion of land which required as much to sow it as a Jureeb would contain.—(Asasu-l-Loghat). The Pat, ha and Nalee of Gurhwal and Kumaon have a similar origin.

"DHONCHA, دھونچا dhonchá. Four and a half. The word is found in Arithmetical Tables of the Multiplication of Fractions, which are in constant use with our Surveying Ameens, when reducing their linear measurements to Beeg, has. The words used by them in Fractional Multiplication are

Deorha, डेवठा डीउठा 1½	Poncha, पोन्चा 5½
Dhuma, धमा डेमा 2½	K, honcha, खोंचा 6½
Honta, होंटा हउठा 3½	Sutoncha, सुतोंचा 7½
Dhoncha, धोंचा डहोन्चा 4½	

The size of the fields rarely requires Ameens to go beyond this."]

<sup>1</sup> [These words are both retained in the Spanish *caña* and *almud*. Indeed, nearly all the Spanish weights and measures are, like very many administrative words, derived from the Arabic:—As the *quintal* of one hundred pounds, from *kintur*: of which the fourth (*rodilla*) is the *aroba*; *arralde*, a pound, from *arratl*; *xeme*, a span, from *shamah*; and so on.—'Al Makkari,' i., p. 500.]

# INDIAN

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

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The object of the present division of our work is to furnish—first, convenient Tables for the Reduction or Comparison of the various Eras in use throughout India; secondly, Tables of Ancient and Modern Dynasties, extracted from such sources as are available for India and the neighbouring countries. There are so many excellent works on these subjects as to leave us nothing more than the task of compilation or rather selection. For information regarding the astronomical and chronological computations of the Hindús, Colebrooke, Bentley, and Warren are the principal authorities. The ‘Kála-Sankalita’ of the latter author contains the fullest particulars of all the Eras in use. It is from this work that the present tables have been principally taken, with such abridgment as was necessary to bring them within the compass of an octavo volume. Col. Warren’s tables of the Hijra being in a less convenient form, we had remodelled them before it came to our knowledge that a complete series for every month of the Muhammadan era, down to A.D. 1900, had been published in Calcutta, forty-four years ago, in 1790. These tables have, however, been long out of print. Playfair’s Chronology, in folio, contains also a supplemental table of the Hijra calendar, copied from the celebrated French work, ‘L’Art de vérifier les Dates.’ There are occasional differences of a day in all tables of the Hijra.

A compendious account of some of the Indian eras was printed as a part of the ‘Companion to the Almanac’ published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, for the year 1830. The whole article, however, on the eras of ancient and modern times, is calculated to be of such great utility in this country, both to Europeans who are out of the reach of works of reference or chronology, and to native

students of European literature and history, who have no prior acquaintance with the subject, that we make no apology for reprinting the paper entire, as an introduction to the tables which follow.

THE ERAS OF ANCIENT AND MODERN TIMES, AND OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES, EXPLAINED; WITH A VIEW TO THE COMPARISON OF THEIR RESPECTIVE DATES.

In the earliest stages of society, some division of time must have been necessary, and some means devised by men in the most savage state, to communicate to each other the period of undertaking, in concert, a hunt or a predatory excursion. But in such a condition the views of men do not extend far, and very limited periods would therefore suffice. The division of day and night, and the scarcely less obvious distinction of new and full moon, might have served to mark the lapse of time for ages; and, although in all climates the alternations of summer and winter, and of wet and dry periods, must have obtruded themselves on the feelings of the most unobserving, it was probably not until the practice of agriculture had afforded men leisure for reflection, that any accurate observations were made on the duration of the seasons, or means used to ascertain the periods of their return. We see, at the present time, that many societies of men, who live only by hunting and fishing, have no exact knowledge of duration of time beyond that of a moon or season, and designate a term of five or of fifty years, equally as a long time. All agricultural nations are aware of the return of the same seasons after a lapse of twelve or thirteen moons; but many years must have elapsed before the length of a solar year was accurately determined. Less civilized nations still continue to compute their time in part by the motions of the moon; and this was the mode of the Greeks, and of the Romans until the correction of Julius Cæsar, but the subject was so little understood even in his time, that an error of several days crept into the Roman calendar soon afterwards, requiring another reformation.

It will render the comparison of eras much easier, if we give some account of what is meant by a solar and a lunar year. A solar year is that space of time during which all the seasons have their course. This takes place in 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, and 49 seconds; and an approximation to that time has been adopted by those nations which have had sufficient astronomical science to determine it. But as it would be impracticable to begin every new year at a different hour of the day, which would be necessary if the perfect year should always be completed before the commencement of a new one, 365 days have been taken as the length of a year, leaving the odd hours and minutes to accumulate until they amount to a whole day, when they are added to the year, making what is called a leap year, or intercalary year, of 366 days. The various ways of doing this will be detailed when we speak of the different eras. Some nations still use a year of 365 days without any intercalation; and this is called a *vague*, or erratic year, because its commencement varies through all the different seasons.

A lunar year consists of 12 moons, or 354 days. This may be convenient enough for short periods, but is so ill adapted for the computation of a civilized nation, that none but Mahometans have continued in the use of it even for a little time. It suits the course of time so ill, that its commencement varies, in a few years, through all the seasons; and many men, amongst the nations which use it, can remember the fasts and festivals altering from summer to winter, and again from winter to summer, and their seed-time and harvest alternately wandering from the beginning of the year to the end.

The luni-solar year is that in which the months are regulated according to the course of the moon, but to which from time to time a month is added, whenever the year would range too widely from its original situation. This year is inconvenient from its varying duration; but as, in a long course of years, the months remain nearly at the same situation, it is less objectionable than the pure lunar year. It was the mode of computation of the Greeks and Romans, and is even now that of the Chinese, Tartars, Japanese, and Jews.

All these varying modes render the comparison of dates much more difficult than it appears to be at the first view. We shall endeavour so far to simplify the calculation as to enable any arithmetician to compute, within a day or two, the eras of every nation, and to reduce them to the Christian era.

#### THE ROMAN YEAR.

The Roman year, in its arrangement and division, is that on which our year is entirely founded. The Romans reckoned their time from the date which some of their antiquaries chose to assign for the founding of Rome, viz., the 21st of April, in the 2nd year of the 6th Olympiad, or 754 B.C. This era is designated by the letters A.U.C., or *ab urbe condita*, "from the building of the city." The first year used by them, and attributed to Romulus, consisted of ten months, from March to December, or 304 days. A year exhibiting such a discrepancy from the real course of the seasons could not have remained long in use, and it is supposed that extraordinary months were added as often as it was found necessary. A correction is attributed to his successor Numa, who is said to have added two months to the year, January at the beginning, and February at the end. All these months consisted of 29 or 31 days. The year was lunar, and consequently shorter than the true year; several additions were therefore made, which brought the beginning of the year nearly to the same season, viz., the middle of winter. February subsequently became the second month, which change is alluded to by Ovid.

This computation was followed, with some variation, arising partly from ignorance, and partly from the intrigues of the priests, who had the direction of the calendar, until the time of Julius Caesar, who, observing that the beginning of the year, instead of occurring in winter, as at first, had now receded to the autumn, ordered that the year A.U.C. 707, or 47 B.C., should consist of 445 days, whereby the following year might begin at the proper time. In order to avoid, in future, the confusion naturally attendant on years of such varied length as those hitherto in use, he determined that the year should be solar, without any reference to the lunar motions. Supposing the natural year to consist of 365 days and 6 hours, he ordered that three years in succession should each consist of 365 days, and the fourth should contain 366 days. He also allotted the respective number of days to each month, precisely as we use to this day. With the exception of July and August, (then called Quintilis and Sextilis, but altered to their present names in honour of Julius and Augustus Caesar), the names also of the Roman months were similar to ours. The only difference between their calendar and ours was in their mode of counting days, which was backwards instead of forwards. To spare a long explanation, which perhaps might not be sufficiently intelligible to all readers, we shall set down a Roman month, with the days, according to our mode, opposite to each Roman day.

<i>English.</i> <i>Roman.</i>		<i>English.</i> <i>Roman.</i>	
Jan.	1 Calends.	Jan.	6 8th before Ides.
	2 4th before nones.		7 7th ditto.
	3 3d before nones.		8 6th ditto.
	4 day before nones.		9 5th ditto.
	5 Nones.		10 4th ditto.

<i>English.</i>	<i>Roman.</i>	<i>English.</i>	<i>Roman.</i>
Jan. 11	3d before Ides.	Jan. 22	11th bef. Cal. of Feb.
12	day ditto.	23	10th ditto.
13	Ides.	24	9th ditto.
14	19th before Cal. of Feb.	25	8th ditto.
15	18th ditto.	26	7th ditto.
16	17th ditto.	27	6th ditto.
17	16th ditto.	28	5th ditto.
18	15th ditto.	29	4th ditto.
19	14th ditto.	30	3d ditto.
20	13th ditto.	31	day before Cal. Feb.
21	12th ditto.		

The nones and ides of March, May, July, and October, are two days later than in January, the nones falling on the 7th, and the ides on the 15th of those months; the 2nd of March will be therefore the 6th before the nones, and so on. In all the other months, the calends, nones, and ides hold the same places as in the month of January. In the months which have but 30 days, the number of days before the calends will, of course, be one less, and in February, three less. In leap years, the additional day was inserted in February, as in our calendar; but instead of making a 29th day, the 24th was reckoned twice, and being called in Latin *sexta Cal. Mart.*, (or sixth day before the calends of March,) this, with the addition of bis (twice), gave the name of *bissextile* to the leap year, which it still retains. The first year reckoned on this principle was a leap year. (A.U.C. 708, or 46 B.C.)

Julius Cæsar was killed soon after the reformation of the calendar, and his plan was so little understood, that, instead of making the fourth year a bissextile, a leap year was reckoned every third year, as though the length of the true year had been 365 days 8 hours. This error was discovered 37 years after, at which time thirteen intercalations had taken place instead of ten, and the year began three days too late. The calendar was accordingly again corrected, not by throwing out the three superfluous days at once, but by an order that the twelve following years should be all of 365 days each, and that there should be no leap year until A.U.C. 760, or A.D. 7. From that time the account has been kept without error, and the Roman year has been adopted by almost all Christian nations, with no other variation than taking the birth of Christ as the commencement, instead of the building of Rome.

If the given Roman year be less than 754, deduct it from 754; if the given Roman year be not less than 754, deduct 753 from it; the remainder gives the year (B.C. and A.D., in the first and second cases respectively) in which the Roman year commences.

Ex.—Required the year	780 A.U.C.	Required the year	701 A.U.C.
deduct	753		754
	<hr/> 27 A.D.		<hr/> 701
			53 B.C.

#### THE OLYMPIADS.

The Greeks computed their time by the celebrated era of the Olympiads, which date from the year 776 B.C., being the year in which Coræbus was successful at the Olympic games. This era differed from all others in being reckoned by periods of four years instead of single years. Each period of four years was called an Olympiad, and in marking a date, the year and Olympiad were both mentioned. The year was luni-solar, of 12 or 13 months. The names of the months varied in the different states of Greece, but the Attic months are most usual. They are as follows:—



Hecatombeon,  
Metageitnion,  
Boedromion,  
Pyanepsion,  
Moemacterion,  
Poseideon,

Gamelion,  
Anthesterion,  
Elaphebolion,  
Munychion,  
Thargelion,  
Seirophorion.

In the year of 13 months, the additional month was inserted after Poseideon, and called the second Poseideon.

The months consisted of 30 and 29 days alternately, and the short year in consequence contained 354 days, while the intercalary year had 384. The third year of the first Olympiad consisted of 13 months, and the first and fourth years of the second Olympiad were also intercalary; consequently in the first Olympiad there were 1,446 days, and in the second 1,476, making together 2,922, exactly equal to eight Julian years: this mode of intercalation would therefore precisely bring about the commencement of the ninth year to the same season, as that of the first year. But as the Olympic months followed the course of the moon, and 99 such months contained  $2,923\frac{1}{2}$  days, the moon was in consequence a day and a half in advance of the reckoning. The error was, however, allowed to accumulate until it reached three days, which was in four Olympiads, or sixteen years, to the last of which three days were added. This corrected the errors with respect to the moon, but it threw out the commencement of the year, as regarded the seasons, making it three days too late. No means were adopted to remedy this until the fortieth Olympiad, the last year of which was made to consist of 12 months only, instead of 13 as usual, and the forty-first Olympiad began with the same days of the moon and sun as the first had done 160 years before. By this reckoning, the year always began between the new and full moon before or after the summer solstice, though more commonly after; and it continued in use until 432 B.C. or fourth year of the eighty-sixth Olympiad, when the cycle of 19 years was invented by Meton. This astronomer found that the Attic months no longer followed the course of the moon, but that the new moon nearest the summer solstice, which should have been the first day of the 87th Olympiad, would actually take place on the 13th day of Seirophorion, in the 4th year of the 86th Olympiad. He therefore proposed to commence the 87th Olympiad from that day, and to adopt a new system of intercalation. He supposed 235 moons to be exactly equal to 19 solar years, and that in every period of 19 years, the new and full moons would recur regularly at the same seasons. Nineteen years of 12 moons each would contain 228 moons, and consequently 7 moons were to be added. These were inserted in the 3d, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19 years. Instead also of making the months of 30 and 29 days alternately, he determined that each month should consist nominally of 30 days, but that every 63d day should be omitted in numbering. The third day of Boedromion, for example, was omitted in the first year, the 6th of Poseideon, and so on to the end of the nineteenth year, when the last exemptile day (the 3d of Thargelion) was retained, making that year to consist of 385 days. This cycle was in use above a century, but was not quite accurate; 19 solar years are equal to about 6,939 days, 14 hours and a half, and 235 lunations to 6,939 days, 16 hours and a half, or 2 hours more. In the year 330 B.C. this excess amounted to only 11 hours; but by the cycle of Meton, to above 52 hours, he having made 19 years equal to 6,940 days; when another astronomer, Calippus, having made several observations on the solstice, calculated that the excess made 1 day in 76 years. He, therefore, invented the cycle of 76 years, called from him the Calippian, which consisted of 27,759 days, exactly equal to 76 Julian years, but above 14 hours in excess of the true solar year. In this period were included 940 lunations, equal to  $27,758\frac{3}{4}$  days.

The system of Calippus began in the 8th year of the Metonic cycle (330 B.C.), and is frequently referred to as a date by Ptolemy. It is supposed that he altered the periods of inserting the intercalary months, but this is doubtful. The system of Calippus continued in use as long as the Olympiads were employed, and was exactly equal to the Julian, on an average of years.

To reduce the date by Olympiads to our era, multiply the past Olympiad by four, and add the odd years. Subtract the sum from 777 if before Christ, and subtract 776 from the sum if after Christ, the remainder will be the beginning of the given year; to decide on the exact day would be very difficult, on account of the alterations which the system has undergone. It will be, perhaps, sufficient to observe that the year begins within a fortnight of the middle of July.

#### THE CHRISTIAN ERA.

The Christian era, used by almost all Christian nations, dates from January 1st, in the middle of the fourth year of the 194th Olympiad, in the 753rd of the building of Rome, and 4714th of the Julian period. It was first introduced in the sixth century, but was not very generally employed for some centuries after.

The Christian year in its division follows exactly the Roman year, consisting of 365 days for three successive years, and of 366 in the fourth year, which is termed leap year. This computation subsisted for 1,000 years throughout Europe without alteration, and is still used by the followers of the Greek Church; other Christians have adopted a slight alteration, which will be shortly explained. The simplicity of this form has brought it into very general use, and it is customary for astronomers and chronologists, in treating of ancient times, to date back in the same order from its commencement. There is, unfortunately, a little ambiguity on this head, some persons reckoning the year immediately before the birth of Christ, as 1 B.C., and others noting it with 0, and the second year before Christ with 1, making always one less than those who use the former notation. The first is the most usual mode, and will be employed in all our computations.

The Christian year (or Julian year), arranged as we have shewn, was 11' 11" too long, amounting to a day in nearly 129 years; and towards the end of the sixteenth century, the time of celebrating the church festivals had advanced ten days beyond the periods fixed by the council of Nice in 325. It was in consequence ordered, by a Bull of Gregory XIII., that the year 1582 should consist of 355 days only, which was effected by omitting ten days in the month of October, viz., from the 5th to the 14th. And, to prevent the recurrence of a like irregularity, it was also ordered, that in three centuries out of four, the last year should be a common year, instead of a leap year, as it would have been by the Julian calendar. The year 1600 remained a leap year, but 1700, 1800, and 1900 were to be common years. This amended mode of computing was called the New Style, and was immediately adopted in all Catholic countries, while the Old Style continued to be employed by other Christians. Gradually the New Style was employed by Protestants also. The last ten days of 1699 were omitted by the Protestants of Germany, who, in consequence, began the year 1700 with the New Style; and in England the reformed calendar was adopted in the year 1752, by omitting eleven days, to which the difference between the styles then amounted. The alteration was effected in the month of September, the day which would have been the third being called the fourteenth. The Greeks and Russians still use the Old Style.

To turn the Old Style to the New,—

From the alteration of style to the 29th February, 1700, add 10 days.

From 1st March, 1700, to 29th February.....1800, add 11 days.

" " 1800, " .. .....1900, " 12 days.

" " 1900, " .....2100, " 13 days.

Examples :—17th March, 1801, O.S. is 29th March, 1801, N.S.

19th Feb., 1703, O.S. is 2nd March, 1703, N.S.

24th Dec., 1690, O.S. is 3rd Jan., 1691, N.S.

20th Dec., 1829, O.S. is 1st Jan., 1830, N.S.

There will sometimes be a difference of one year in a date, from the circumstance that, in many countries, the time of beginning the year has varied. In England, until the year 1752, the year was considered to begin on the 25th of March; any date, therefore, from the 1st of January to the 24th of March, will be a year too little. It had been the practice for many years preceding the change of style to write both years, by way of obviating mistakes, as 1st of February, 170 $\frac{1}{2}$  or 1707-8, meaning the year 1708 if begun in Jan., or 1707 if begun in March.

In some countries, Easter-day was the first day of the year, in others the 1st of March, and in others, again, Christmas-day; but no certain rule can be given, as even in the same nation different provinces followed a different custom. The day of the week is, however, frequently added in old dates, which will at once clear up the ambiguity, the day of the week answering to any given date.

All nations, at present using either the Old or New Style begin the year on the 1st of January.

The Creation has been adopted as an epoch by Christian and Jewish writers, and would have been found very convenient, by doing away with the difficulty and ambiguity of counting before and after any particular date, as is necessary when the era begins at a later period. But, unfortunately, writers are not agreed as to the precise time of commencing. We consider the Creation as taking place 4004 years B.C.; but there are about a hundred and forty different variations in this respect. The following are those that have been most generally used :—

#### THE ERA OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

In this era the Creation is placed 5508 years B.C. It was used by the Russians until the time of Peter the Great, and is still used in the Greek Church. The civil year begins the first of September, and the ecclesiastical towards the end of March: the day is not exactly determined.

To reduce it to our era, subtract 5508 years from January to August and 5509 from September to the end.

#### ERA OF ANTIOCH, AND ERA OF ALEXANDRIA.

We place these together, because, although they differed at their formation by 10 years, they afterwards coincided. They were both much in use by the early Christian writers attached to the churches of Antioch and Alexandria. In the computation of Alexandria, the Creation was considered to be 5502 years before Christ, and, in consequence, the year 1 A.D. was equal to 5503. This computation continued to the year 284 A.D., which was called 5786. In the next year (285 A.D.), which should have been 5787, ten years were discarded, and the date became 5777. This is still used by the Abyssinians.

The era of Antioch considered the Creation to be 5492 years before Christ; and therefore the year 285 A.D. was 5777. As this was equal to the date of Alexandria, the two eras, from this time, were considered as one.

Dates of the Alexandrian era are reduced to the Christian era by subtracting 5502 until the year 5786, and after that time by subtracting 5492.

In the era of Antioch 5492 are always subtracted.

#### THE ABYSSINIAN ERA.

The Abyssinians reckon their years from the Creation, which they place in the 5,493rd year before our era,<sup>1</sup> on the 29th of August, Old Style; and their dates will consequently exceed ours by 5492 years and 125 days. They have 12 months of 30 days each, and 5 days added at the end, called Pagomen, from the Greek word *ἐπαγομεναι*, *added*. Another day is added at the end of every fourth year. To know which year is leap year, divide the date by 4, and if 3 remain, the year will be leap year. It always precedes the Julian leap year by one year and four months. The following are names of the months, with their beginnings referred to the Old Style:—

Mascaram .....	29th August.	Miyazia .....	27th March.
Tekemt .....	28th September.	Genbot .....	26th April.
Hedar .....	28th October.	Sene .....	26th May.
Tahsas .....	27th November.	Hamle .....	25th June.
Ter .....	27th December.	Nahasse .....	25th July.
Yacatit .....	26th January.	Pagomen .....	24th August.
Magabit .....	25th February.		

To reduce Abyssinian time to the Julian year, subtract 5492 years and 125 days.

The Abyssinians also use the era of Martyrs, or Dioclesian, with the same months as in the above.

#### THE JEWISH ERA.

The Jews usually employed the era of the Seleucides until the fifteenth century, when a new mode of computing was adopted by them. Some insist strongly on the antiquity of their present era; but it is generally believed not to be more ancient than the century above named.

They date from the Creation, which they consider to have been 3760 years and 3 months before the commencement of our era. Their year is luni-solar, consisting either of 12 or 13 months each, and each month of 29 or 30 days. The civil year commences with or immediately after the new moon following the equinox of autumn. The months, with the number of days in each, are as follows:—

1 Tisri .....	30 days	7 (Veadar) .....	29 days
2 { Marchesvan .....	29 or 30	8 Nisan, or Abib .....	30
3 { Chesvan or Bul ... }		9 Jyar, or Zius .....	29
3 Chisleu .....	29 or 30	9 Sivan .....	30
4 Thebet .....	29	10 Thammuz .....	29
5 Sebat .....	30	11 Ab .....	30
6 Adar .....	29	12 Elul .....	29

And in intercalary years, 30.

The month Veadar is omitted in years of 12 months.

The average length of the year of 12 months is 354 days; but, by varying the length of Marchesvan and Chisleu, it may consist of 353 or 355 days also. In the same manner, the year of 13 months may contain 383, 384, or 385 days. In 19 years, 12 years have 12 months each, and 7 years 13 months. The following table of 19 years will show the number of months in each year, as well as the first day of their year, reduced to the New Style: the first day will not always be quite accurate,

<sup>1</sup> The Abyssinians place the birth of Christ in the 5,500th year of the Creation, and consequently eight years after our era.

as certain lucky and unlucky days require the postponement of a day in some years. The year must be divided by 19, and the remainder will shew the year of the cycle. If there be no remainder, it is the nineteenth year.

YEAR OF THE CYCLE.		MONTHS.
The 1st begins about the 2nd of October, and consists of 12		
2nd .....	22nd of September .....	12
3rd .....	10th .....	13
4th .....	29th .....	12
5th .....	19th .....	12
6th .....	8th .....	13
7th .....	27th .....	12
8th .....	16th .....	13
9th .....	5th of October .....	12
10th .....	25th of September .....	12
11th .....	14th .....	13
12th .....	2nd of October .....	12
13th .....	21st of September .....	12
14th .....	10th .....	13
15th .....	29th .....	12
16th .....	18th .....	12
17th .....	7th .....	13
18th .....	25th .....	12
19th .....	14th .....	13

To reduce the Jewish time to ours, subtract 3761, and the remainder will show the year: the beginning of the year may be ascertained by the above table, and the months must be counted from that time.

Example—Required the 1st of Chisleu 5588.

5588	19)5588(294
3761	38
1827	178
	171
	78
	76
	2

The remainder shews the year 5588 to be the second of the cycle, and consequently to begin on the 22nd of September. The 1st of Chisleu will therefore be about the 20th of November, 1827.

The ecclesiastical year begins six months earlier, with the month of Nisan. Consequently, when the given year is ecclesiastical, deduct a year in the date from Nisan to Elul, inclusive.

The Jews frequently in their dates leave out the thousands, which they indicate by placing the letters ללכ meaning לברמקטין "according to the lesser computation."

(It will be unnecessary to mention the various other epochs that have taken place from the Creation, as those detailed are the only ones that have been in general use.)

#### THE ERA OF NABONASSAR

received its name from that of a prince of Babylon, under whose reign astronomical studies were much advanced in Chaldaea. The years are vague, containing 365 days each, without intercalation. The first day of the era was Wednesday,<sup>1</sup> 26th February, 747 B.C.

<sup>1</sup> This is said, by mistake, to be Thursday, in 'L'Art de vérifier les Dates.'

To find the day of any Julian year on which the year of Nabonassar begins, subtract the given year, if before Christ, from 748, and, if after Christ, add it to 747. Divide the result by 4, omitting fractions, and subtract the quotient from 57 (*i.e.* the number of days, from January 1 to February 26). If the quotient exceed 57, add 365 as often as necessary, before subtraction. The remainder will be the day of the year given. The first result before the division by 4, increased by a unit for each 365 added to 57, will be the year of Nabonassar then beginning.

The day of the week on which the year of Nabonassar begins may be known by dividing by 7. If there be no remainder, the day will be Tuesday; if there be a remainder, the day placed below it in the following table will be the day required.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Tu.	W.	Th.	F.	Sa.	Su.	M.

As the above stated rule may be one day in error from the omission of fractions, it may be corrected by the help of this little table.

The year of Nabonassar being given, to find when it begins.

Rule.—Divide the year by 4: subtract the quotient from 57, adding 365, if necessary, as before; the remainder will be the number of days from the 1st of January.

The given year diminished as often as 365 has been added, will shew the number of Julian years from 747 B.C. If it be less than 748, subtract from that number, and the remainder will be the year before Christ: if equal, or more, subtract 747 from it, and the remainder will be the year after Christ.

#### THE EGYPTIAN ERA.

The old Egyptian year was identical with the era of Nabonassar, beginning on the 26th February, 747 B.C., and consisting of 365 days only. It was reformed thirty years before Christ, at which period the commencement of the year had arrived, by continually receding, to the 29th August, which was determined to be in future the first day of the year. Their years and months coincide exactly with those of the era of Dioclesian.

It appears from a calculation, that in 30 B.C., the year must have begun on the 31st of August; in which case we must suppose the reformation to have taken place eight years earlier: however that may be, it is certain that the 29th of August was the day adopted, and the number of the year one more than would have resulted from taking 747 as the commencement of the era.

To reduce to the Christian era, subtract 746 years 125 days.

The old Egyptian year was in use for above a century after Christ; the reformed year being at first used only by the Alexandrians.

#### THE JULIAN PERIOD

is a term of years produced by the multiplication of the lunar cycle 19, solar cycle 28, and Roman indiction 15. It consists of 7980 years, and began 4713 years before our era. It has been employed in computing time, to avoid the puzzling ambiguity attendant on reckoning any period antecedent to our era, an advantage which it has in common with the mundane eras used at different times.

By subtracting 4713 from the Julian period, our year is found. If before Christ, subtract the Julian period from 4714.

#### THE ERA OF DIOCLESIAN, CALLED ALSO THE ERA OF MARTYRS,

was much used by Christian writers until the introduction of the Christian era in the

sixth century, and is still employed by the Abyssinians and Copts. It dates from the day<sup>1</sup> when Dioclesian was proclaimed Emperor, at Chalcedon, 29th August, 284. It is called the Era of Martyrs, from the persecution of the Christians in the reign of Dioclesian. The year consists of 365 days, with an additional day every fourth year. Divide the date by 4, and if 3 remain the year is bissextile. It contains 12 months of 30 days each, with five additional in common years, and six in leap years.

The Coptic months are as follow, with the corresponding time according to the Julian Calendar.

COPTIC.	ARABIC.		COPTIC.	ARABIC.	
Thoth .....	Tot .....	Aug. 29.	Phamenoth.....	Buramat .....	Feb. 25.
Paophi.....	Babe .....	Sept. 28.	Pharmouthi .....	Barmude .....	March 27.
Athyr .....	Hatur.....	Oct. 28.	Pashons .....	Bashans .....	April 26.
Cohiac.....	Kyak .....	Nov. 27.	Payni .....	Baune .....	May 26.
Tybi.....	Tobe .....	Dec. 27.	Epiphi.....	Abib .....	June 25.
Mesir .....	Mashir } .....	Jan. 26.	Mesori.....	Meshri.....	July 25.
	Amshir }				

The additional days are called, by the modern Copts, Nisi in common years, and Kebus in leap years; by the ancient Copts Piabotukuji, and in Arabic Biabotanquji.

The Abyssinian names are given under the head of Abyssinia.

To reduce the years of this era to those of the Christian, add 283 years 240 days.

When the Dioclesian year is the year after leap year, it begins one day later than usual, and in consequence one day must be added to the Christian year, from the 29th August to the end of the following February.

#### THE GRECIAN ERA, OR ERA OF THE SELEUCIDES,

dates from the reign of Seleucus Nicator, 311 years and 4 months before Christ. It was used in Syria for many years, and frequently by the Jews until the 15th century, and by some Arabians to this day. The Syrian Greeks began their year about the commencement of September; other Syrians in October, and the Jews about the Autumnal Equinox. We shall not pretend to great accuracy in this era, the opinions of authors being very various as to its commencement.

It is used in the book of the Maccabees, and appears to have begun with Nisan,

Their year was solar, and consisted of 365 days, with the addition of a day every fourth year.

To reduce it to our era, supposing it to begin 1st September, 312 B.C., subtract 311 years and four months.

The following are the months used by the Greeks and Syrians, with the corresponding Roman months.

SYRIAN.	MACEDONIAN.	ENGLISH.
Elul .....	Gorpiaëus.....	September.
Tishrin I. ....	Hyperberetæus .....	October.
Tishrin II.....	Dius.....	November.
Canun I.....	Apellæus.....	December.
Canun II.....	Audynæus .....	January.
Shubat .....	Peritius .....	February.
Adar.....	Dystrus .....	March.
Nisan.....	Xanticus.....	April.
Ayar.....	Artemisius .....	May.
Haziran.....	Dæsius .....	June.
Tammus .....	Panaemus .....	July.
Ab .....	Lous .....	August.

<sup>1</sup> Dioclesian was not in reality proclaimed until some months after this time.

## THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

dates from the 12th of November, 324 B.C.,<sup>1</sup> on which day the 425th year of Nabonassar began. This era was computed by years of 365 days, with a leap year of 366 every four years, like the Julian year. The months were of 30 days each, with 5 additional. To compute it, deduct 323 from the given year, and the remainder will be the year of the Christian era. If before Christ deduct the year from 324.

## THE ERA OF TYRE

began the 19th of October, 125 B.C., with the month Hyperberetæus. The months were the same as those used in the Grecian era. The year is similar to the Julian.

To reduce it to our era, subtract 124; and if the given year be less than 125, deduct it from 125, and the remainder will be the year before Christ.

## THE CESAREAN ERA OF ANTIOCH

was used, in Syria, by Greeks and Syrians. The months are the same as those given under the Grecian era. The Greeks began with Gorpæus, in the year 49 B.C., and the Syrians with Tishrin I. of 48 B.C.

## THE ERA OF ABRAHAM

is used by Eusebius, and begins the 1st of October, 2016 B.C. To reduce this to the Christian era, subtract 2015 years 3 months, and the remainder will be the year and month.

## THE SPANISH ERA, OR ERA OF THE CÆSARS,

is reckoned from 1st of January, 38 years B.C., being the year following the conquest of Spain by Augustus; it was much used in Africa, Spain, and the South of France. By a Synod held in 1180, its use was abolished in all the churches dependent on Barcelona. Pedro IV. of Arragon abolished the use of it in his dominions in 1350. John I. of Castile did the same in 1382. It continued to be used in Portugal until 1455.

The months and days of this era are identical with those of the Julian Calendar; and, consequently, to turn this time into that of our era, we have only to subtract 38 from the year. Thus the Spanish year 750 is equal to the Julian 712. If the year be before the Christian era, subtract it from 39.

## THE ERA OF YEZDEGIRD III., OR THE PERSIAN ERA,

was formerly universally adopted in Persia, and is still used by the Parsees in India, and by the Arabs, in certain computations. This era began on the 16th of June, A.D. 632. The year consisted of 365 days only, and therefore its commencement, like that of the old Egyptian and Armenian year, anticipated the Julian year by one day in every four years. This difference amounted to nearly 112 days in the year 1075, when it was reformed by Jelaledin, who ordered that in future the Persian year should receive an additional day whenever it should appear necessary to postpone the commencement of the following year, that it might occur on the day of the sun's passing the same degree of the ecliptic. This took place generally once in four years; but,

<sup>1</sup> This would be more accurately 323 B.C., but the above date is more usually adopted.



after seven or eight intercalations, it was postponed for a year. It will be observed that such an arrangement must be perfect, and that this calendar could never require reformation; but it has the inconvenience of making it very difficult to determine beforehand the length of any given year, as well as that of causing a difference occasionally in the computation of persons living under different meridians; those living towards the east sometimes beginning their year a day after others more westwardly situate; the sun rising in the old sign to those in the former situation, who consequently continued in the old year another day; while the others, having their sun rise in the new sign, began a new year. The present practice of the Parsees in India varies in different provinces, some beginning the year in September, and others in October. The months are as follows: they have each thirty days, and the intercalation of five or six days occurs at the end of Aban.

Ferwardin,	Merdad,	Ader,
Ardibehisht,	Sheriur,	Dei,
Khurdad,	Meher,	Behmen,
Tir,	Aban,	Ispendarmez.

To reduce this era to the Christian year, add 630 to the given year, and the sum will be the year of our era in which the year begins, according to the practice of the Parsees.

Every day of the Persian month has a different name.

#### THE ERA OF THE ARMENIANS.

The Armenians began their era on Tuesday, the 9th of July, A.D. 552. Their year consists of 365 days only, and therefore anticipates the Julian one day in every four years.

To know the day of the week on which the Armenian year begins, divide the year by 7; if there be no remainder, the year begins on a Monday; if there be a remainder, the day put under it in this table will be the first of the year.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6
M	Tu.	W.	Th.	F.	Sa.	Su.

To reduce the Armenian year to the Julian, divide the given date by 4, and subtract the quotient from 191, adding 365 to 191 if necessary; the remainder will be the days from the beginning of the Julian year, and the Armenian date (diminished by 1, if 365 has been added to 191) added to 551, will give the Christian year.

The Armenian ecclesiastical year begins on the 11th of August, and has an additional day at the end of every fourth year; and consequently coincides in division with the Julian year.

To reduce ecclesiastical Armenian years to our time, add 551 years and 222 days.

In leap years, subtract one day from March 1 to August 10.

NOTE.—The Armenians frequently use the old Julian style and months in their correspondence with Europeans.

#### THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY CALENDAR.

In the year 1792, the French nation, in their excessive desire to change all existing institutions, determined on the adoption of a new calendar, founded on philosophical principles. But as they were unable to produce any plan more accurate and convenient than that which was previously in use, they were contented to follow the old plan under a different name, merely changing some of the minor details and subdivisions, and commencing the year at a different time.

The first year of the era of the Republic began on the 22nd of September, 1792, *n.s.*, the day of the autumnal equinox. There were twelve months in each year of thirty days each, and five additional days at the end, celebrated as festivals. The fourth year was a leap year, called by the French an Olympic year. The months and additional festivals were as follow:—

Vendémiaire began 22 Sep.	Germinal began 21 March.
Brumaire ..... 22 Oct.	Floréal..... 20 April.
Frimaire..... 21 Nov.	Prairial ..... 20 May.
Nivôse ..... 21 Dec.	Messidor..... 19 June.
Pluviôse ..... 20 Jan.	Thermidor ..... 19 July.
Ventôse ..... 19 Feb.	Fructidor ..... 18 August.
Festival of Virtue, 17 Sep.	Festival of Opinion, 20 Sept.
„ Genius, 18 „	„ Rewards, 21 „
„ Labour, 19 „	

In Olympic years, from the 11th Ventôse (which was on the 29th of February) to the end of the year, each day answered to one day earlier than in other years; thus Germinal began on the 20th of March.

The months were divided into decades of ten days each, instead of weeks. These were the names of their days.

Primidi,	Quintidi,	Octodi,
Duodi,	Sextidi.	Novidi,
Tridi,	Septidi,	Decadi.
Quartidi,		

As this plan lasted so short a time, it will take less space to insert a table of years corresponding with the Christian era, than to give a rule for the deduction of one era from another.

1 1792-3	8 1799-1800
2 1793-4	9 1800-1801
3 1794-5	10 1801-2
4 1795-6	11 1802-3
5 1796-7	12 1803-4
6 1797-8	13 1804-5
7 1798-9	14 1805-6

#### THE MAHOMETAN ERA, OR ERA OF THE HEGIRA,

dates from the flight of Mahomet to Medina, which took place in the night of Thursday, the 15th July, A.D. 622. The era commences on the following day, viz. the 16th July. Many chronologists have computed this era from the 15th of July, but Cante-mir has given examples, proving that, in most ancient times, the 16th was the first day of the era; and now there can be no question that such is the practice of Mahometans. The year is purely lunar, consisting of twelve months, each month commencing with the appearance of the new moon, without any intercalation to bring the commencement of the year to the same season. It is obvious that, by such an arrangement, every year will begin much earlier in the season than the preceding, being now in summer, and, in the course of sixteen years, in the winter. Such a mode of reckoning, so much at variance with the order of nature, could scarcely have been in use beyond the pastoral and semi-barbarous nation by whom it was adopted, without the powerful aid of fanaticism; and even that has not been able to prevent the use of other methods by learned men in their computations, and by governments in the collection of revenue. It will also be remarked that, as the Mahometans begin each month with the appearance of the new moon, a few cloudy days might retard the commencement of a month, making the preceding month longer than usual. This, in

fact, is the case, and two parts of the same country will sometimes differ a day in consequence; although the clear skies of those countries where Islamism prevails, rarely occasion much inconvenience on this head. But in chronology and history, as well as in all documents, they use months of thirty and twenty-nine days, alternately, making the year thus to consist of 354 days: eleven times in thirty years, one day is added to the last month, making 355 days in that year. Consequently, the average length of a year is taken at  $354\frac{11}{30}$  days, the twelfth of which is  $29\frac{121}{360}$ , differing from the true lunation very little more than three seconds, which will not amount to a day in less than 2260 years, a degree of exactness which could not have been attained without long continued observations.

The intercalary year of 355 days occurs on the second, fifth, seventh, tenth, thirteenth, fifteenth, eighteenth, twenty-first, twenty-fourth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-ninth years of every thirty years. Any year being given, to know whether it be intercalary or not, divide by thirty, and if either of the above numbers remain, the year will be one of 355 days.

The names of the months, as used by the Turks, with the length of each, are as follow:—

Moharem.....	30	Regeb.....	30
Saphar .....	29	Shaban .....	29
Rabi' I.....	30	Ramadan .....	30
Rabi' II.....	29	Shawall.....	29
Jomadhi I.....	30	Dhu'l kadah.....	30
Jomadhi II.....	29	Dhu'l hajjah .....	29

And in intercalary 30 days.

They have weeks of seven days, named as follow:—

TURKS.	PERSIANS.	INDIANS.	ANC. ARABIC.	MOD. ARABIC.
Su. Pazar gun .....	Yekshambe.....	Etwar .....	Bawal .....	Yom ahad.
M. Pazar ertesi.....	Doshambe.....	Peer or Sonrwar	Bahun.....	Yom Thena.
Tu. Sale.....	Sishambe.....	Mungul .....	Jebar.....	Yom tulta.
W. Charshambe....	Charshambe....	Boodh.....	Dabar.....	Yom arba.
Th. Pershambe.....	Panjshambe....	Jumerat.....	Femunes.....	Yom hamsa.
F. Juma .....	Juma or Adina..	Juma .....	Aruba.....	Juma.
Sa. Juma ertesi .....	Shambe or Hafta	Sunneecheer....	Shiyar.....	Sabt.

#### THE CHINESE.

like all the nations of the north-east of Asia, reckon their time by cycles of 60 years; instead of numbering them as we do, they give a different name to every year in the cycle. As all those nations follow the same system, we shall detail it here more particularly. They have two series of words, one of ten, and the other of twelve words; a combination of the first words in both orders is the name of the first year; the next in each series are taken for the second year; and so to the tenth: in the eleventh year, the series of ten being exhausted, they begin again with the first, combining it with the eleventh of the second series; in the twelfth year, the second word of the first series is combined with the twelfth of the second; for the thirteenth year, the combination of the third word of the first list with the first of the second list is taken, that list also being now exhausted. To make this clearer, we shall designate

the series of ten by the Roman letters, that of twelve by the italics, and the whole cycle of 60 will stand thus.

1 a <i>a</i>	16 f <i>d</i>	31 a <i>g</i>	46 f <i>k</i>
2 b <i>b</i>	17 g <i>e</i>	32 b <i>h</i>	47 g <i>l</i>
3 c <i>c</i>	18 h <i>f</i>	33 c <i>i</i>	48 h <i>m</i>
4 d <i>d</i>	19 i <i>g</i>	34 d <i>k</i>	49 i <i>a</i>
5 e <i>e</i>	20 k <i>h</i>	35 e <i>l</i>	50 k <i>b</i>
6 f <i>f</i>	21 a <i>i</i>	36 f <i>m</i>	51 a <i>c</i>
7 g <i>g</i>	22 b <i>k</i>	37 g <i>a</i>	52 b <i>d</i>
8 h <i>h</i>	23 c <i>l</i>	38 h <i>b</i>	53 c <i>e</i>
9 i <i>i</i>	24 d <i>m</i>	39 i <i>c</i>	54 d <i>f</i>
10 k <i>k</i>	25 e <i>a</i>	40 k <i>d</i>	55 e <i>g</i>
11 a <i>l</i>	26 f <i>b</i>	41 a <i>e</i>	56 f <i>h</i>
12 b <i>m</i>	27 g <i>c</i>	42 b <i>f</i>	57 g <i>i</i>
13 c <i>a</i>	28 h <i>d</i>	43 c <i>g</i>	58 h <i>k</i>
14 d <i>b</i>	29 i <i>e</i>	44 d <i>h</i>	59 i <i>l</i>
15 e <i>c</i>	30 k <i>f</i>	45 e <i>i</i>	60 k <i>m</i>

The series of 10 is designated in China by the name of *t'een kan*, or celestial signs. Their names are—1, *k'ea*; 2, *yih*; 3, *ping*; 4, *ting*; 5, *woo*; 6, *ke*; 7, *kang*; 8, *sin*; 9, *jin*; 10, *kwey*.

The series of 12 are the horary characters, and are named *teche*, terrestrial signs. Their names are—1, *toze*; 2, *chow*; 3, *yin*; 4, *maou*; 5, *shin*; 6, *sze*; 7, *woo*; 8, *we*; 9, *shin*; 10, *yew*; 11, *seö*; 12, *hac*.

These characters being substituted for their equivalent letters in the cycle, will show the Chinese name of every year; for example, *kia tzse* is the first year; *kang yin*, the 27th.

The Chinese months are lunar, of 29 and 30 days each. Their years have ordinarily 12 months, but a thirteenth is added whenever there are two new moons while the sun is one sign of the Zodiac. This will occur seven times in nineteen years.

The boasted knowledge of the Chinese in astronomy has not been sufficient to enable them to compute their time correctly. In 1290 A.D., the Arab *Jemaleddin* composed a calendar for them, which remained in use until the time of the Jesuit *Adam Schaal*, who was the director of their calendar until 1664. It then remained for five years in the hands of the natives, who so deranged it, that when it was again submitted to the direction of the Christians, it was found necessary to expunge a month to bring the commencement of the year to the proper season. It has since that time been almost constantly under the care of Christians.

The first cycle, according to the Romish Missionaries, began February 2397 B.C.<sup>1</sup> We are now, therefore, in the 71st cycle, the 27th of which will begin in 1830. To find out the Chinese time, multiply the eclipsed cycle by 60, and add the odd years; then, if the time be before Christ, subtract the sum from 2398; but if after Christ, subtract 2397 from it; the remainder will be the year required.

The Chinese frequently date from the year of the reigning sovereign, and in that case there is no way of having the corresponding date but by a list of Emperors. We subjoin a list of those who have reigned for the last two centuries.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Morrison carries it back to the 61st year of *Hwang-te*, 2596 B.C., making the present year to fall in the 74th cycle; but, according to the celebrated historian *Choo-foo-tsze*, *Hwang-te* reigned about 2700 B.C., making 75½ cycles from that period, which is, probably, more correct than either of the above statements.

## TARTAR DYNASTY.

Ho-tsung began to reign A.D.....	1616.
Chwang-lëë .....	1627.
Shun-che .....	1644.
Kang-he .....	1662.
Yung-ching .....	1723.
Këen-lung .....	1736.
Kea-king .....	1796.
Taou-kwang .....	1821, now Emperor.

## THE JAPANESE

have a cycle of 60 years, like that of the Chinese, formed by a combination of words of two series. The series of ten is formed of the names of the elements, of which the Japanese reckon five, doubled by the addition of the masculine and feminine endings, je and to.

1	kino-je	} wood.
2	kino-to,	
3	fino-je	} fire.
4	fino-to	
5	tsutsno-je,	} earth.
6	tsutsno-to,	
7	kanno-je,	} metal.
8	kanno-to,	
9	midsno-je,	} water.
10	midsno-to,	

The series of 12 is made up of the signs of the Zodiac.

1	ne, rat.
2	oos, ox.
3	torra, tiger.
4	ov, hare.
5	tats, dragon.
6	mi, serpent.
7	ooma, horse.
8	tsitsuse, sheep.
9	sar, ape.
10	torri, hen.
11	in, dog.
12	y, hog.

By substituting these words for the letters in the cycle, under the head of China, the Japanese names are found. Thus, the first year of the cycle is called kino-je ne, the 35th, tsutsno-je in, and so on. The cycles coincide with those of the Chinese; but a name is given to them instead of numbering them. Their years begin in February, and are luni-solar, of 12 and 13 months, with the intercalation as before mentioned under the head of China. The first cycle is said to begin 660 B.C.; but this cannot be correct, unless some alteration has taken place, as the Chinese cycle then began 657 B.C. We know, however, too little of Japan to pronounce positively respecting it; but thus far it is certain, that the cycle now coincides with that of the Chinese.

To an article of this nature, it may not be thought superfluous to append a slight notice of the manner in which some of the aboriginal tribes of America reckoned their time, before its discovery by the natives of Europe. The science of astronomy seems to have advanced there to a much greater extent than is commonly imagined. The extraordinary accuracy of the Mexicans in their computations, surpassing that of the Europeans of their time, cannot be accounted for otherwise than by the supposition that they had derived it from some people more civilized than themselves; and would appear incredible, if not well attested by Spanish authors of the fifteenth century, as well as by many hieroglyphic almanacs yet remaining, of undoubted antiquity. The Peruvians and Musesas had lunar years of great accuracy also; but this is less surprising, as the phases of the moon are sufficiently visible to the eye, and their returns frequent. We shall detail that of the Mexicans only.

The year of the Mexicans consisted of 365 days; it was composed of eighteen

months of twenty days each, and five additional, called *nemontemi*, or void. At the end of a cycle of fifty-two years, thirteen days were added; and at the end of another cycle, twelve days, and so on alternately, making an addition of twenty-five days in 104 years. This made the mean year to consist of 365 days, 5 hours, 46 minutes,  $9\frac{2}{13}$  seconds, being only  $2' 39\frac{1}{13}''$  shorter than the truth. As the wanton destruction of the Mexican monuments and hieroglyphic records by their cruel and barbarous conquerors has left little to study, and the extermination of the Mexicans of superior order has done away with their system, we shall not detail the names of their months and particulars of their cycles, which afford striking coincidences with those of the Tartars, Japanese, etc. We shall only add that their first cycle began in the month of January, A.D. 1090.

### INDIAN CHRONOLOGY.

Having completed, in the foregoing extract, a general and condensed account of the eras in use among other nations, we proceed to enter a little more into detail upon the peculiar chronological systems of the natives of India, drawing our information chiefly from Col. Warren's '*Kāla Sankalita*.'

There are a great variety of eras in use in different parts of India, but all may be classified under four general heads, according to the mode of expressing or of subdividing the year; and in this way it is proposed to notice them: namely, first, those which are founded on the sidereal divisions of the months; secondly, those which follow the intricate and peculiar luni-solar computations; thirdly, those reckoned by cycles, and in which the years are generally distinguished by names, a system which spread from India into Tibet, and was long before used in China and Japan; and fourthly, those derived essentially from the Muhammadan era, though they have since followed the ordinary reckoning of the country. The Hijra era itself is also universally employed by the Musalmāns of India, but there will be no occasion to add to the description already given of this purely lunar year.

The present section will be confined to an account of the construction of the year by each system; the modes of comparison and the application of the tables being reserved for separate explanation.

#### I.—SOLAR OR SIDEREAL YEAR.

The Hindú Solar Year, as it is improperly called, is strictly sidereal; it contains that space of time during which the sun, departing from a given star, returns to the same in his apparent revolution through the zodiac. In the most ancient period of their astronomy,

before the introduction of the solar zodiac, the pandits placed the beginning of the year at the entrance of the sun into Aswini, the first of the twenty-seven Nakshatras, or mansions of the fixed lunar zodiac. The solar zodiac was afterwards formed from the lunar one, about the year 1181 B.C. according to Bentley; the names of the months being taken from those of the lunar mansions in which the moon happened to be full in the year of its invention.

Bentley supposes that a lunar cycle, or luni-solar period, was about the same time discovered, there having been 3056 lunations in 247 years *and one month*, which caused the initial month of the year to change its name every 247 years; the first had been A'swina, the second became Kártika, etc., so that the date of an ancient author's writing may be roughly ascertained, should he happen to mention the name of the commencing month of the year. The following is a useful table of these lunar periods, which lasted until the year 538 A.D.<sup>1</sup>

PERIODS.	BEGAN.	MONTHS.	LUNAR ASTERISM COINCIDING.
1.....	1 Sept. 1192 B.C...	1 A'swina .....	Chaitra.
2.....	1 Oct. 945 „ ...	1 Kártika .....	Vaiśákha.
3.....	29 „ 698 „ ...	1 Agraháyana. <sup>2</sup>	Jyeshtha.
4.....	27 Nov. 451 „ ...	1 Pausa .....	P. Asháḍha.
5.....	25 Dec. 204 „ ...	1 Mágha .....	Srávana.
6.....	23 Jan. 44 A.D...	1 Phálguna ...	Satabbisha.
7.....	21 Feb. 291 „ ...	1 Chaitra .....	Bhádrapada.
8.....	22 Mar. 538 „ ...	1 Vaiśákha ...	A'swini.

The adoption of the fixed sidereal zodiac of twelve signs is ascribed by Bentley with tolerable certainty (from the position of the equinoctial colure and the minimum errors of the 'Brahma-Siddhánta' tables) to this latter epoch; whence Vaiśákha has continued to be the initial month of the solar year to the present time. This month corresponds with the sign Mesha or Aries of the fixed solar Hindú ecliptic.<sup>3</sup>

The Hindús divide the year into six seasons (*ritu*), of two sidereal months each, the succession of which is always the same; but the vicissitudes of climate in them will depend on the position of the equinoctial colure.

<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to allude to this lunar division to show how Vaiśákha came eventually to be the first month of the solar year.

<sup>2</sup> Bentley supposes the former name of this month, Márgasirsha, to have been changed at this period, to denote its now commencing the year.

<sup>3</sup> According to the Hindú authorities, the year in which the zodiac was adjusted, or when the solar and sidereal zodiacs agreed, and there was no 'ain-i anshá' or precession, was in 969, A.D.

TABLE I.—*The order and names in the Sanskrit, Hindi, and Tamil languages, of the signs, months, and lunar mansions.*

SEASONS.	SIGNS.	NAMES OF MONTHS.			Tamil Seasons.	Nakshatras or Lunar Mansions as they corresponded in 1102 B.C.
		Sanskrit and Bengali.	Urdú.	Tamil.		Sanskrit.
1. Vasanta,	12 ☿	Chaitra,	Chait,	Punguni,	Si.	14 Chaitra.
	1 ♋	Vaiśākha,	Baisakh,	Chaitram,	V.	15 Śwātī.
	Mesha.					16 Vaisākha.
2. Grishma,	2 ☊	Jyeshtha,	Jeth.	Vyassei,		17 Anurādhā.
	3 ♋	Aśhādha,	Asāph,	Auni,	G.	18 Jyeshtha.
	3 ♋					19 Nēriti.
3. Varsha,	4 ☍	Srāvana,	Sāwan,	Audi,		20 Purva Ashārha.
	Karkāṭa.				V.	(Abhijit afterwards struck out).
	5 ☌	Bhādra,	Bhādon,	Auvani,		21 Uttara Ashārha.
4. Śarada,	6 ♎	Aświna,	Āsan,	Paratasi,	Sa.	22 Śrāvana.
	Kanyā.					23 Śrāvishtha.
	7 ♏	Kārtika,	Kārtik,	Arpesi.	H.	24 Śatabhishā.
5. Hemanta,	8 ♏	Mārgasīrsha or Āgrahayana	Aghan,	Kartiga,		25 P. Bhādrapada.
	9 ♏	Pausha,	Pūs,	Margali,		26 U. Bhādrapada.
	10 ♏	Māgha,	Māgh,	Tye,	Si.	27 Revatī.
6. Śiṣira,	11 ♏	Phālguna,	Phāgun,	Maussi,		1 Aswini.
	Kumbha.					2 Bharani.
						3 Kṛtikā.
						4 Rohini.
						5 Mṛgasīras.
						6 Ardra.
						7 Punarvasa.
						8 Pushya.
						9 Ashlesha.
						10 Māgha.
						11 P. Phālgunī.
						12 U. Phālgunī.
						13 Hasta.

The Hindús employ the several following modes of considering the duration of the day :

1. The *Sāvan*, or natural day, is the time between two consecutive sun-risings; therefore, this day is of variable duration. Its subdivisions are 60 *dhatas*, of 60 *vinadikas*, of 60 *vipalas*.

2. The *Saura*, or solar day, is the time during which the sun describes one degree of the ecliptic; consequently, longer or shorter as the sun is near the apogee or perigee: it is divided into 60 *dandas* (or *kalas*) of 60 *vikalas* each.

3. The *Nakshatra* day is the true sidereal day, being the time between the same point of the ecliptic rising twice. These are equal throughout the year, and are used in all computations. They are divided into *gharīs* and *palas* (called *vighadīas* in the south), following always the same convenient sexagesimal division. The *pala* is again divided into six *prāṇas* or 'respirations'; but the 'Sūrya-Siddhānta' and all astronomical works continue the subdivision by 60 throughout, thus :—



60 <i>kshayas</i>	= 1 <i>lava</i> .
60 <i>lavas</i>	= 1 <i>nimesha</i> .
60 <i>nimeshas</i>	= 1 <i>kāstha</i> .
60 <i>kāsthas</i>	= 1 <i>atipala</i> .
60 <i>atipalas</i>	= 1 <i>vipala</i> = 0.4 second, English.
60 <i>vipalas</i>	= 1 <i>pala</i> = 24 " "
60 <i>palas</i>	= 1 <i>danda</i> = 24 minutes "
60 <i>dandas</i>	= 1 <i>dina</i> or 1 'day' and night.
60 <i>dinas</i>	= 1 <i>ritu</i> or 'season.'

4. The lunar day, or *tithi*, is the 30th part of a lunation, and will be spoken of hereafter: it is used in astrological reckoning.

The division into weeks is also used, and the names of the days are derived from the planets, in precisely the same order as those of Europe.

TABLE II.—*Days of the week, with their sgnonyms in some other languages.*

ENGLISH.	HINDI.	SINGHALESE.	TIBETAN.	BURMESE.
☉ Sunday ...	Ravi-vār .....	Eri-dā .....	Gyah nyi-ma ...	Tanang-ganvé.
☾ Monday ...	Som-vār .....	Sa-du-dā .....	„ zla-va ..	Tanang-lā.
♂ Tuesday ...	Mangal-vār ...	Ang-gahanuvā-dā...	„ mig-amar	Ang-gā.
♀ Wednesday	Budh-vār .....	Ba-dā-dā .....	„ thag-pa ..	Buddha-hā.
♃ Thursday ...	{ Vrihaspat-vār } or Guru-vār	Bra-has-pa-ting-dā	„ phur-bu ..	Kyāsa-padé.
♀ Friday .....	Śukra-vār .....	Si-ku-rā-dā .....	„ pa-sangs..	Sok-kyā.
♄ Saturday ...	{ Śanīchar, or } Sani-vār ...	Sena-su-rā-dā .....	„ spén-pa...	Cha-né.

(They have already been given in Persian, Hindústānī, etc., in page 145.)

Each month contains as many days and parts of a day as the sun endures in each sign; the *civil* differing from the *astronomical* account only from its rejecting fractions of days; each civil year and month being accounted to begin at *sunrise*, instead of at the exact time of the sun's entrance into the respective signs on the strict astronomical computation. If the fraction exceeds 30 *gharīs* (half a Hindú day), then the civil year or month is accounted to begin one day later than the astronomical.

The portion of time assigned to each month further depends on the difference of time calculated for the passage of the sun through the northern and southern signs of the ecliptic, the time for the former being 186d. 21h. 38m. 24s., and for the latter, 178d. 8h. 34m. 6s.; the odd hours and minutes of which are applied to the beginnings of the year and months. The effect on civil reckoning is to produce differences in the relative lengths of the months of one or even two days more, or one day less, and to bring about a bissextile year of 366 days, as nearly as possible once in four years.

The unfixed lengths of the civil months renders it impossible to find the precise day corresponding to any other era, excepting by having

recourse to a calculation of the day of the week on which the Hindú civil month in question commenced, which, however, with the aid of the tables provided in Warren's excellent work from the bráhmanical formulæ, becomes a very simple problem. The order of the days having remained invariable since they first received their names, if any duration of years be multiplied by the mean length of the year, and the result in days be divided by seven, the remainder will necessarily shew the day of the week (counting from the epoch or initial day'), on which the period terminates.

Tables of roots, or moments at which particular epochs commence, such as centuries, will serve to facilitate this calculation, which, in fact, renders the system of the Hindú year more simple in expounding than those of the West, which are liable to secular variations.

A table of roots, as they are called, may in like manner be prepared for the durations of the months singly and collectively, so that by simple addition (rejecting sevens) the initial day of the required Hindú civil month may be accurately found. The dominical letter furnishes the same means of finding the day for any European date, and any two approximate dates may be thus brought to correspond precisely by the intervention of the weekly *feriæ*. Further explanation and examples of this process will be found in the pages of Calendric Scales, which we shall presently introduce for the purpose of simplifying the transposition of dates from one calendar to another.

It is impossible to enter into further particulars of the formation of the Hindú year without considerable knowledge of their astronomy; but it may be as well to state, that all the calculations of their books depend upon the hypothesis of four grand periods, comprising together 4,320,000,000 years, called a 'Mahá-Yug,' or great epoch of the conjunction of the planets in the beginning of the Hindú zodiac.

The four divisions of the 'Mahá-Yug' are called the 'Satya-yug,' the 'Tretá-yug,' the 'Dwápara-yug,' and the 'Kali-yug,' which latter commenced in March 3102 B.C., and is still current. All astronomical calculations start from this epoch, using the mean motions prescribed, which, by the nature of the system, are all whole numbers, although they vary in different authors, as the progress of observation suggested corrections. The three principal systems are set forth in the 'Brahma-' 'Súrya-' and 'Árya-' 'Siddhántas,' which Bentley has proved to have been framed respectively about the years 538, 1068, and 1322, A.D. The year by the 'Súrya-Siddhánta' consists of 365d. 15g. 31v. 31p. 24s., and by the 'Árya-Siddhánta,' 365d. 15g. 31v. 15p., which, expressed

<sup>1</sup> This, for the commencement of the Kali-yug, is Friday in the 'Súrya-Siddhánta.' In the epochs used in the 'Árya-Siddhánta,' it is Sunday.

in the European method, will be 365d. 6h. 12m. 36s. 34f.; and 365d. 6h. 12m. 30s. respectively. The latter is employed in the south of India: it differs from the Gregorian reckoning one day in sixty years, the amount of the equinoctial precession. The following table gives a general view of the planetary system according to the above authorities, and that of the 'Parāsara-Siddhānta,' another authority supposed by Bentley to be nearly coeval with that of Aya Bhut.

TABLE III.—*General view of the different Hindú Planetary Systems.*

Revolutions of	'Brahma-Siddhānta.'	'Sūrya-Siddhānta.'	'Ārya-Siddhānta.'	'Parāsara-Siddhānta.'
The sun....	4,320,000,000	4,320,000,000	4,320,000,000	4,320,000,000
The moon...	57,753,300,000	57,753,336,000	57,753,334,000	57,753,334,114
Mercury ...	17,936,998,984	17,937,024,000	17,937,054,671	17,937,055,474
Venus.....	7,022,389,492	7,022,376,000	7,022,371,432	7,022,372,148
Mars.....	2,296,828,522	2,296,832,000	2,296,831,000	2,296,833,037
Jupiter.....	364,226,455	364,220,000	364,219,682	364,219,954
Saturn.....	146,567,298	146,568,000	146,569,000	146,571,813
Equinoxes...	199,669	600,000	578,159	581,709
No. of days	1,577,916,450,000	1,577,917,828,000	1,577,917,542,000	1,577,917,570,000
Apsides—				
Sun.....	480	387	461	480
Moon.....	488,105,858	488,203,000	488,108,674	488,104,634
Mercury.....	332	386	339	356
Venus.....	653	535	658	526
Mars.....	292	204	299	327
Jupiter.....	855	900	830	982
Saturn ...	41	39	36	54
Nodes, (retrograde)				
Moon.....	232,311,168	232,238,000	232,313,354	232,313,235
Mercury.....	511	488	524	648
Venus ...	893	903	947	893
Mars.....	267	214	298	245
Jupiter...	63	174	96	190
Saturn ...	584	662	620	630
Revolutions of the Rishis in an exclusive epicycle,			1,599,998	1,599,998

To find the number of lunations, deduct the sun's revolutions from those of the moon, the remainder is the number sought. The mean annual motion of a planet is found by dividing its revolutions by 4,320,000,000, and their mean places at any epoch of the Kali-Yug ( $k$ ) by the common rule of three, as, 4,320,000,000 : revolutions in a Mahákalpa ::  $k$  : even revolutions and fraction, the latter to be converted into longitude on the Hindú ecliptic.

ERAS DEPENDENT ON THE SOLAR YEAR.

The Hindú solar or sidereal year is used in India, south of the Nar-

bada, in Bombay, in Bengal, in Tihút, and Nipál. The two principal eras in use are: 1. The Kali-Yug, dated, as before stated, from the equinox of March, 3102 B.C.; 2. The 'Śáka,' dating from the birth of Sáliváhana, a mythological prince of the Dakhan, who opposed Vikramáditya, the Rája of Ujjáyiní.

This era, called 'Śáka,' (a word of the same import,) commences on the 1st Baisákh, 3179, K.Y., which fell on Monday, 14th March, 78, A.D. Julian style. Several other styles seem to be connected in origin with it:

The Śáka of Bengal, as above .....	= 78 A.D. = 3179 K.Y.
The Burmese epoch, used at Prome.....	= 79 A.D. = 3180 K.Y.
The Aji Śáka, used in Java.....	= 74 A.D. = 3175 K.Y.
The Bali year .....	= 81 A.D. = 3182 K.Y.

The Bengálí San, and the Viláyatí year of Orissa, etc., will be hereafter mentioned under the fourth division.

## II.—HINDU LUNI-SOLAR YEAR.

The circumstances of the Indian luni-solar year differ from every other mode of dividing and recording time that has been employed in ancient or modern times. Some similarity had been remarked, in the secular omission of a month, to the Chaldean system; and, at a particular period, the common intercalations concurred with those of the lunar cycle of Meton, which led the learned to imagine them derived from the same source; but Warren has proved from a minute analysis of the Hindú 'Chandra-Mána,' that it has no further similitude to other systems than its dependence on the moon's motions must naturally induce.

The ordinary year, called 'Samvat-sara,' or 'mana,' is divided into twelve lunar months; an intercalary month (called in Sanskrit *adhika vulgo*, 'lound') being supplied, on a particular principle, once in about three years.

The year commences at the true instant of conjunction of the sun and moon: that is, on the new moon which immediately precedes the commencement of the solar year: falling somewhere therefore within the 30 or 31 days of the solar month Chait (*Chaitra*). The day of conjunction (*amāvasyá*) is the last day of the expired month: the first of the new month being the day after conjunction.

Although the initial element of the year is thus determinate, there are two modes of reckoning the month. In the south of India they begin contemporaneously with the year, on the conjunction (*amāvasyá*), and run through the 30 days in two divisions of about 15 days, called *śukla*- or *sukla*-*paksha*, and *krishna*- or *bakula*-*paksha*, the light- and the dark- half, or wax and wane, of the moon.

The 'Vrihaspati-Mána,' however, which is derived from the 'Súrya-Siddhánta,' and is followed throughout Hindústán and Telingana, makes the months commence with the full moon (*plurnamá*) preceding the last conjunction; so that new-year's day always falls in the middle of the lunar month Chait, and the year begins with the last *paksha*, or light-half of that month.<sup>1</sup>

The lunar months are in all cases named from the solar month in which the *amávasyá*, or 'conjunction' happens, so that when two new moons fall within one solar month, (for example, on the 1st and on the 30th days,) the name of the corresponding lunar month is repeated, the year being then intercalary, or containing 13 months. The two months of the same name are distinguished by the terms *adhika* 'added,' and *nija*, 'proper' or 'ordinary.'

By the 'Súrya-Siddhánta' system, the intercalated month takes its place in the middle of the natural month; that is, of the four *pakshas*, 1, *badi*, 1, *sudi*, 2, *badi*, 2, *sudi*,—the first *badi* and second *sudi* belong to the natural month, and the first *sudi* and second *badi* to the intercalated month. The Tamil account makes the first month of the two the intercalated one.

It happens once within each term of 160 years, that there is no new moon in some one of the last six lunar months, which, from the sun being in perigee, as before explained, contain only 30 and 29 days each. On these occasions the month of that name is expunged; but it always happens that two others in the same year are for the opposite cause repeated in such years.

The common intercalary year is called *adhika-samvat-sara*; the double intercalary, with its expunged month, *kshaya-samvat-sara*.

The lunar month, whatever may be its civil duration, is divided into 30 *tithis*, or lunar days, which are subject to similar rules regarding intercalation and omission. When two *tithis* end in the same solar day, the intermediate one is struck out of the calendar, and called a *kshaya-tithi*: when no *tithi* begins or ends in a solar day, the *tithi* is repeated on two successive solar days, and the first is called *adhika*. When a *tithi* begins before or at sunrise, it belongs to the solar day about to begin: when after sunrise, it is coupled with the next solar day, provided it does not end in the same day; in which case, it would be expunged out of the column of *tithis*, as before explained.

To render this singular mode of computation more perplexing, although the *tithis* are computed according to apparent time, yet they are registered in civil time.

<sup>1</sup> Hence has doubtless arisen the variance in the names of the Tamil and Bengal months, the former being in name one month behind the others: (See the table of their solar year, page 150).

It is usual, however, to make account of the days in the semi-lunar periods, by the common civil reckoning, beginning (as with the years) after the completion of each diurnal period; thus, the day on which the full moon occurs is the *Sudi* 14th or 15th, and the following day is the 1st *Badi*. It is like our reckoning of the sun's place in the zodiac ( $0^{\circ} + 10^{\circ}$ . etc.  $1^{\circ} + 10^{\circ}$ . etc.), and is evidently better adapted for computations than where the current day or year is the one expressed by the figure.

The circumstance of expunging a *tithi* happens, on an average, once in 64 days; so that in one year it recurs five or six times. When a *tithi* is repeated twice it is called *tridina*: one *tithi* is equal to 0.984 of a day, or 64 *tithis*=63 days nearly.

To understand the nature of this singular disposition of time, a diagram of an entire lunar month has been inserted in the page containing the scale for the comparison of the luni-solar year, the month selected being the intercalated, or *adhika*, *Chaitra* of the 4924th luni-solar year of the Kali-yug, (A.D. 1822-3) a year in which Davis had ascertained that there would be a *kshaya* month, and two intercalaries. Warren's book contains the calendar for the whole year in question.

To that work we must refer for the complete solution of the problem of its construction for all cases that may present themselves, wherein perfect accuracy is requisite. The rules which we shall give hereafter will be found sufficient to bring out the result to within a day or two of the corresponding Hindú solar year, and to even closer accordance with the Christian year, in which the days are not liable to the same variations *inter se*. The elements required for working it out thus far, on the supposition of the sun and moon both maintaining a mean rate of motion in their course, are few, and may mostly be determined from the tables in the present epitome. They are:

1. The sun's mean place in the Hindú ecliptic, and the skeleton of the solar months, formed therefrom, to show the disposition of the civil and sidereal days.

2. Also the moon's mean place in the ecliptic, which is found from the *Ahargana*, or sum of days expired from the commencement of the Kali yug to the beginning of the proposed lunar year: it is necessary for obtaining the epochs of the mean conjunctions, during the year in question.

3. The *Suta-Dina*, or day of the week on which the initial conjunction falls. The two latter elements are given for every year of the last three centuries in the second General Table. For periods anterior to 1600, they may be found by adding the secular *Aharganas* for the broken period, to the root for the nearest epoch, contained in a separate table (VIII.) prepared for the purpose, from the data of the

'Súrya-Siddhánta.' Taking, then, the scheme of the corresponding solar year, and placing the two skeletons thus formed, in juxtaposition, the eye will at once tell what months or days will become subject to the rules of *kshaya* or *adhika*, 'expunging' or 'duplication': an example of the process will be given hereafter, in explaining a luni-solar scale contrived for working out the problem by simple inspection.

The place of the sun's and moon's apogee, the equinoctial precession, and the obliquity of the ecliptic, etc., are necessary for the true computation of the lunar days; but this degree of accuracy is beyond our present purpose.

The elements of the solar system (see page 153), would indeed furnish even these data, were it requisite; but the several equations of the sun's and moon's motions, and the gnomonic problem to convert the determinations, made for Lanká, to other situations on the globe, would call for a thorough acquaintance with the astronomic system of the Bráhmans. Where an English ephemeris is accessible, the construction of the Hindú lunar month may readily be effected for any given lunation from the times of new and full moon, corrected for the longitude of the place: it may be remembered, as a general rule, that the first day of every Hindú luni-solar month falls on the day following the new moon; and that it precedes by two days the initial *feria* (as it is called) of the Muhammadan lunar month, seldom diverging from this arrangement more than one day on either side: this is, of course, without reference to the names of the months, as those of the Hijra are continually gaining upon the others.

#### ERAS DEPENDENT ON THE LUNI-SOLAR YEAR.

##### ERA OF VIKRAMÁDITYA.

The principal era to which the luni-solar system is exclusively adapted is that of Vikramáditya, called Samvat, or vulgarly Sumbut. The prince from whom it was named was of the Tuár dynasty, and is supposed to have reigned at Ujjain (Ujjáyní) 135 years before Sáliváhana, the rival founder of the Śáka era, south of the Narbada (Narmada) river. The Samvat era commenced when 3044 years of the Kali-yug had expired; *i.e.* 57 years B.C., so that if any year, say 4925, of the Kali-yug be proposed, and the last expired year of Vikramáditya be required, subtract 3044 therefrom, and the result, 1881, is the year sought. To convert Samvat into Christian years, subtract 57; unless they are less than 58, in which case, deduct the amount from 58, and the result will be the date B.C.

The era of Vikramáditya is in general use throughout Telingana and Hindústán, properly so called; it is less used, although known, in Bengal, Tírhút, and Nípál; and, according to Warren, is nearly unknown

in the peninsula. The luni-solar division of the year, however, is necessarily adapted to other eras, conjunctively with the solar division, because almost all the festivals and religious observances of the Hindús and Buddhists depend upon the *Chandra-mána* or lunar reckoning. There can, therefore, be hardly said to be any eras exclusively solar, although the Samvat is exclusively luni-solar.

#### THE BALABHI AND SIVA-SINHA ERAS.

The Balabhi era is mentioned by Tod as occurring in an inscription found at Somnáth, and from its locality and connection with the Samvat, it must have been of the same construction, merely dating from a newly assumed epoch, which is shewn in the 'Annals of Rájasthán,' to correspond with 375 of Vikramáditya, or 318 A.D. Balabhi was destroyed in 802 Samvat, when it may be presumed the era was discontinued.

A third era, called the 'Śiva-Sinha Samvat,' is also noticed by the same author as having been established by the Gohils in the island of Deo: its epoch or zero corresponds with 1169 Vikramáditya Samvat (1112 A.D.)

The Faṣlī (vulgarly, Fuslee or Fusly) year, of Upper India, also follows the Samvat division, as being the system in vogue where it was introduced: this will be alluded to again under the fourth head.

### III.—YEARS NUMBERED BY CYCLES.

#### ERA OF PARASURÁMA.

This division of time Warren states to be used in that part of the peninsula of India, called Malayála by the natives, extending from Mangalor, through the provinces of Malabar, Cottiote, and Travancore, to Cape Comorin. It derives its name from a prince who is supposed to have reigned 1176 years B.C., the epoch being 7th August, 3537 Julian Period, or 1925 Kali-yug. This era is reckoned in cycles of 1000 years. The year itself is solar, or rather sidereal, and commences when the sun enters the sign Kanyá (Virgo), answering to the solar month 'Asan (Aświna)'. The commencement of the 977th year of the 3rd cycle concurs with the 1st Aświna of 1723 Śaka, and 14th Sept. A.D. 1800.

#### THE GRAHAPARIVRITTI CYCLE OF NINETY YEARS.

The southern inhabitants of the peninsula of India use a cycle of ninety years, which is little known, according to Warren, in the Karnátak. This cycle was analyzed by the Portuguese missionary Beschi, while



resident for forty years in Madurá. The native astronomers there say it is constructed of the sum of the products in days of 15 revolutions of Mars, 22 of Mercury, 11 of Jupiter, 5 of Venus, 29 of Saturn, and 1 of the Sun.

The epoch of this cycle occurs on the expiration of the 3078th year of the Kali-yug, in 24 B.C. The years follow the ordinary solar or sidereal reckoning. The concurrent cycle and year for any European year may readily be found by adding 24 and dividing by 90: thus 1830 A.D. =  $\frac{1830+24}{90} = 20$  cycles, 54 years.

#### THE VRIHASPATI-CHAKRA, OR 'CYCLE OF JUPITER.'

The cycle of Jupiter is supposed by many to be one of the most ancient modes of reckoning time, not only in India, but in Asia generally; but we shall shew presently, that with regard to the former country, at least, it is most probably of comparatively modern introduction. It has been, however, known from time immemorial in China, where it partakes of the same peculiarity as on the continent of India, of having separate names for each year of the cycle; but these names are curiously compounded of two series of twelve and five names in the Chinese system, as has been fully explained in page 146, whereas, in India the series of single appellations continues through the sixty years.

The origin of the Vrihaspati-Chakra is unknown: it has been imagined by some to be the same as the Chaldean Sosos, but, Warren thinks, without foundation. It is mentioned in the 'Súrya-Siddhánta,' and other works, and is constructed on astronomical principles, although its genuine application in reference to Jupiter's revolutions has long since fallen into disuse in the south of India, as well as in China and Tibet; and this circumstance will furnish a clue to ascertain the epoch of its introduction into these countries; but we must first describe the different systems followed.

There are three rules for computing the years of the Jovian cycle: 1, that of the 'Súrya-Siddhánta,' followed in this part of India; 2, that of the 'Jyotistava'; 3, that of the Telingas, followed in the south.

According to the first, Jupiter's revolutions being 364,220,000 in a 'Mahá-yug' (see the table in page 153); his motion in one solar year coincides very nearly with one sign of the zodiac ( $1^{\circ} 00' 21'' 4''$ ). The actual time, therefore, of the planet's passing through one zodiacal sign (which is called a year of Jupiter) is, as  $30^{\circ} 21' 04''$ : 365d. 15g. 31p.: :  $30^{\circ}$ : 361d. 2g. 5p., the true duration of the Chakra year. The difference, or four days and thirteen *gharís* short of the solar year, will in eighty-six years amount to a whole year; so that, to keep the cycle in

accordance with the planet's heliocentric motion, one year must be expunged in that period of time.

To find the current year of the cycle on this principle for any year of the 'Kali-yug' (say the beginning of 4870 A.D.) we have—

As 432,000 solar years to 36,422 revolutions of Jupiter, so 4870 to 410 rev. 7 signs,  $2\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ ; the odd signs and degrees give his longitude, which requires a small correction, or *bij*. Then multiplying 410 by 12, and dividing by 60, we have 82 cycles and 7 years: the latter to be counted always from the 27th of the cycle, or *Vijaya*, gives the 33rd year, or *Vikari*.

2nd Method. The 'Jyotistava' rule expounds the last year expired of the cycle, setting out from the Śāka epoch, and reckoning from *Prabhava*, as the first of the cycle. The rule is as follows:—

Note down the Śāka year in two places. Multiply one of them by 22, and add 4291 to the product. Divide by 1875.<sup>1</sup> Add the integers of the quotient to the 2nd number noted down, and divide by 60. The remainder will shew the last year expired from *Prabhava*. The fraction left by the divisor, 1875, may be reduced to months and days of the current year.

Example: 4870 Kali-yug = 1691 Śāka  $\frac{1691 \times 22 + 4291}{1875} = 22 \frac{873}{1875}$  and  $\frac{1691 + 22}{60} = 28^\circ 33'$ ; the fraction  $\frac{873}{1875} = 5$  months  $17\frac{1}{2}$  days of the 33rd current year, or *Vikari*, which agrees nearly with the former account.

The effect of the difference between the two systems is, that the expunged year in the 'Jyotistava' reckoning occurs thirteen years antecedent to that of the 'Śūrya-Siddhānta.' The second General Table follows the latter account, which must be borne in mind when consulting the *chakra* column.

This form of the Vrihaspati-Chakra prevails throughout Bengal, but little more than the name is ever attended to.

3rd Method. The Telinga rule takes no notice of the commencement of the Vrihaspati year, which it identifies in duration with the Chandra-māna, or common luni-solar account: thus it directs to

Divide the expired years of the Kali-yug by 60, the quotient will give the number of cycles expired, and the remainder the odd years, to be reckoned from *Pramathi* the 13th of the Chakra.

Example: For the year 4870 Kali-yug  $4870 \div 60 = 84$  cycles, 10 years, or *Sarvadhari*, the 22nd, as expired. *Virodhi*, the 23rd, will be the current year sought.

This is the rule followed in the peninsula, and it coincides with the practice of Tibet, as appears from the following particulars, for which we are indebted to M. Csoma de Kőrös's researches:—

#### TIBETAN KALENDAR.

In Tibet the cycle of Jupiter is employed; but as the Sanskrit

<sup>1</sup> Multiplying by 22, and dividing by 1875, is equivalent to dividing by 85.227, the period when a year is to be expunged by this system.

literature was there introduced at a late period, this country presents the anomaly of preserving two series of denominations for the Chakra years: one derived from the Chinese by exact translation, and the other in a similar manner copied from the Indian cycle.

The whole Tibetan kalendar is, indeed, copied from the Indian; giving the solar and lunar days, the *nakshatras*, *yogas*, and *karanas*; with the usual lucky and unlucky days. The months are divided into *kar-choks* and *nák-choks*, or bright and dark halves, etc. The astronomical year begins with the vernal equinox (sidereal) on the first Baisákh, but the civil year commences differently in different parts of Tibet, varying from December to February. At Ladákh it begins in December. The Hors or Turks keep their new year some days after the winter solstice in January; and the people of U,tsáng at Lassa commence theirs with the new moon of February. The months have several names expressive of the seasons, asterisms, business undertaken in them, etc., but they are usually denominated numerically; first, second, etc. The year is luni-solar with intercalations.

The only fixed epoch in Tibet appears to be the birth or death of Sákyá, from which event the almanacks note the years elapsed; sometimes also they note the year from the death of the two great Lamas of Lassa and Teshi-lunpo, or their re-incarnations within the last two centuries, and other memorable events.

The Tibetans, in estimating their age, especially in conversation, count by the cycle of 12 years (which is, in fact, the true cycle of Jupiter).

In the ordinary business of life, the cycle of 60 years is universally employed, in which each year has its distinct name. The cycles themselves are not distinguished numerically, but are rendered intelligible by the mention of some coincident event or remarkable person of the period, a mode highly objectionable for remote dates.

The order of the years agrees precisely with the Tamil account to the present time, having no expunged year. But the Tibetans do not count from the same fixed epoch. Their authors on the 'Kala-Chakra'<sup>1</sup> system state that the mode of reckoning by cycles of 60 years was introduced into India about the year 965 A.D., and that 60 years afterwards it was adopted in Tibet (about 1025-6 A.D.) Their epoch, therefore, occurs in 1025 A.D.

Now, it is remarkable that the 69th cycle of the 'Súrya-Siddhánta,' and the 15th cycle of the 'Jyotistava,' and the 68th cycle of the Telinga astronomers, were all completed in 965-6 A.D., which is not much prior to Bentley's epoch of Varaha Mihira, the supposed author of the former work.

<sup>1</sup> See a note by M. Csoma, on this subject, in the 'Jour. As. Soc.', vol. ii. p. 57; [and the quotation from Albirúni (Reinaud's 'Fragments'), *infra*, p. 167.]

Moreover, the two systems, starting from the point thus assumed, would up to the present period (on account of the omitted years in the one) diverge between 10 and 11 years from one another, which is actually the case, the year 1834 A.D. agreeing with the 39th year of the Bengal cycle, and with the 28th of the Tamil and Tibetan account.

That the cycles did not commence either with the Kali-yug or with the Śaka epoch is proved by the two rules given above for expounding their dates, which expressly state that the odd years are to be reckoned from *Vijaya* (the 27th) and *Pramathi* (the 13th) respectively, and not from *Prabhava* (the 1st) as would naturally be expected.

It is not, therefore, unreasonable to conclude that the theory of the Vrihaspati-Chakra was invented or introduced in India, as affirmed by the Tibetan authorities, in the middle of the tenth century; and this might be adduced as a confirmation of the date assigned by Bentley to the 'Śūrya-Siddhānta,' which upholds and expounds that cycle.

M. Csoma states that before the introduction of the cycle of Jupiter into Tibet, frequent mention is made in their books of a period of 403 years, called *mé-kha-gya-tsho*, a symbolical name for the number 403 :<sup>1</sup> and dates are always expressed in it, as the 80th, 240th, or any other year of this period : now it is curious, as M. Csoma remarks, that if 403 be deducted from 1025 A.D. the remainder, 622 A.D., exactly coincides with the epoch of the Hijra, leaving an impression that the latter era had been once established there. The destruction of the Buddhist religion to the north is ascribed to the Muhammadans by the Tibetan authors.

We subjoin a catalogue of the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese names of the sixty Chakra years, with an English translation of the last two. The Sanskrit names have also a meaning which is precisely rendered in Tibetan. But they have no reference to any precise objects, and are therefore not worth insertion.<sup>2</sup> It should be remarked that the first year of the Indian series corresponds with the fourth of the Chinese, which goes far to disprove the connection of the two cycles; for had the discrepancy been owing to the different modes of reckoning (as with the 'Śūrya Siddhānta' and the Telinga), the divergence would have been at the other end of the scale; unless, indeed, it should have run through 56 years, which would have occupied nearly 50 centuries.

<sup>1</sup> See 'Jour. As. Soc.,' vol. iii. p. 6 : *Gya-tsho*, 'a lake'=4 : *Kha*, 'void'=0 : and *mé*, 'fire'=3.

<sup>2</sup> The latter names are extracted from Warren's 'Kāla Sankalita : the Chinese from De Guignes' 'Histoire des Huns;' and the Tibetan from M. Csoma's forthcoming 'Grammar of the Tibetan Language,' now under publication.

TABLE IV.—Names and Numbers of the Vrihaspati-Chakra, or 60 years' Cycle of Jupiter, in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese.

	Sanskrit Names.	Tibetan translation of Sanskrit Names.	Tibetan translation of Chinese Names.	Chinese Names.	Meaning of Chinese names.	Ch. No
1	Prabhava.	Rab-byung.	Mé-yos.	Ting-mao.	Fire-hare.	4
2	Vibhava.	r Nam-Hbyung.	Sa-Hbrug.	Vou-chin.	Earth-dragon.	5
3	Sukla.	Dkar-po.	Sa-Sbrul.	Kise.	Earth-serpent.	6
4	Pramodha.	Rab-myos.	Chags-r Ta.	Keng-ou.	Iron-horse.	7
5	Prajapati.	Skyés-bdag.	lChags-lug.	Sin-ouei.	Iron-sheep.	8
6	Angira.	Angira.	Ch'hu-spré.	Gin-chin.	Water-ape.	9
7	Srimukha.	Dpal-Qdong.	Ch'hu-bya.	Kuei-yeou.	Water-bird.	10
8	Bháva.	Dnos-po.	Shing-k'hyi.	Kia-su.	Wood-dog.	11
9	Yuvá.	Na-tshod-lan.	Shing-Phag.	Yhai.	Wood-hog.	12
10	Dhātā.	Hdsin-byéd.	Mé-byi.	Ping-tse.	Fire-mouse.	13
11	Iswara.	Dvang-p'hyug.	Mé-gLang.	Ting-tcheou.	Fire-ox.	14
12	Baludanya.	Hbru-mang-po.	Sa-Stag.	Vou-yn.	Earth-tiger.	15
13	Pramāthi.	Myos-lan.	Sa-yos.	Ki-mao.	Earth-hare.	16
14	Vikrama.	r Nam-Qnon.	lChags-Hbrug.	Keng-chin.	Iron-dragon.	17
15	Brisya.	K'hyu-Meh' hog.	lChags-Sbrul.	Sin-se.	Iron-serpent.	18
16	Chitrabhanu	Sna-ts' hogs.	Ch'hu-rTa.	Gin-ou.	Water-horse.	19
17	Sūbhānu.	Nyi-ma.	Ch'hu-lug.	Kuei-ouei.	Water-sheep.	20
18	Tārana.	Nyi-Sgrol-byéd.	Shing-spré.	Kia-chin.	Wood-ape.	21
19	Parthiva.	Sa-skyong.	Shing-bya.	Y-yeou.	Wood-bird.	22
20	Vyaya.	Mi-zad.	Mé-K'hyi.	Ping-su.	Fire-dog.	23
21	Sarvajit.	thams-chad-Hdul.	Mé-Phag.	Ting-hai.	Fire-hog.	24
22	Sarvadhāri.	Kun-Hdsin.	Sa-byi.	Vou-tse.	Earth-mouse.	25
23	Viródhī.	Hgal-va.	Sa-gLang.	Ki-tcheou.	Earth-ox.	26
24	Vikrita.	rNam-rgyal.	lChags-Stag.	Keng-yn.	Iron-tiger.	27
25	Khara.	Pong-bu.	lChags-yos.	Sin-mao.	Iron-ape.	28
26	Nandana.	Dgah-va.	Ch'hu-Hbrug.	Gin-chin.	Water-dragon.	29
27	Vijya.	rNam-Hgyur.	Ch'hu-Sbrul.	Kuei-se.	Water-serpent.	30
28	Jya.	rGyal-va.	Shing-rTa.	Kia-ou.	Wood-horse.	31
29	Manmatka.	Myos-byéd.	Shing-lug.	Y-ouci.	Wood-sheep.	32
30	Durmukha.	Qdong-nan.	Mé-Spré.	Ping-chin.	Fire-ape.	33
31	Hémalamva.	Qjér-Hp'hyang.	Mé-bya.	Ting-yeou.	Fire-bird.	34
32	Vilamva.	rNam-Hp'hyang.	Sa-Khyi.	Vou-su.	Earth-dog.	35
33	Vikāri.	Sgyur-byéd.	Sa-P'hag.	Ki-hai.	Earth-hog.	36
34	Sarvari.	Kun-lan.	lChags-byi.	Keng-tse.	Iron-mouse.	37
35	Plava.	Hp'har-va.	lChags-gLang.	Sing-tcheou.	Iron-ox.	38
36	Subhakrit.	Dgé-byéd.	Ch'hu-Stag.	Gin-yn.	Water-tiger.	39
37	Sobhana.	Mdsés-byéd.	Ch'hu-yos.	Kuei-mao.	Water-hare.	40
38	Krodhi.	K'hro-mo.	Shing-Hbrug.	Kia-chin.	Wood-dragon.	41
39	Viswāvasu.	Sna ts' hogs-Dvyig	Shing-Sbrul.	Y-se.	Wood-serpent.	42
40	Parābhava.	Zil-Qnon.	Mé-rTa.	Ping-ou.	Fire-horse.	43
41	Plavanga.	Spréhu.	Mé-lug.	Ting-ouci.	Fire-sheep.	44
42	Kilaka.	P'hur-bu.	Sa-Spré.	Vou-chin.	Earth-ape.	45
43	Saumya.	Zhi-va.	Sa-bya.	Ki-yeou.	Earth-bird.	46
44	Sādhāraṇa.	t'hun-mong.	lChags-Khyi.	Keng-su.	Iron-dog.	47
45	Virodhakrit.	Hgal-byéd.	lChags-Phag.	Sin-hai.	Iron-hog.	48
46	Paridhāvi.	Yongs-Hdsin.	Ch'hu-byi.	Gin-tse.	Water-mouse.	49
47	Pramādi.	Bag-med.	Ch'hu-gLang.	Kuis-tcheou.	Water-ox.	50
48	Ananda.	Kun-Dgah.	Shing-Stag.	Kia-yn.	Wood-tiger.	51
49	Rakshasa.	Srin-bu.	Shing-yos.	Y-mao.	Wood-hare.	52
50	Anala.	Mé.	Mé-Hbrug.	Ping-chin.	Fire-dragon.	53
51	Pingala.	Dmar-Ser-chan.	Mé-Sbrul.	Ting-se.	Fire-serpent.	54
52	Kālayukta.	Dus-kyá-pho-nyi.	Sa-rTa.	Vou-ou.	Earth-horse.	55
53	Sidharti.	Don-grub.	Sa-lug.	Ki-ouei.	Earth-sheep.	56
54	Randra.	Drag-po.	lChags-Spré.	Keng-chin.	Iron-ape.	57
55	Durmati.	o Lo-nan.	lChags-bya.	Sin-yeou.	Iron-bird.	58
56	Dundubhi.	rna-ch'hén.	Ch'hu-Khyi.	Gin-su.	Water-dog.	59
57	Rudrōdgāri.	K'hrag-Skyug.	Ch'hu-P'hag.	Kuei-hai.	Water-hog.	60
58	Raktāksha.	Mig-Dmar.	Shing-byi.	Kia-tse.	Wood-mouse.	1
59	Krodhana.	Khro-vo.	Shing-gLang.	Y-tcheou.	Wood-ox.	2
60	Kshaya.	Zad-pa.	Mé-Stag.	Ping-in.	Fire-tiger.	3

## ERA OF BUDDHA.

USED IN CEYLON, AVA, PEGU, SIAM, ETC.

The determination of the epoch of Buddha, Gotama or Sákya, has engaged the attention of many learned Orientalists, and although there remain some discrepancies in the results arrived at, most of these may be explained and reconciled by assuming that several individuals of the same character have existed at different epochs, or that the system of Buddhism has been at these times revived or re-organized.

Omitting all mention of the earliest Buddhas, such as the one who figures at the head of the lunar race of Hindú mythology, it may be advanced with tolerable confidence that the two latest of the epochs attributed to this personage are founded on actual events, from the near coincidence which may be observed in the statements of distant nations regarding them. A critical notice on the subject by Prof. Wilson, appeared in the 'Oriental Magazine' for 1825, which furnishes the following data for the epoch of, what may be called, the Elder Buddha.

According to Padmakarpo, a Lama of Bhutan, who wrote in the 16th century	B.C.
(made known by M. Csoma de Körös) .....	1058
By Kalhana Pandit, author of the history of Kashmir.....	1332
„ Abú'l-Fazl, probably following the last .....	1366
„ A couplet from Chinese historians .....	1036
„ De Guignes' Researches .....	1027
„ Giorgi, (period of Buddha's death) .....	959
„ Bailly .....	1031
„ Sir William Jones .....	1027
„ Bentley, one occasion, 1081; on another .....	1004
„ Jaehrig, from a Mongol Chronology, published by Pallas .....	991
„ Japanese Encyclopædia, birth of Buddha.....	1027
„ „ „ his death .....	960
„ Matonan-lin, a Chinese historian of the 12th century.....	1027
„ M. Klaproth himself, concurring with Sir William Jones .....	1027
M. Rémusat dates the death in .....	970
The era adopted at Lassa, and founded on the average of nine of the dates quoted by Padmakarpo, who himself however rejects them .....	835

The majority of these quotations concur in fixing the period of the existence of a Buddha about 1000 years anterior to the Christian era. It is not, however, believed that any chronological era is founded upon this period: and if derived from book authorities, or tradition, the same would have travelled wherever the religion spread.

There is an equally extensive and consistent series bearing testimony to the existence of a Second Buddha in the sixth century before Christ; indeed most of the eras noted are evidently identical in origin and concurrent in date to the present time.

The Burmese epoch of Gotama's death, as given by Crawford from a native chronological table .....	B.C. 544 <sup>1</sup>
The Singhalese epoch of Buddha's death, and commencement of their era, on the landing of Vijaya, according to Turnour ('Ceylon Almanac' for 1834) .....	543
The Siamese epoch, ('Oriental Magazine,' 1825).....	544
(The religion of Buddha was introduced in Siam in 529 B.C., according to Finlayson.)	
The <i>nirvāṇa</i> of Śākya, according to the Rāj-guru of Asam, occurred in the 18th year of Ajata Satru, and 196 <sup>2</sup> years before Chandragupta, the contemporary of Alexander, which may agree thus, 348 + 196 = .....	544

This date may further be reconciled with the other three dates quoted by Wilson in conjunction with them, namely,<sup>3</sup>

The Singhalese .....	B.C. 619
The Peguan .....	638
And the Chinese cited by Klaproth.....	638

by referring these latter periods to the birth, and to the ministry or commencement of the reign of Śākya; for by the Burmese calendar the first of these events happened in the year 628 B.C., and the latter 608-9. There is a constant difference of 10 years throughout the early series of the latter chronicle, which also places the *nirvāṇa* of Gotama in the 8th year of Ajātasat (*Ajata-satru*), instead of the 18th, as above given: by adding, then, a correction of ten years, from whatever cause it may have originated, the Burmese dates will correspond exactly with those of Pegu and Ceylon; and they are thus brought to the confirmation of the unity of origin of the eras of all the countries which received their religion from Ceylon, or through the latter from central India.<sup>4</sup>

## JAIN ERAS.

The Jains in some parts of India are stated to follow the era of their last Jina, Mahāvīra, whom they make to be the preceptor of

<sup>1</sup> The 'Oriental Magazine' makes this date 546, but the authority in the text is most to be relied on. According to the invariable rule of Eastern chronologists the year is not numbered until after its completion. Thus an inscription or document is always dated 'so many years being expired after the death of Gotama:' and thus the year 1 of the Burmese sacred era corresponds with the second current year or 543 B.C. while the epoch, or *nirvāṇa* of Śākya happened in 544.

<sup>2</sup> 162 years by the Burmese table in Crawford.

<sup>3</sup> [The proof of this sheet has been submitted to Prof. Wilson, who intimates to me that there are no new data of sufficiently positive bearing on this question to justify any alteration or emendation of Prinsep's original text. Burnouf seems to place the event in 543 B.C.—'Le Lotus de la bonne Loi,' p. 487.]

<sup>4</sup> The 'Journal Asiatique,' for November, 1833, contains a chronological table of the events of Buddha's life, derived entirely from Chinese and Japanese authorities, which makes it very evident that the Fo or Buddha of 1027 B.C. is the same identical personage as the one who died 544 B.C. As far as real chronology is concerned the recent date is alone in use; but the more ancient date seems to be supported by some passages in the Sanskrit original text.

Gotama, and place a few years anterior to him, in the year 569 B.C., and 512 before Vikramāditya. None of the Jain inscriptions found in South Bihār or elsewhere, however, shew any trace of an exclusive chronology, while they invariably bear the common Samvat date of Vikramāditya. One inscription on a brass image found on digging a tank at Baghelpur, is dated 'after Pārsa 925,'<sup>1</sup> which Dr. B. Hamilton interprets 'after Pārswanātha, the twenty-third teacher of the Jain religion, and consequently somewhat anterior to Mahāvīra, who was the twenty-fourth;' but nothing positive can be asserted of these vague epochs.

#### BURMESE ERAS.

Other eras prevail in the Burmese country, which are more generally employed for the business of life, while the sacred era is kept up in ecclesiastical documents. The Prome epoch was established by king Samandri, and its first year corresponds with 623 of the sacred epoch, or 79 A.D. It seems to be the same as the Śāka era of Śālivāhana. The present Vulgar epoch used throughout Ava was established by Puppāchan-ra-han; the first year agreeing with 639 A.D. or 1183 B. sacred era. The division of months accords with the luni-solar system of the Hindūs in every respect, the year beginning as usual with the new moon of the solar month Chaitra. To reduce the Burmese vulgar year into the Christian, add 638. For the Prome era the number 78 must be used for the like purpose. They have also another sacred era, called the Grand Epoch, said to have been established by An-ja-na the grandfather of Gotama: the first year corresponds with 691 B.C.

#### NEWĀR ERA OF NIPĀL.

Besides the Śāka and Samvat eras introduced by the Gorkha dynasty into Nipāl, there is still in use among this people a former era, called the Newār, from the name of the ancient dominant, or aboriginal, tribe of the valley. Dr. Bramley informs us that the origin of this era is not known, though many attempt to account for it by fabulous stories. The Newār year commences in the month of October, the year 951 terminating in 1831 A.D. Its epoch concurs therefore with the month of October, 870 A.D., which number must be retrenched from a Newār date to have the corresponding Christian year.

[In concluding Prinsep's notices of Local Eras, I extract from the work of Albirūnī some further details in reference to Indian cycles, to

<sup>1</sup> 'Trans. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. i. 527.



complete the quotations previously given in reference to the epoch of the Guptas, inserted at p. 268, vol. i.]

‘ Toutes ces ères présentent des nombres considérables remontent à une antiquité reculée, et leurs années dépassent les nombres cent mille et au delà. Ces nombres ont embarrassé les astronomes dans leurs calculs, et, à plus forte raison, le commun des hommes. Nous allons donner une idée exacte de ces ères, et nous rapporterons nos calculs à l’année des Indiens, dont la plus grande partie correspond à l’an 400 de l’ère de Yizderdjed. Cette époque s’exprime par un nombre rond et n’est embarrassée ni de dizaines ni d’unités. Cet avantage lui est particulier et la distingue de toutes les autres années.

‘ De plus, elle a été rendue à jamais célèbre par la chute du plus fort boulevard de l’Islamisme et la mort de l’illustre sulthan Mahmoud, lion du monde et le phénomène du temps : Dieu lui fasse miséricorde ! En effet, Mahmoud expira moins d’un an avant cette époque.

‘ Le *sandhi* des Indiens précède le nouroz (premier jour de l’année) des Perses de douze jours, et il fut postérieur de dix mois Persans complets à la nouvelle de la mort du sulthan. . . .

‘ Toutes ces ères présentent des nombres considérables et remontent à une époque reculée ; voilà pourquoi on a renoncé à en faire usage. On emploie ordinairement les ères de Sri-Harscha, de Vikramaditya, de Saca, de Ballaba et des Gouptas.

‘ Les Indiens croient que Sri-Harscha faisait fouiller la terre et cherchait ce qui pouvait se trouver dans le sol, en fait d’anciens trésors et de richesses enfouies ; il faisait enlever ces richesses et pouvait, par ce moyen, s’abstenir de fouler ses sujets. Son ère est mise en usage à Mahourah et dans la province de Canoge. J’ai entendu dire à un homme du pays que, de cette ère à celle de Vikramaditya, on comptait quatre cents ans ; mais j’ai vu, dans l’almanach de Cachemire, cette ère reculée après celle de Vikramaditya de 664 ans. Il m’est donc venu des doutes que je n’ai pas trouvé moyen de résoudre.

‘ L’ère de Vikramaditya est employée dans les provinces méridionales et occidentales de l’Inde. On pose 342, qu’on multiplie par 3, ce qui fait 1026 ; on ajoute au produit ce qui s’est écoulé du schadabda, mot par lequel on désigne le samvatsara sexagésimal. Voilà ce qu’on entend par l’ère de Vikramaditya. J’ai vu le mot schadabda cité dans le livre du *Soroudou*, composé par Mahadeva Djandaryna. Le procédé qu’on emploie d’abord est incommode. Si on commençait par poser le nombre 1026 au lieu de marquer sans aucun motif 342, l’opération serait plus simple : car admettons le résultat, maintenant qu’on en est au premier samvatsara, comment fera-t-on lorsque les samvatsara, se multiplieront.<sup>1</sup>

‘ L’ère de Saca, nommée par les Indiens Sacakâla, est postérieure à celle de Vikramaditya de 135 ans. Saca est le nom d’un prince qui a régné sur les contrées situées entre l’Indus et la mer. Sa résidence était placée au centre de l’empire, dans la contrée nommée Aryavartha. Les Indiens le font naître dans une classe autre que celle des Sakya ; quelques-uns prétendent qu’il était Soudra et originaire de la ville de Mansoura. Il y en a même qui disent qu’il n’était pas de la race indienne, et qu’il tirait son origine de régions occidentales. Les peuples eurent beaucoup à souffrir de son despotisme, jusqu’à ce qu’il leur vînt du secours de l’Orient. Vikramaditya marcha contre lui, mit son armée en déroute et le tua sur le territoire de Korour,

<sup>1</sup> Il me semble résulter de l’ensemble du passage, que le cycle sexagésimal, non-seulement était propre à une certaine partie de l’Inde, mais qu’il était d’une institution récente. Le calcul présenté par Albyronny me fait croire qu’il commença seulement l’an 959 de notre ère.—Reinaud.

situé entre Moultan et le château de Louny. Cette époque devint célèbre, à cause de la joie que les peuples ressentirent de la mort de Saca, et on la choisit pour ère, principalement chez les astronomes. D'un autre côté, Vikramaditya reçut le titre de *Sri*, à cause de l'honneur qu'il s'était acquis. Du reste, l'intervalle qui s'est écoulé entre l'ère de Vikramaditya et la mort de Saca, prouve que le vainqueur, n'était pas le célèbre Vikramaditya, mais un autre prince du même nom. [Here follows the passage quoted in original Arabic, and in the French and English versions, pp. 269, 271, vol. i.; and the consecutive extract is complete at p. 269, with the exception of the following sentence, which comes in after '241 de l'ère de Saca.'] L'ère des astronomes commence l'an 587 de l'ère de Saca. C'est à cette ère qu'ont été rapportées les tables Kanda Khâtaca, de Brahmagupta. Cet ouvrage porte chez nous le titre de *Arcand*. [To this succeeds the sentence 'D'après cela,' etc.; and Albirûnî, after stating his further difficulties in the reconciliation of discrepancies, and the local divergencies of the commencement of the year, concludes with the passage given *in extenso* at the foot of p. 269.]

#### IV.—ERAS DERIVED FROM THE HIJRA.

##### FASLÎ OR HARVEST YEARS.

We have alluded in the foregoing pages to one or two eras following the solar and luni-solar systems, which were nevertheless derived from the Muhammadan year. They are 1, the Bengâlî san; 2, the Vilâyatî (vulgò, Vilaity) or Umlý year of Orissa; 3, the Faslî (vulgò, Fusly) year of the Upper Provinces; 4, the Faslî year of the Peninsula. The circumstances connected with all of these have hitherto been enveloped in some obscurity. Warren was unacquainted with the first three, except by imperfect information obtained from Calcutta. He might, however, have discovered at once their character, had he known the custom followed in this presidency of inserting the concurrent dates of all these eras at the head of every regulation enacted by Government.

The Persian almanac of the Şadr Diwânî 'Adálat, from the year 1764, inclusive, has been translated by Mr. Reid, the Registrar of that court, for the use of civil officers in reducing the dates of native documents. These tables have proved very useful in comparing and proving the scales introduced into the present work, for facilitating the same operation.

Harington's Analysis of the Land Revenue Regulations, contains in a foot note (p. 176) the best explanation of the Faslî or 'harvest' years, tracing their origin to the year of Akbar's accession to the throne, or the 2nd Rabi-ul-sání, A.H. 963 (14th February, 1556): 'A solar year for financial and other civil transactions was then engrafted upon the current lunar year of the Hijra, or subsequently adjusted to the first year of Akbar's reign.' It has been by some supposed that the Bengâlî san was established by Husain Sháh, one of the kings of Bengal, but the following extract from a Persian manuscript, in posses-

sion of a native gentleman at Benáres, for which we are indebted to the kind inquiries of Capt. Thoresby, Secretary of the Benáres Sanskrit College, sets the matter in a very clear light, and entirely confirms Mr. Harington's statements:—

'From the time of Amír Timúr, until the reign of Jalál-ud-dín Muhammad Akbar, there were three eras in use, viz., the Hijra, the Turkí, and the Jaláli. The Turkí era commences with the creation of the world, and is computed in cycles of twelve solar years each. In the month Muharram of A.H. 1138, five hundred and sixty-five cycles had elapsed, and the fourth year of the following cycle was in progress. Each year begins with the new moon of the month Jéth of the Hindú calendar, and the months are lunar. At the end of two or three years, as the case may be, an additional month is introduced to balance the computations by solar years and lunar months.

'The Jaláli period is dated from the 5th of the month Shábán in the year 468 Hijra, under the reign of Jalál-ud-dín Toghlak Sháh, Ibn-i Alap Arsulan Saljúkí. The year begins with the Nauroz, or the day that the sun enters the zodiacal sign Aries. There are thirty days allotted to each month, and five supplemental days are added to the twelfth month, to which at the expiration of every fourth year a sixth day is superadded.

'As the annual method of computation in the Turkí era accorded with that observed by the Hindus in reckoning the years of the Samvat, it was generally used in the preparation of records and accounts, etc., but after the Emperor Akbar had extended his dominions by the conquest of Bengal, and a portion of the Dakhan, there were several modes of computing time prevalent in different parts of the empire: as the Samvat, with its lunar months and solar years; the Bengáli era, in which the year began with the arrival of the sun at the vernal equinoctial point, and the months were regulated by his passage through the twelve signs of the zodiac; and the Dakhaní era, which comprehended lunar months, and a lunar year beginning on the 12th of the light half of the month Bhádon. These differences occasioned a good deal of perplexity to the accountants and other public officers: at length some of them drew the attention of the Emperor to the subject, who, after deliberating with his ministers, desired that the three foregoing eras should be made to agree with the year of the Hijra 964, (963?) and that appropriate names should be given to them. Accordingly, it was decided that the Samvat in Upper Hindústán should be named Faşlí, and should commence with the month Áswina (Kunwar), in which the collection of land-tax for the following seasons is first made. The era introduced into Bengal was denominated *San-i Bengálá*, and the year was continued there, in the period of its commencement, on the sun entering Aries, as heretofore. This was likewise the case in the Dakhan, where the new era was called Viláyatí, because it was received from the Viláyat of Hindústán, and the annual revolution continued to be dated on the 12th Bhádon. These three eras therefore owe their origin to the fiat of the Emperor Akbar, and they are formed upon the basis of the Muhammadan epoch, but the annual revolutions accord with those of the eras which they superseded.'

Thus the object of Akbar was merely to equalize the name or number of the year all over his vast empire, without interfering with the modes of subdivision practised in different localities: and this explanation will materially simplify the understanding of the subject of the four harvest years.

The Bengálí san, the Viláyatí san, and the Tamil Faslí year, may be always considered identical in character with the Śáka solar year, while the Faslí of the western provinces may in like manner be classed with the luni-solar Samvat there current.

The reason of a year's variation in the denomination of the Bengálí san will at once be seen on comparing the commencement of each.

The Hijra year 963 began on the 26th November, 1555, N.S.

The concurrent Faslí year, 963, began on the 1st of the *lunar* month A'san (Aṣwina), which fell on the 10th September, 1555.

Th Viláyatí year 963, on the 1st of the *solar* month A'san, which occurred on the 8th September, 1555.

But the Bengálí san 963, began on the 1st Baisákh falling within the same Hijra year, which was necessarily that of the 11th April, 1556.

The number 592 must be added to convert the two first eras into Christian account, if less than four of their months have transpired, and 593 years, if more; also 593 for the first nine months of the Bengálí san, and 594 for the rest.

#### FASLÍ ERA OF THE DAKHAN.

The Faslí year of the Peninsula, however, differs two years from the preceding, being apparently in advance of them. This can only be caused by its having branched off from the Hijra as a parent stock at a later period.

The year 1240 of this Faslí begins in July, 1831, or in the second month of 1247 Hijra. The difference is seven years, which converted into days, and divided by 11, the constant acceleration of the lunar year per annum, gives a period of about 230 years back for the epoch sought. But as the Faslí only drops behind, one year in 33, a latitude to that extent may be allowed in fixing the epoch of its foundation. In fact, we learn from Grant Duff's 'History of the Marhattas,' that this Dakhaní era owes its origin to the Emperor Sháh Jahán, who, after bringing his wars in Maháráshtra to a close in 1636, endeavoured to settle the country, and introduce the revenue system of Tudor Mul, the celebrated minister of the Emperor Akbar. Along with the survey and assessment naturally came the 'revenue year,' which, commencing as usual with the current Hijra year of the time, has now diverged from it seven years, as above-mentioned.

The constant for converting this era into Christian years is + 590. The year is, or ought to be, sidereal, but the Madras Government has now fixed its commencement to the 12th July. Its subdivisions are however, little attended to, the sole purpose of its application being in revenue matters.

## THE TÁRIKH ILÁHÍ, OR ERA OF AKBAR.

This era was established by the Emperor Akbar, in the thirtieth year of his reign, (A.H. 992, A.D. 1584,) many years after his introduction of the Faṣlī era, as Abú'l-Faẓl says, 'in order to remove the perplexity that a variety of dates unavoidably occasions. He disliked the word Hijra, 'flight,' but was at first apprehensive of offending ignorant men, who superstitiously imagined that this era and the Muhammadan faith were inseparable. Amír Fatteh Ul-láh Shírázī corrected the calendar from the tables of Ulugh Beg, making this era to begin with his majesty's reign. The days and months are both natural solar, without any intercalations. The names of the months and days correspond with the ancient Persian (see page 143). The months have from 29 to 30 days each. There are no weeks, the whole 30 days being distinguished by different names; and in those months which have 32 days, the two last are named *roz o shab* (day and night), and to distinguish one from the other are called first and second.'

The epoch of the Iláhí era consequently falls on Friday the 5th Rabi-ul-sání, A.H. 963, corresponding with the 19th February, 1556, N.S. which number must be added to bring its dates into Christian account. It is used on inscriptions, coins, and records of Jahángir's and the following reigns, but generally coupled with the Hijra date.

## THE SHAHÚR (VULGÒ, SHUHÓOR) OR SOOR ERA OF MAHARASHTRA.

There is another era of Muhammadan origin still employed by the Maráthas of the west, entitled the Shahúr or Soor-san, a corruption of the Arabic word *shahúr*, (plural of *shahr*, 'month,') and literally meaning the 'year of months.' An account is given of this era in Capt. Jervis's 'Report on the weights and measures of the southern Konkan.' That officer affirms on some Hindú authority that it was introduced on Thursday, the 6th June, 1342, A.D., in the Hijra year 743, while others place it a year sooner: but the computation of its agreement with the Hijra year, says Capt. Jervis (in the same manner as was followed in ascertaining the epoch of the Faṣlī year), shews it to have begun when the 745th Hijra (A.D. 1344) corresponded with the 745th Shahúr san.<sup>1</sup> It was probably adopted on the establishment of one of the Muhammadan kingdoms in the Dakhan under the reign of Tughlak Sháh.

<sup>1</sup> This correspondence would continue for several years before and after, so that the Hindú account may probably be correct.

The years of this era are denominated after the corresponding Arabic numerals.

The following examples will be sufficient to explain the system; the names are, however, corrupted in pronunciation by the Maráthas :

1 <i>Ahadi</i> ,	10 <i>Ashar</i> ,	100 <i>Mdyat</i> or <i>Mdya</i> .
2 <i>Isni</i> ,	20 <i>Ishrin</i> ,	122 <i>Isna-ashrin mdyat</i> .
3 <i>Salas</i> ,	30 <i>Saldtin</i> ,	200 <i>Miatin</i> .
4 <i>Arba</i> ,	40 <i>Arbain</i> ,	300 <i>Suls mdyat</i> .
5 <i>Khams</i> ,	50 <i>Khamsin</i> ,	450 <i>Khamsin-arba mdyat</i> .
6 <i>Sita</i> ,	60 <i>Sitain</i> ,	1000 <i>Alf</i> .
7 <i>Saba</i> ,	70 <i>Saba-in</i> ,	1100 <i>Mdyat-o-alf</i> .
8 <i>Samdni</i> ,	80 <i>Samdnin</i> ,	1230 <i>Sulastin mdyatin-o-alf</i> .
9 <i>Tisa</i> ,	90 <i>Tisa-in</i> ,	1313 <i>Suls-ashar suls-mdyat-o-alf</i> (A.D. 1834).

The correspondence with other eras may be seen from the following brief rule for their mutual reduction :

To reduce Shahúr years into	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Christian} \\ \text{Śāka} \\ \text{Samvat} \\ \text{Fāshī} \end{array} \right\} \text{ years, add } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 599 \\ 521 \\ 655 \\ 9 \end{array} \right\} \text{ years respectively.}$
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If the given date fall after the sixth month of the Shahúr year, it will occur in the next ensuing Christian year; and after nine months, in the next Śāka or Samvat year; because the Shahúr year begins in June, at the sun's entrance into the lunar mansion Mriga (Mrigasirsha.) It is not stated whether its subdivisions follow the Hindú or Arabic system, but the former may be taken for granted.

#### JALÚS YEARS.

There is still another system of recording time to which some allusion is requisite under this head, as it depends, like the foregoing, upon the Hijra reckoning; During the dynasty of the Mughal Emperors, the year of the reigning monarch was usually inscribed, as is the case in most countries, upon all documents of a public nature. It was also particularly noted on the gold and silver coinage, where indeed it continues to be inserted under the Company's rule, although the date has long remained unchanged. The Hijra date was frequently added.

The jalús-san (*san-i jalús*) necessarily follows the Hijra reckoning, and the same tables will answer for the solution of them when the accession day of each sovereign is known. Those of the Mughal Emperors have accordingly been inserted among the festivals of the Muhammadan lunar calendric scale, where an explanation will be given of their application. A list of the sovereigns of Dihlí, in chronological succession, will also be found among the tables of dynasties.

It seems that the 'jalús-san' has been constituted a fixed era in

the Southern Konkan, commencing with the year of Sáliváhana 1578, (A.D. 1656), and running on henceforward in the ordinary solar manner contrary to all precedent in other parts of India.<sup>1</sup> This epoch, derived from Capt. Jervis' 'Report,' is anterior by two years to the coronation of Aurangzeb; but it corresponds precisely with the accession of Sultán 'Alí 'Adl Sháh II. to the throne of Bijápur; from which circumstance it doubtless drew its origin, although from subsequent disturbances, its correction was lost sight of.

In general it should be borne in mind that the duration of a Muhammadan monarch's reign, as well as of his life, is reckoned by lunar years; and that both consequently require correction when compared with other dates.

## RÁJ-ABHISHEK ERA OF THE MARÁTHAS.

Only a few years subsequent to the establishment of the Jalús era last mentioned, another of the same nature was set up by the Maráthas, or at least it has since come into use, founded upon the rise of their power under the famous Sivají. We have the authority of Grant Duff for fixing the date of Sivají's ascending the throne, on the death of his father Sháhjí, in the year A.D. 1664, when he first assumed the title of Rájá, and struck money in his own name.

To convert the Ráj-abishek (meaning 'ointment of the king') into the Christian era, 1664 must be added. The division of months probably accords with the Śáka system.

## RECAPITULATION.

The whole of the eras mentioned in the foregoing imperfect account are, for the convenience of reference, collected below in a tabular form, with the equation for their conversion into the ordinary reckoning of Europe. It has been deemed preferable to insert the year of the Christian era, corresponding with the *first nominal year* of each of the Indian eras, which will here and there produce an apparent variation from the epochs or initial dates given in the foregoing sketch. (See note, p. 165.)

<sup>1</sup> Jervis's 'Report,' p. 99.

TABULAR VIEW OF ERAS USED IN INDIA, WITH THE EQUATION FOR CONVERTING THEM INTO CHRISTIAN DATES.

DENOMINATION.	COMMENCEMENT.	EQUATION.
The Kali-yuga (vulgo, Kul-júg) commences Friday, 18th Feb.	3102 B.C.	(before Christ) 3102—K=C
The first year being reckoned as 0, the year 1 accords with	3101 B.C.	(after Christ) K—3101=C
Era of Buddha's birth, by Chinese account..	1027 B.C.	not used.
Ditto, his <i>nirvána</i> , in India, Ceylon, Ava, Siam, etc. 1st year=	543 B.C.	545—B=C
Jain era of Mahāvira.....	1st year 629 B.C.	B—543 =C
Samvat (Sumbut) of Vikramāditya, year 1 = D March, 26 B.C.	—	563½
Śāka (Shuk) of Śālivāhana=equinox.....	79 A.D.	+ 78½
Parasurāma cycle of 1000 years (1st year of 4th cycle=Sept.	825 A.D.	+ 824½
Grahaparivṛithi ditto, of 90 years (1st year of 21st cycle)=	1777 A.D.	+1776
Vrihaspati (Jupiter's) cycle of 60 years (established in 966 A.D.)	1st year of 84th cycle ('Sūrya-Siddhānta')=1796 A.D.	+1795
" " 83rd cycle (Telinga account) ....=1807 A.D.		+1806
" " 14th cycle (Tibet account) .....=1807 A.D.		+1806
" " 76th cycle (Chinese account) ....=1804 A.D.		+1803
Turkish or Ighari cycle of 12 years coincides with Tibetan and Telinga Jovian cycle, in its initial year.....		disused
Balabhi Samvat of Somnāth.....	1st year= March 318 A.D.	+ 317½
Siva-Sinha Samvat of Gujurāt.....	" = " 1113 A.D.	+1112
Burmerse era of Prome.....	" = " 79 A.D.	+ 78½
" Vulgar epoch.....	" = " 639 A.D.	+ 638
" Sacred era (see Buddha)....	" = " 543 B.C.	— 544
" Grand epoch.....	" = " 691 B.C.	— 692
Java era, Aji Śāka.....	" = " 74 A.D.	+ 73
" Bali era.....	" = " 81 A.D.	+ 80
Nipāl, Newār era.....	" = " 870 A.D.	+ 869
Tibet, <i>me-kha-gya-tsho</i> , 403-year era, .....	" = " 622 A.D.	+ 621
Hijra, lunar year.....	begins July 16, 622 A.D.	see tables
Era of Yazdijird, Persian.....	" June 16, 632 A.D.	+ 631½
Jalālī era of Malik-shāh.....	" March, 1079 A.D.	+1078½
Tārīkh-i ilāhī of the Emperor Akbar...	" March, 1556 A.D.	
Faṣlī, revenue year of Upper India (established in 1556 A.D.)		+ 592½
" " of South India .....	" 1638 A.D.	+ 590
Vilāyatī " of Orissa.....	" 1556 A.D.	+ 592½
Bengālī-san " of Bengal.....	" 1556 A.D.	+ 593½
Shahūr-san of the Marāthas.....	(introduced in 1344 A.D.)	+ 599
Jalūs-san of Bijapur.....	(ʿAdl Shāh II. 1656 A.D.)	+1656
Rāj-abhishek of the Marāthas .....	(Sivaji's reign 1664 A.D.)	+1664



## DIRECTIONS FOR USING THE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

Most persons consulting the following tables will wish to be spared the perusal of the description of the origin and formation of the several eras comprised in them, and will be desirous only of obtaining their object as directly as possible, namely, the conversion of a date expressed in either the Christian, Hijra, Samvat, Śāka, Kali-yug, Vrihaspati, Parasurāma, or Grahaparivṛithi system, into the corresponding day of any other of the same series. The present rules will be confined to this object. They are partly repeated, also, with examples, on the pages of the several yearly scales, for the convenience of more immediate reference.

RULES FOR ANY DAY OF TIME FALLING WITHIN THE RANGE OF THE GENERAL TABLES XIII. AND XIV., NAMELY, FROM A.D. 622 TO A.D. 1900 FOR THE HIJRA, AND FROM A.D. 1600 TO A.D. 1900, FOR THE HINDÚ ERAS.

## HIJRA KALENDAR.

1. To find the Christian date corresponding with any Muhammadan date of the Hijra era,—say the 17th of Rajab 1201 A.H.

Take the initial day of the year 1201 from Table XIII., which will be found to be 3 (or Tuesday) the 24th October, 1786 N.S. Then set the first day of Muharram on the edge-scale of Table V. to the 24th October on the proper column of the Christian era, Table XII. Opposite to the 17th Rajab will be found to stand the 5th May (1787), which is the day required.

2. To find the Muhammadan day agreeing with a given Christian day,—say the 17th March, 1804 (a leap-year).

Find from Table XIII. what year of the Hijra commences next before March, 1804, namely, 1218 A.H., beginning on Saturday, the 23rd April, 1803. Set Scale V. to this date, and read off opposite to the 17th March, the 4th of Zilhejeh; but because 1804 is a leap-year, and the day falls after the end of February, one day must be added to the scale, and the reading will then be the 5th Zilhejeh, which is the day sought. Should the day of the week be also required, set the 1st Muharram to Saturday on the hebdomadial scale in Table XII. and read off 5th Zilhejeh, Saturday.

3. To find the Christian year corresponding with the jalús of any of the Mughal Emperors of Dihlí,—for instance, the 19th year of the reign of Sháh 'Alam?

In the column of Festivals in the Hijra kalendar, page 182, it will be seen that Sháh 'Alam came to the throne on the 1st of Jumádi I, A.H. 1173. Adding to this 19, as above, the general Hijra Table shows that A.D. 1192 commenced on the 30th Jan. 1778:—the 19th jalús

therefore (by the scale) will be seen to commence on the 29th May of the same year.

4. To convert a Hijra date into any of the Hindú eras corresponding to the given Hindú date.

In these cases the intervention of the Christian scale is required, because the initial days of the Muhammadan years are given only in the latter system. When once the English day is found, the rules already prescribed will answer for determining the remainder of the problem.

#### HINDÚ SOLAR OR SIDEREAL KALENDAR.

5. To convert a date in the Kali-yug, Śāka, or Bengálí-san eras, into the corresponding Christian date,—for example, the 1st of Jéth B.S. 1199 = K.Y. 4893 = S.A. 1714.

By Table XIV. the 1st Baisákh, K.Y. 4893, of the Hindú solar era coincided with Tuesday, the 10th April A.D. 1792. Therefore setting the index of the Hindú solar scale, Table X., to that day, on the proper column of Table XII. :—the 11th of May will be the resulting date.

(From the astronomical formation of the Hindú months, an error of a day in the *civil* reckoning will sometimes occur, which the kalendar X. is unable to correct, without a computation of the elements of the beginning of the particular Hindú month by the rule hereafter laid down, page 178).

6. The converse of the above proposition hardly requires a separate explanation.

Example: Required the Hindú solar day corresponding to the 20th December, 1813?

The 20th December, 1813, must fall in the Kali-yug year, 4914 (B.S. 1220), commencing, by Table XIV., on Sunday, 11th April, 1813. Setting, therefore, the index of the Hindú solar year to the 11th April, the 20th December will be found to accord with the 7th or 8th Pausa, 4914 K.Y. (The Viláyatí or Dakhaní reckoning gives the latter, while the Bengálí gives the former day.<sup>1</sup>)

#### FESTIVALS.

The Hindú Solar Kalendar contains but three festivals of any importance, namely, *Charak-púja*, on the last day of the year (or entrance of the Sun into the first sign *mesh*, of the Sidereal Zodiac), called also the *Satwa-sankrānta* :—the first day of the Viláyatí year of

<sup>1</sup> It should be remarked that Warren's 'Kāla Sankalita' gives the beginning of the Hindú solar year invariably one day earlier than the reckoning followed in the tables of the Śadr Diwānī. This arises from his using the Tamil year of the 'Arya Siddhānta,' while the 'Surya Siddhānta' is used in Bengal. We have not ventured to alter the tables, but the correction may be borne in mind.

PART II.—LUNI-SOLAR YEAR.												
I.	XII.		XIII.	XIV.	XV.	XVI.	XVII.	XVIII.	XIX.			
CHRISTIAN YEAR.	Begins on the new moon occurring next before the 1st Visakha of the Sidereal year.		Begins on the 1st of the lunar month Aswin.	Character of the year, and initial of <i>Aditi</i> or 'lound' month, in intercalary year. (See p. 175.)	Date of the last mean conjunction of $\odot$ and $\uparrow$ , whence the new luni-solar year commences.	Same date in Hindii Sidereal month Chaitra. (cir. acct.)	Number of days in the Sidereal month Chaitra.	Buddhist Era of India, Ceylon, Ava, Siam, etc.	Burmese Vulgar Era (used also in Arracan, etc.)	CHINESE ERA. Year of the Cycle of 60.	Approximate commencement from the new moon next before $\odot$ enters $\uparrow$ in old style.	Years in which intercalary months are introduced.
A. D.	Kaliyug.	Samvat.	Fasli of Upper India.		OLD STYLE.							
B. 1700	4801	1757	1108	A. C.	Sa. 9 Mar.	12	31	2243	1062	17	8 Feb.	
1701	4802	1758	1109	A. V.	Fr. 28 Mar.	30	30	2244	1063	18	28 Jan.	
1702	4803	1759	1110		Tu. 17 Mar.	19	30	2245	1064	19	17 Jan.	*
1703	4804	1760	1111	A. S.	Sa. 6 Mar.	8	31	2246	1065	20	4 Feb.	
B. 1704	4805	1761	1112		Fr. 24 Mar.	27	31	2247	1066	21	25 Jan.	
1705	4806	1762	1113		We. 14 Mar.	16	30	2248	1067	22	14 Jan.	*
1706	4807	1763	1114	A. J.	Su. 3 Mar.	5	30	2249	1068	23	1 Feb.	
1707	4808	1764	1115		Sa. 22 Mar.	24	31	2250	1069	24	22 Jan.	*
B. 1708	4809	1765	1116		We. 10 Mar.	12	30	2251	1070	25	9 Feb.	
1709	4810	1766	1117	A. C.	Mo. 28 Feb.	2	30	2252	1071	26	29 Jan.	
1710	4811	1767	1118		Sa. 18 Mar.	20	30	2253	1072	27	18 Jan.	*
1711	4812	1768	1119	A. B.	Th. 8 Mar.	10	31	2254	1073	28	6 Feb.	
B. 1712	4813	1769	1120		We. 26 Mar.	28	30	2255	1074	29	27 Jan.	
1713	4814	1770	1121		Su. 15 Mar.	17	30	2256	1075	30	15 Jan.	*
1714	4815	1771	1122	A. A.	Th. 4 Mar.	6	30	2257	1076	31	2 Feb.	
1715	4816	1772	1123		We. 23 Mar.	25	31	2258	1077	32	23 Jan.	
B. 1716	4817	1773	1124		Mo. 12 Mar.	14	30	2259	1078	33	13 Jan.	*
1717	4818	1774	1125	A. V.	Fr. 1 Mar.	3	30	2260	1079	34	30 Jan.	
1718	4819	1775	1126		Th. 20 Mar.	22	30	2261	1080	35	20 Jan.	*
1719	4820	1776	1127		Tu. 10 Mar.	11	31	2262	1081	36	8 Feb.	
B. 1720	4821	1777	1128	A. B.	Sa. 27 Feb.	0	30	2263	1082	37	28 Jan.	
1721	4822	1778	1129		Fr. 17 Mar.	19	30	2264	1083	38	17 Jan.	*
1722	4823	1779	1130	A. S.	Tu. 6 Mar.	8	30	2265	1084	39	4 Feb.	
1723	4824	1780	1131.		Mo. 25 Mar.	27	31	2266	1085	40	25 Jan.	
B. 1724	4825	1781	1132		Fr. 13 Mar.	15	30	2267	1086	41	15 Jan.	4
1725	4826	1782	1133	A. J.	We. 3 Mar.	5	30	2268	1087	42	2 Feb.	
1726	4827	1783	1134		Tu. 22 Mar.	24	31	2269	1088	43	22 Jan.	
1727	4828	1784	1135		Sa. 11 Mar.	13	31	2270	1089	44	11 Jan.	3
B. 1728	4829	1785	1136	A. C.	We. 28 Feb.	1	30	2271	1090	45	30 Jan.	
1729	4830	1786	1137		Tu. 18 Mar.	20	30	2272	1091	46	18 Jan.	7
1730	4831	1787	1138	A. S.	Su. 8 Mar.	10	31	2273	1092	47	6 Feb.	
1731	4832	1788	1139		Fr. 29 Mar.	28	31	2274	1093	48	27 Jan.	
B. 1732	4833	1789	1140		We. 15 Mar.	17	30	2275	1094	49	16 Jan.	5
1733	4834	1790	1141	A. A.	Su. 4 Mar.	6	30	2276	1095	50	3 Feb.	
1734	4835	1791	1142		Sa. 23 Mar.	25	31	2277	1096	51	23 Jan.	
1735	4836	1792	1143		We. 12 Mar.	14	31	2278	1097	52	12 Jan.	*
B. 1736	4837	1793	1144	A. V.	Mo. 1 Mar.	3	30	2279	1098	53	31 Jan.	
1737	4838	1794	1145		Su. 20 Mar.	22	30	2280	1099	54	20 Jan.	*
1738	4839	1795	1146	A. B.	Th. 9 Mar.	11	31	2281	1100	55	7 Feb.	
1739	4840	1796	1147		We. 28 Mar.	29	30	2282	1101	56	28 Jan.	
B. 1740	4841	1797	1148		Su. 16 Mar.	18	30	2283	1102	57	17 Jan.	*
1741	4842	1798	1149	A. S.	Fr. 6 Mar.	8	30	2284	1103	58	4 Feb.	
1742	4843	1799	1150		Th. 25 Mar.	27	31	2285	1104	59	25 Jan.	
1743	4844	1800	1151		Mo. 14 Mar.	15	30	2286	1105	60	14 Jan.	*
B. 1744	4845	1801	1152	A. J.	Fr. 2 Mar.	4	30	2287	1106	1	2 Feb.	
1745	4846	1802	1153		Th. 21 Mar.	23	30	2288	1107	2	21 Jan.	
1746	4847	1803	1154		Tu. 11 Mar.	13	31	2289	1108	3	11 Jan.	3
1747	4848	1804	1155	A. C.	Sa. 28 Feb.	1	30	2290	1109	4	30 Jan.	
B. 1748	4849	1805	1156		Fr. 18 Mar.	20	30	2291	1110	5	20 Jan.	7
1749	4850	1806	1157	A. S.	Tu. 7 Mar.	9	30	2292	1111	6	7 Feb.	

\* In the current year K. Y. 4783, the months Chaitra and Aswina are repeated, and the month Agrahana is *raya* or expunged.

PART II.—LUNI-SOLAR YEAR.										
I.	XII.		XIII.	XIV.	XV.	XVI.	XVII.		XVIII.	XIX.
CHRISTIAN YEAR. A.D.	Begin on the new moon occurring next before the 1st Vaisakha of the Sidereal year.		Begin on the 1st of the lunar month of Asvin.	Character of the year, and initial of <i>Adhik</i> or 'lound' month, in intercalary year. (See p. 173.)	Date of the last mean conjunction of ☉ and ♀, whence the new luni-solar year commences.	Same date in Hindū Sidereal month Chaitra, (civ. act.)	Number of days in the Side- real month Chaitra.	Buddhist Era of India, Ceylon, Ava, Siam, etc.	Burmese Vulgar Era, (used also in Arracan, etc.)	CHINESE ERA. Year of the Cycle of 60.
	Kalyug.	Samvat.	Fasli of Upper India.							
1750	4851	1807	1158	A.A.	Mo. 6 Apr.	28	31	2293	1112	LXXV. Cycle.
1751	4852	1808	1159		Sa. 27 Mar.	17	30	2294	1113	
B. 1752	4853	1809	1160		We. 15 Mar.	6	30	2295	1114	
1753	4854	1810	1161	A.V.	Tu. 3 Apr.	25	30	2296	1115	10
1754	4855	1811	1162		Sa. 23 Mar.	15	31	2297	1116	
1755	4856	1812	1163		Th. 13 Mar.	3	30	2298	1117	
B. 1756	4857	1813	1164	A.B.	Tu. 30 Mar.	21	30	2299	1118	13
1757	4858	1814	1165		Su. 20 Mar.	11	31	2300	1119	
1758	4859	1815	1166		Sa. 8 Apr.	30	31	2301	1120	
1759	4860	1816	1167	A.S.	We. 28 Mar.	18	30	2302	1121	16
B. 1760	4861	1817	1168		Su. 16 Mar.	7	30	2303	1122	
1761	4862	1818	1169		Sa. 4 Apr.	26	31	2304	1123	
1762	4863	1819	1170	A.J.	Th. 25 Mar.	16	31	2305	1124	19
1763	4864	1820	1171		Mo. 14 Mar.	4	30	2306	1125	
B. 1764	4865	1821	1172		Su. 1 Apr.	23	30	2307	1126	
1765	4866	1822	1173	A.C.	Th. 21 Mar.	12	31	2308	1127	22
1766	4867	1823	1174		Tu. 11 Mar.	1	30	2309	1128	
1767	4868	1824	1175		Mo. 30 Mar.	20	30	2310	1129	
B. 1768	4869	1825	1176	A.S.	Fr. 18 Mar.	9	30	2311	1130	25
1769	4870	1826	1177		Th. 6 Apr.	28	31	2312	1131	
1770	4871	1827	1178		Mo. 26 Mar.	16	30	2313	1132	
1771	4872	1828	1179	A.A.	Sa. 16 Mar.	6	30	2314	1133	28
B. 1772	4873	1829	1180		Fr. 3 Apr.	25	30	2315	1134	
1773	4874	1830	1181		Tu. 23 Mar.	14	31	2316	1135	
1774	4875	1831	1182	A.V.	Fr. 12 Mar.	2	30	2317	1136	31
1775	4876	1832	1183		Sa. 31 Mar.	21	30	2318	1137	
R. 1776	4877	1833	1184		We. 20 Mar.	10	30	2319	1138	
1777	4878	1834	1185	A.B.	Mo. 7 Apr.	29	31	2320	1139	34
1778	4879	1835	1186		Sa. 28 Mar.	18	30	2321	1140	
1779	4880	1836	1187		We. 17 Mar.	7	30	2322	1141	
B. 1780	4881	1837	1188	A.S.	Tu. 4 Apr.	26	30	2323	1142	37
1781	4882	1838	1189		Sa. 24 Mar.	15	31	2324	1143	
1782	4883	1839	1190		Th. 14 Mar.	4	30	2325	1144	
1783	4884	1840	1191	A.J.	We. 2 Apr.	23	30	2326	1145	40
B. 1784	4885	1841	1192		Su. 21 Mar.	12	31	2327	1146	
1785	4886	1842	1193		Th. 10 Mar.	1	31	2328	1147	
1786	4887	1843	1194	A.C.	We. 29 Mar.	19	30	2329	1148	43
1787	4888	1844	1195		Mo. 19 Mar.	9	30	2330	1149	
B. 1788	4889	1845	1196		Su. 6 Apr.	28	31	2331	1150	
1789	4890	1846	1197	A.S.	Th. 26 Mar.	17	31	2332	1151	46
1790	4891	1847	1198		Mo. 15 Mar.	5	30	2333	1152	
1791	4892	1848	1199		Su. 3 Apr.	24	30	2334	1153	
B. 1792	4893	1849	1200	A.V.	Fr. 23 Mar.	14	31	2335	1154	49
1793	4894	1850	1201		Tu. 12 Mar.	3	31	2336	1155	
1794	4895	1851	1202		Mo. 31 Mar.	21	30	2337	1156	
1795	4896	1852	1203	A.B.	Fr. 20 Mar.	10	30	2338	1157	52
B. 1796	4897	1853	1204		Th. 7 Apr.	29	31	2339	1158	
1797	4898	1854	1205		Tu. 28 Mar.	18	30	2340	1159	
1798	4899	1855	1206	A.S.	Sa. 17 Mar.	7	30	2341	1160	55
1799	4900	1856	1207		Fr. 5 Apr.	26	30	2342	1161	

<sup>1</sup> The particulars of the Chinese years from A.D. 1723 to 1733 inclusive, are taken from Bayer's 'Parergon Sincium.' Those from 1745 to 1818, from a Chinese calendar:—and some few subsequent years from authentic sources. The rest are supplied by calculation.

PART II.—LUNI-SOLAR YEAR.												
I.	XII.		XIII.	XIV.	XV.	XVI.	XVII.	XVIII.	XIX.			
CHRISTIAN YEAR. A. D.	Begins on the new moon occurring next before the 1st Visakha of the Sideral year.		Begins on the 1st of the lunar month Aswin.	Character of the year, and initial of <i>Adhik</i> or 'lound' month, in intercalary year. (See p. 175.)	Date of the last mean conjunction of ☉ and ☽ whence the new luni-solar year commences.	Same date in Hindit Sideral month Chaitra. (olv. acct.)	Number of days in the Sideral month Chaitra.	Buddhist Era of India, Ceylon, Ava, Siam, etc.	Burmese Vulgar Era (used also in Arracan, etc.)	CHINESE ERA. Year of the Cycle of 60.	Ascertained commencement from the new moon next before ☉ enters ♈ in new style.	Intercalary year and No. of intercalated month.
	Kaliyug.	Samvat.	Fasit of Upper India.	NEW STYLE.								
1800	4901	1857	1208		Tu. 25 Mar.	15	31	2343	1162	57	25 Jan.	4
1801	4902	1858	1209	A.J.	Su. 15 Mar.	4	30	2344	1163	58	13 Feb.	
1802	4903	1859	1210		Fr. 2 Apr.	22	30	2345	1164	59	3 Feb.	
1803	4904	1860	1211		We. 23 Mar.	12	30	2346	1165	60	23 Jan.	3
B.1804	4905	1861	1212	A.C.	Su. 11 Mar.	1	31	2347	1166	1	11 Feb.	
1805	4906	1862	1213		Sa. 30 Mar.	19	30	2348	1167	2	31 Jan.	6
1806	4907	1863	1214	A.S.	We. 19 Mar.	8	30	2349	1168	3	19 Feb.	
1807	4908	1864	1215		Tu. 7 Apr.	27	30	2350	1169	4	8 Feb.	
B.1808	4909	1865	1216		Su. 27 Mar.	17	31	2351	1170	5	29 Jan.	5
1809	4910	1866	1217	A.A.	Th. 16 Mar.	5	30	2352	1171	6	16 Feb.	
1810	4911	1867	1218		We. 4 Apr.	24	30	2353	1172	7	6 Feb.	3
1811	4912	1868	1219		Su. 24 Mar.	13	30	2354	1173	8	27 Jan.	
B.1812	4913	1869	1220	A.V.	Fr. 13 Mar.	3	31	2355	1174	9	15 Feb.	
1813	4914	1870	1221		Th. 1 Apr.	21	30	2356	1175	10	3 Feb.	9
1814	4915	1871	1222	A.B.	Mo. 21 Mar.	10	30	2357	1176	11	21 Feb.	
1815	4916	1872	1223		Su. 9 Apr.	29	31	2358	1177	12	10 Feb.	
B.1816	4917	1873	1224		Th. 28 Mar.	18	31	2359	1178	13	30 Jan.	6
1817	4918	1874	1225	A.S.	Tu. 18 Mar.	7	30	2360	1179	14	17 Feb.	
1818	4919	1875	1226		Su. 5 Apr.	25	30	2361	1180	15	6 Feb.	
1819	4920	1876	1227		Fr. 26 Mar.	15	31	2362	1181	16	27 Jan.	3
B.1820	4921	1877	1228	A.J.	Tu. 14 Mar.	4	31	2363	1182	17	13 Feb.	
1821	4922	1878	1229		Mo. 2 Apr.	22	30	2364	1183	18	2 Feb.	
1822	4923	1879	1230		Sa. 23 Mar.	12	30	2365	1184	19	23 Jan.	4
1823	4924	1880	1231	A.C.A.	We. 12 Mar.	1	31	2366	1185	20	10 Feb.	
B.1824	4925	1881	1232		Tu. 30 Mar.	20	31	2367	1186	21	31 Jan.	
1825	4926	1882	1233	A.S.	Sa. 19 Mar.	8	30	2368	1187	22	17 Feb.	5
1826	4927	1883	1234		Fr. 7 Apr.	27	30	2369	1188	23	7 Feb.	
1827	4928	1884	1235		Tu. 27 Mar.	16	31	2370	1189	24	27 Jan.	6
B.1828	4929	1885	1236	A.A.	Su. 16 Mar.	6	30	2371	1190	25	16 Feb.	
1829	4930	1886	1237		Sa. 4 Apr.	24	30	2372	1191	26	4 Feb.	7
1830	4931	1887	1238		We. 24 Mar.	13	30	2373	1192	27	24 Jan.	
1831	4932	1888	1239	A.V.	Su. 13 Mar.	2	31	2374	1193	28	11 Feb.	
B.1832	4933	1889	1240		Sa. 31 Mar.	21	30	2375	1194	29	1 Feb.	9
1833	4934	1890	1241	A.B.	Th. 21 Mar.	10	30	2376	1195	30	20 Feb.	
1834	4935	1891	1242		We. 9 Apr.	29	30	2377	1196	31	8 Feb.	
1835	4936	1892	1243		Su. 29 Mar.	18	31	2378	1197	32	29 Jan.	6
B.1836	4937	1893	1244	A.S.	Th. 17 Mar.	6	30	2379	1198	33	16 Feb.	
1837	4938	1894	1245		We. 5 Apr.	25	30	2380	1199	34	5 Feb.	
1838	4939	1895	1246		Mo. 26 Mar.	15	30	2381	1200	35	26 Jan.	3
1839	4940	1896	1247	A.J.	Fr. 15 Mar.	4	31	2382	1201	36	13 Feb.	
B.1840	4941	1897	1248		Th. 2 Apr.	22	30	2383	1202	37	3 Feb.	4
1841	4942	1898	1249		Mo. 22 Mar.	11	30	2384	1203	38	20 Feb.	
1842	4943	1899	1250	A.C.	Sa. 12 Mar.	1	31	2385	1204	39	10 Feb.	
1843	4944	1900	1251		Th. 30 Mar.	19	31	2386	1205	40	30 Jan.	5
B.1844	4945	1901	1252	A.S.	Tu. 19 Mar.	8	30	2387	1206	41	18 Feb.	
1845	4946	1902	1253		Mo. 7 Apr.	27	30	2388	1207	42	7 Feb.	
1846	4947	1903	1254		Fr. 27 Mar.	16	31	2389	1208	43	27 Jan.	6
1847	4948	1904	1255	A.A.	Tu. 16 Mar.	5	31	2390	1209	44	14 Feb.	
B.1848	4949	1905	1256		Mo. 3 Apr.	23	30	2391	1210	45	4 Feb.	
1849	4950	1906	1257		Sa. 24 Mar.	13	30	2392	1211	46	24 Jan.	7

<sup>1</sup> The expunged month in the 4924th year of the Kaliyug fell on Agrahayan, otherwise Margasius, and the intercalated months were Aswina and Chaitra of the ensuing year.

PART II.—LUNI-SOLAR YEAR.											
I.	XII.		XIII.	XIV.	XV.	XVI.	XVII.	XVIII.	XIX.		
CHRISTIAN YEAR.	Begins on the new moon occurring next before the 1st Visakha of the Sideral year.		Begins on the 1st of the lunar month Asvin.	Character of the year, and initial of <i>Adhik</i> or 'found' month, in intercalary year. (See p. 175.)	Date of the last mean conjunction of ☉ and ♀ whence the new luni-solar year commences.	Same date in Hindii Sideral month Chaitra. (rev. act.)	Number of days in the Sideral month Chaitra.	Buddhist Era of India, Ceylon, Ava, Siam, etc.	Burmese Vulgar Era (used also in Arracan, etc.)	CHINESE ERA.	Approximate commencement from the new moon, next before ☉ enters ♈ in new style.
A. D.	Kaliyug.	Samvat.	Full of Upper India.		NEW STYLE.					Year of the Cycle of 60.	Years in which intercalary
1850	4951	1907	1258	A.V.	We. 13 Mar.	2	31	2393	1212	47	11 Feb.
1851	4952	1908	1259		Tu. 1 Apr.	21	31	2394	1213	48	1 Feb.
B.1852	4953	1909	1260	A.B.	Sa. 20 Mar.	9	30	2395	1214	49	19 Feb.
1853	4954	1910	1261		Fr. 8 Apr.	28	30	2396	1215	50	8 Feb.
1854	4955	1911	1262		We. 29 Mar.	18	31	2397	1216	51	29 Jan.
1855	4956	1912	1263	A.S.	Su. 18 Mar.	6	30	2398	1217	52	16 Feb.
B.1856	4957	1913	1264		Sa. 5 Apr.	25	30	2399	1218	53	6 Feb.
1857	4958	1914	1265		We. 25 Mar.	14	30	2400	1219	54	25 Jan.
1858	4959	1915	1266	A.J.	Mo. 15 Mar.	4	31	2401	1220	55	13 Feb.
1859	4960	1916	1267		Su. 3 Apr.	22	30	2402	1221	56	3 Feb.
B.1860	4961	1917	1268	A.C.	Th. 22 Mar.	11	30	2403	1222	57	23 Jan.
1861	4962	1918	1269	A.C.	We. 10 Apr.	30	30	2404	1223	58	10 Feb.
1862	4963	1919	1270		Su. 30 Mar.	19	31	2405	1224	59	30 Jan.
1863	4964	1920	1271	A.S.	Fr. 20 Mar.	8	30	2406	1225	60	18 Feb.
B.1864	4965	1921	1272		We. 6 Apr.	26	30	2407	1226	1	7 Feb.
1865	4966	1922	1273		Mo. 27 Mar.	16	30	2408	1227	2	27 Jan.
1866	4967	1923	1274	A.A.	Fr. 16 Mar.	5	31	2409	1228	3	14 Feb.
1867	4968	1924	1275		Th. 4 Apr.	23	30	2410	1229	4	4 Feb.
B.1868	4969	1925	1276		Mo. 23 Mar.	12	30	2411	1230	5	24 Jan.
1869	4970	1926	1277	A.V.	Sa. 13 Mar.	2	30	2412	1231	6	11 Feb.
1870	4971	1927	1278		Fr. 1 Apr.	21	31	2413	1232	7	1 Feb.
1871	4972	1928	1279	A.B.	Tu. 21 Mar.	9	30	2414	1233	8	19 Feb.
B.1872	4973	1929	1280		Mo. 8 Apr.	28	30	2415	1234	9	9 Feb.
1873	4974	1930	1281		Fr. 28 Mar.	17	31	2416	1235	10	28 Jan.
1874	4975	1931	1282	A.S.	We. 18 Mar.	7	31	2417	1236	11	16 Feb.
1875	4976	1932	1283		Tu. 6 Apr.	25	30	2418	1237	12	6 Feb.
B.1876	4977	1933	1284		Sa. 25 Mar.	14	30	2419	1238	13	26 Jan.
1877	4978	1934	1285	A.J.	We. 14 Mar.	3	31	2420	1239	14	12 Feb.
1878	4979	1935	1286		Tu. 2 Apr.	22	31	2421	1240	15	2 Feb.
1879	4980	1936	1287	A.C.	Su. 23 Mar.	11	30	2422	1241	16	23 Jan.
B.1880	4981	1937	1288		Sa. 10 Apr.	30	30	2423	1242	17	11 Feb.
1881	4982	1938	1289		We. 30 Mar.	19	31	2424	1243	18	30 Jan.
1882	4983	1939	1290	A.S.	Su. 19 Mar.	7	30	2425	1244	19	17 Feb.
1883	4984	1940	1291		Sa. 7 Apr.	26	30	2426	1245	20	7 Feb.
B.1884	4985	1941	1292		Th. 27 Mar.	16	30	2427	1246	21	28 Jan.
1885	4986	1942	1293	A.A.	Mo. 16 Mar.	5	31	2428	1247	22	14 Feb.
1886	4987	1943	1294		Su. 4 Apr.	23	30	2429	1248	23	4 Feb.
1887	4988	1944	1295		Th. 24 Mar.	12	30	2430	1249	24	24 Jan.
B.1888	4989	1945	1296	A.V.	Tu. 13 Mar.	2	30	2431	1250	25	13 Feb.
1889	4990	1946	1297		Sa. 31 Mar.	20	31	2432	1251	26	31 Jan.
1890	4991	1947	1298	A.B.	Fr. 21 Mar.	9	30	2433	1252	27	19 Feb.
1891	4992	1948	1299		Th. 9 Apr.	28	30	2434	1253	28	9 Feb.
B.1892	4993	1949	1300		Mo. 28 Mar.	17	30	2435	1254	29	29 Jan.
1893	4994	1950	1301	A.S.	Sa. 17 Mar.	6	31	2436	1255	30	15 Feb.
1894	4995	1951	1302		Th. 5 Apr.	24	30	2437	1256	31	5 Feb.
1895	4996	1952	1303		Tu. 26 Mar.	14	30	2438	1257	32	26 Jan.
B.1896	4997	1953	1304	A.J.	Sa. 14 Mar.	3	30	2439	1258	33	13 Feb.
1897	4998	1954	1305		Fr. 2 Apr.	22	31	2440	1259	34	2 Feb.
1898	4999	1955	1306	A.C.	Tu. 22 Mar.	10	30	2441	1260	35	22 Jan.
1899	5000	1956	1307		Mo. 10 Apr.	29	30	2442	1261	36	10 Feb.
1900	5001	1957	1308		Sa. 31 Mar.	19	31	2443	1262	37	1 Feb.

\* The Burmese and the Ceylonese luni-solar years commence on the same day as the Hindii, being derived from the same original authorities.



A special work on Muhammadan dates has lately been produced by Herr Joh. Von Gumpach (Madden, 1856), which I have duly examined for the purpose of testing Prinsep's previously-published results. Prinsep's Tables, it will be seen, are calculated from the initial date of the 16th of July, 622, A.D., while Gumpach commences from the 15th of that month.<sup>1</sup>

Prinsep continues to follow the Julian style up to A.D. 1750, while Gumpach introduces the Gregorian kalendar from A.D. 1582.

The tables are, therefore, uniform in their several correspondents from A.H. 1 to A.H. 990 = Julian, 1582 (26th or 25th of January, as the optional initial day may determine). Thereafter there is a uniform discrepancy of nine days between the two serial calculations,

<sup>1</sup> [The following is M. Gumpach's statement determining the selection of the initial date for his tables].—'The common era of the Mahometans, as has already been stated, is that of the flight of Mahomet (تاريخ الهجرة the era of the Flight =

Hegira). Its origin is by the Mahometans themselves referred to two distinct days; not that there is in reality a difference of opinion among them as to the true date, but that its epoch is fixed upon two principles, according to the astronomical or the civil view of the case. The majority of astronomers make it a Mahometan Thursday, = 15 Thamuz 933 A.S., or the moment of sunset on our Wednesday, the 14th July (old style) 622 A.D., so that the 1st of Muharram of the first year of the Hegira would mainly coincide with our Thursday, the 15th July, 622 A.D., according to the Julian kalendar. The majority of historical writers, on the contrary, place it a day later. All are in the habit of including in their expression of dates the corresponding day of the week, and thus not only obviate the uncertainty, which otherwise would attach to such dates, but, at the same time, afford a ready means of ascertaining the principle adopted, with regard to the epoch of the era, by each individual writer. Whenever the Turks express a date according to their solar kalendar, they commonly name the lunar year of the Hegira, including the 1st of March or the epoch of the solar year, to which that date belongs. . . . As will be seen on reference to the tables, the 1st of Muharram of the first year of the Hegira has been made to coincide, not with Friday the 16th, but with Thursday the 15th July, 622 A.D.; or, astronomically speaking, the epoch of the Hegira has been referred to the moment of sunset, not on Thursday the 15th, but on Wednesday the 14th July, 622 A.D. For a twofold reason. In the first place, it is in itself a matter of indifference which of the two dates be chosen for the basis of our tables, inasmuch as both are in use among Mahometan writers; the week-day, as has already been observed, frequently being the only criterion for the true reduction of a given date. In the second place, whilst the Thursday is adopted by the far greater majority of Mahometan astronomers, and thus has usually to be taken in the reduction of astronomical dates, its tabular use, at the same time, is more convenient to the layman, because it simplifies the conversion of civil and religious dates, which are mostly based on the Friday as the epoch of the Mahometan era. Two Christian dates are assigned to the 1st Muharram of the year 990 of the Hegira, namely: 'J. 1582, 25th January; and 'G. 1582, 4th February.' The former is to be taken when, in the year 1582 A.D., the given Mahometan date falls previous to the 5th October; the latter, when it falls subsequent to the 14th October. The reason is, that our tables are computed according to the Julian kalendar or old style, up to the 4th October, 1582 A.D., inclusive, and according to the Gregorian kalendar or new style, since its introduction in that year, when ten days were passed over, and, the 4th October (corresponding to the 16th Ramazan 990 A.H.), being a Thursday, the next day, a Friday (corresponding to the 17th Ramazan), was accounted, not the 5th, but the 15th October, 1582, A.D., the usual succession of the week-days being preserved.'

consisting of the ten days passed over between the Julian and Gregorian styles, minus the one day initial difference, until A.H. 1112=A.D. 1700, when the apparent difference increases to ten days,<sup>1</sup> the days of the week, however, continuing to correspond in their previous relative degree; and this divergence necessarily remains until A.H. 1166=A.D. 1752, when the discrepancies are reconciled, and the Hijra year is made by Prinsep, under the new series, to commence on the 8th of November, being the fourth day of the week; and by Gumpach, on the 7th of November, corresponding with the third day of the week.

<sup>1</sup> 'The difference between the Old and the New Style up to the year 1699 was only ten days, after 1700 it was eleven days.' 'Chronology of History,' Sir Harris Nicholas, p. 35.



## GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

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THE purpose of the present division of our Appendix is by no means to attempt any improvement, nor even a critical adjustment, of the catalogues of princes preserved in the legendary records of the Bráhmans, but merely to afford a succinct synopsis of the principal ancient and modern dynasties of India, and of the neighbouring countries, for reference as to names, and, where accessible, as to dates.

For the early or mythological history of the Hindús, little can be done beyond enumerating the mere names, and marking the few variations in the lists of Sir Wm. Jones, Wilford, Bentley, Hamilton, Wilson, and, latterly, Col. Tod, who have endeavoured, successively, to trace the parallelism of the solar and lunar races, and assign to them more probable dates than those extravagantly put forth in the 'Puráñas.' As the regular succession from father to son is given in them, it was not a difficult task to apply the ordinary term of human generation, derived from the authentic histories of other countries, to the adjustment of the Hindú Chronology. Thus Ráma in the solar line, who is placed by the Bráhmans between the silver and brazen ages (867102 B.C.), was brought down by Sir Wm. Jones to B.C. 2029, and reconciled with the Ráma of Scripture; Pradyota, of the lunar race, in whose reign the last Buddha appeared, was brought down to B.C. 1029, the assumed epoch of Śákya in Tibet and China; and Nanda to 699, etc. In the case of the Magadhá Rájas this adjustment was the more easy, because the length of each dynasty is given in reasonable terms from Jarásandha, the contemporary of Yudhisthira, downwards; and the error might be only in the wrong assumption of the initial date, the epoch of the Kali Yuga, which the pandits allotted to the year 3101 B.C. After the discovery of the identity of Chandra Gupta with Sandracottus, pointed out by Sir Wm. Jones ('As. Res.', vol. iv. p. 26), and followed up by Wilford (vol. xv. p. 262), a further

reduction of 250 years in the position assigned to him in Sir William's first list became necessary; and the diminished rate of generations, applied backwards, brought Yudhisthira, and his contemporaries Arjun, Krishna, and Jarásandha, within the twelfth or thirteenth century before Christ. A most satisfactory confirmation of the modified epochs of Nanda, Chandra Gupta, and Aśoka has been since derived from the chronological tables of the Buddhists in Ava, published in Crawford's Embassy, and again in those of the Ceylon princes, made known by the Honorable G. Turnour; their near concurrence with Greek history, in the only available point of comparison, reflects back equal confidence upon the epoch assigned to the founder of their religion (B.C. 544), in spite of the Chinese and Tibetan authorities, most (though not all) of which place Buddha 500 years earlier. It was this that misled Sir Wm. Jones in the epoch of Pradyota.

There are some discrepancies in the Burmese tables difficult to be explained, such as the placing of Ajátasatru 80 years prior to Śiṣunāga, and the occurrence of Chandra Gupta still 50 years too soon: but we must refer those who would investigate this, and all other branches of the intricate subject of Hindú and Bauddha chronology, to the learned authors we have above mentioned, satisfying ourselves here with exhibiting a comparative table of the gradual changes effected by the progress of research in a few of the principal epochs.

Names.	Paurānic date.	Jones.	Willford.	Bentley.	Wilson. †	Tod.	Burmese list.
	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.	B. C.
Ikshwāku and } Buddha ..... }	2183102	5000	2700	1528	—	2200	—
Rāma ..... }	867102	2029	1360	{ 950	{ —	1100	—
Yudhisthira ... }	3102			{ 576	{ 1430		
Sumitra and } Pradyota ... }	2100	1029	700	119	915	—	600
Śiṣunāga .....	1962	870	600	—	777	600	472
Nandā .....	1600	699	—	—	415	—	404
Chandragupta ..	1502	600	350	—	315	320	392
Aśoka .....	1470	640	—	—	250	—	330
Balin .....	908	149	—	—	21	10	—
Chandrabāja the last of Ma- gadhā Rājās }	B.C. 452	300 A.D.	—	—	428 A.D.	546 A.D.	

The aid of astronomy has been successfully called in to fix such epochs as afforded the requisite data; thus the situation of the equinoctial colure in the time of the astronomer Parāśara, who flourished under Yudhisthira, is fixed by Davis in 1391 B.C.; by Sir Wm. Jones, Colebrooke, and Bentley, in 1180; which latter closely accords with the epoch of the Cycle of Paraśurāma, used in the Dakhan, and ap-

parently unknown to these authors, B.C. 1176. Bentley, on another occasion, alters this date to 575 B.C.! he also places Rāma in 950 B.C.; but there is great uncertainty and incongruity in many of his determinations of the dates of native princes and of books, from the prejudices he exhibits, although he is entitled to every confidence in his ingenious mode of calculating the period at which the various improvements in astronomy were introduced, and the 'Siddhāntas' written or revised, by the time when the positions of the planets, as assigned by their tables, accorded best with the more accurate results of European astronomy. From the minimum errors, and the precession of the equinoxes (first applied to such a purpose by Sir Isaac Newton), we have the following epochs substantially ascertained :—

Invention of the Nakshatras or Hindū Lunar mansions .....	B.C. 1425 B.
The Mahābhārat war, according to Wilford .....	1367
The Solar Zodiac formed by Parāsara (under Yudhisṭhira) .....	1180
Era of Parasurāma commences (see page 158) 7th August .....	1176
A Lunar Cycle invented, and precession discovered (Rāma ?) .....	945 B.
Four Yugas, founded on Jupiter's motions.....	215 ? B.
A.D.	
Seven Manwantaras, founded on Saturn's revolutions .....	31 ? B.
The 'Rāmāyana,' written by Valmiki .....	291 ? B.
Varāha Mihira, flourished, according to Telugu astronomers (also according to Sir W. Jones, Colebrooke, etc., from precession of the equinoxes) .....	499
Tables of the 'Brahmā Siddhānta,' fixation of the sidereal Zodiac, and new system of Chronology, with extravagant antiquity, compiled) .....	538 B.
The 'Mahābhārat,' written from Krishna's janampatra .....	600 ? B.
The Javanese translation of ditto, according to Raffles, in .....	1079
Vishnu Purāṇa, whence genealogies of Andhra kings, 4955 K.Y., or .....	954 W.
Origin of the Kala Chakra, or Jovian Cycle (see prec. sect. p. 159) .....	965
Tables of the 'Surya Siddhānta,' by Varāha Mihira .....	1068-91 B.
The 'Varāha Sanhita,' supposed by the same author, gives its own date...	1049
The 'Lilāvati' of Bhāskar Achārya bears its own date .....	1088 <sup>1</sup>
The 'Bhāsvatis' of Satanaṇḍa, pupil of Varāha, Saka 1021 .....	1109
The 'Bhāgavat,' supposed by Colebrooke to be written by a grammarian in .....	1200
The 'Arya Siddhānta,' compiled by Arya Bhatta.....	1322
Gangadhar's Comment on Bhāskar Achārya .....	1420
The Works of Kesava .....	1440
The 'Grahā Lāghava,' by Gonesh, his son.....	1520

Mr. Bentley would rob the seven last of a few centuries upon very insufficient grounds; he also ventures to place the authorship of the 'Rāmāyana' in A.D. 291, and that of the 'Mahābhārata' in A.D. 600, on far too slender astronomical data: but his mania for modernizing

<sup>1</sup> [This should be 1150. Bhāskar's own date being 1072 Saka = A.D. 1150. Colebrooke's 'Arithmetic and Algebra of the Hindūs.' Introduction ii. H. H. W.]

renders his testimony of the advanced knowledge of the Hindús in astronomy, at so remote a period as the fifteenth century before Christ, the more valuable; and we can have little hesitation in giving credit to the lines of princes assigned to this space, and even to further antiquity, although their history has been mixed up with incredible myths, and a falsified chronology. The more moderate and rational dates preserved by the Bauddha priests would lead to a supposition that the Bráhmans had purposely antiquated theirs, to confound their rivals in the contest for ascendancy over the minds of princes and people. That they should have suspended their histories with Sumitra of the solar, and Chandrabija of the lunar line, in the fifth century, might be naturally accounted for by the predominance of the Buddhists at that period, or more probably by the destruction of the Hindú monarchies by the incursions of the Huns and Tartars. The 'Puráṇas,' or at least the prophetic supplements describing their genealogies, must have been compiled long afterwards, and the relative dates then falsified. But the principal blame in the business seems to fall upon the astronomers, who are accused of throwing back the commencement of their era: for, taking the data of the Pauráṇic tables, and allowing, with them, 1015 years from Yudhisthira to Nanda; and from the latter prince to Puloman 836 years (which name is identified with Poulomien of the Chinese by Wilford, and placed in the year A.D. 648), the highest estimate of the 'Bhágavat' gives 1857 B.C. for the epoch of the 'Kali Yuga,' instead of the 3101 assigned in the astronomical works; while in the 'Brahmáṇḍa Puráṇa' it is brought down to B.C. 1775; and in the 'Váyu Puráṇa' to B.C. 1729. The Jains, it is said, adopt the still more modern epoch of 1078 B.C.; and if Anjana of Crawford's Burmese chronology, founder of the sacred epoch, be Arjuna, this contemporary of Yudhisthira is placed by the Bauddhas so late as 691 B.C.!

The Jains are generally also the most trustworthy authorities for the Middle Ages. To them it is asserted that Abú'l Fazl is indebted for the series of Bengal, Malwa, and other princes, published in the 'Ayín Akbarí' with every appearance of accurate detail. The 'Rája Taringini' of Kashmír also, the only Indian history of any antiquity, begins with Buddhist theogony. The Rájávali collection of genealogies is quite modern, having been compiled by Siwai Jaya Sinh, of Ambér, in 1650. Neither that nor the native bards and chroniclers, whence the valuable data for the more modern history of Hindústán were furnished to Col. Tod for his 'Annals of Rájasthán,' are to be trusted when they trace the ancestry of their princes back, and strive to connect them with the later heroes of the 'Puráṇas'; nor even to the earlier centuries of the Christian era, in which we find hardly any

of their names confirmed either by grants, coins, or by the historians of neighbouring countries.

More authentic in every respect are the copper-plate grants, dug up in many parts of India, and the Sanscrit inscriptions on columns and temples, of which many have been deciphered and published, although the subject is by no means yet exhausted.<sup>1</sup> Owing to a fortunate pride of ancestry, most of these records of kingly grants recite a long train of antecedent Rájas, which serve to confirm or to supply vacuities in the more scanty written records. Of the value of these to history we cannot adduce a better instance than the confirmation of the Bhupála dynasty of the Rájas of Gaur, as given by Abú'l-Fazl in the occurrence of the names of Devapála, Dhermapála, Rájapála, etc., on the several monuments at Monghir, Buddal, Dinájpur, Amgáchi, and Sárnáth near Benares, where also the date and the Bauddha religion of the prince are manifested. It was supposed by Sir Charles Wilkins that the two first inscriptions referred to the first century of the Samvat era; but, as shewn by Mr. Colebrooke, as well as by actual date at Sárnáth, they rise no earlier than the tenth. Indeed, the occurrence of inscriptions bearing unequivocal dates, anterior to that period, is very rare. Col. Tod adduces one of the fifth century (Samvat 597) discovered near Kota. Mr. Wathen has also recently produced two of the fourth and sixth centuries, dug up in Gujarát, which confirm, or rather correct, the early records of the Sauráshtra dynasty. The oldest, however, exist in Ceylon, where they have been brought to light by Captain Forbes and the Honorable Mr. Turnour: some of these, of which translations are published by the latter author in the 'Ceylon Almanac' for 1834, are ascribed, on evidence of facts mentioned in them, to the year A.D. 262; but they bear no actual date. The period most prolific of inscriptions is from the ninth to the thirteenth century, when an anxiety seems to have prevailed among the priests to possess graven records of grants from the reigning or from former sovereigns, in order probably to secure their temples and estates from spoliation or resumption in those turbulent times. One of Col. Tod's inscriptions, translated by Mr. Colebrooke, in the 'Roy. As. Soc. Trans.', vol. i., expressly declares a rival grant to be futile, and derived from an unauthorized source.

The value of inscriptions, as elucidations of history, cannot better be exemplified than by the circumstance of the Burmese inscription in the Páli character found at Gaya on the visit of the envoys from Ava in 1827, of which a translation was printed in the 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. iii. p. 214. It records the frequent destructions and

<sup>1</sup> [These remarks were published in 1835 A.D.]

attempts to repair the Buddhist temple there, and the successful completion of it in the Sakarāj year 667, A.D. 1306.<sup>1</sup> Now Col. Tod's Rájput annals of Méwár make particular mention of expeditions to recover Gaya from the infidels in 1200-50, which might not but for this record have been capable of explanation.

Where dates are not given in inscriptions, the style of the Nágari character will frequently serve to determine their antiquity. The cave temples of the west of India exhibit the most ancient form; the Gujarát type, above alluded to, of the fourth century, has a part connection with them, and part with an inscription at Gaya, and another on the Allahábád Lát; these again are linked by intervening gradations to the Tibetan alphabet, of which we know from Tibetan authors the existing Nágari of Magadhá was taken as the basis in the seventh century. We shall soon be able to furnish a tolerably accurate palæographical series of the Devanágari, but can here only allude to the subject. In the tenth and eleventh centuries it undergoes the modification observable on the Gaur, Sárnáth, and Shekáwati inscriptions, resembling very nearly the Bengáli type, of which it is doubtless the parent. The modern Nágari is found on monuments of the thirteenth century, when the irruption of the Moghals prevented any further change. There is also a still earlier character on the Dihli, Allahábád, and Tirhut Láts, which remains yet undeciphered; strong reasons have been advanced for its alliance to the Sanscrit group, if it contain not indeed the original symbols of that language. (See 'Jour. As. Soc.', vols. iii. iv.)

In all other countries, coins and medals have been esteemed the most legitimate archives and proofs of their ancient history. In India, little recourse to such evidence has hitherto been available. The few Hindú coins discovered have been neglected or deemed illegible. The subject is, however, now attracting more attention from the recent discovery of Bactrian and Indo-Scythic coins in great abundance in the Punjáb, bearing names hitherto quite unknown, in Greek, and on the reverse side in a form of Pehlvi character. The series is continued down to, and passes insensibly into, the purely Hindú coins of Kanauj, and some are in our possession, with Greek and Sanscrit on the same field. This very circumstance tends to bear out Col. Tod's supposition of the Kanauj princes having an Indo-Scythic origin. Yavan-asva, their progenitor, may indeed be 'the Greek Azo,' of whose coins we have so plentiful a supply.<sup>2</sup> The Sanscrit characters on the Kanauj coins are of the earlier type, be-

<sup>1</sup> Col. Burney reads the date, which is rather indistinct, 467, or A.D. 1106; but the above evidence tends to confirm the original reading.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 190.

longing to the fourth or fifth century: they will soon, it is hoped, be read, and put us in possession of several new names.

Other coins, in a still more ancient character, and nearly resembling the undeciphered letters of the Láts or the cave-sculptures,<sup>1</sup> are dug up in the Dihlí district: they are found in company with Buddhist relics, and will, hereafter, doubtless, lead to historical information.

A third series of coins, with devices of a Bráhmaṇí bull, and a horseman, bears the Gaur Nágari of the tenth century; on this several names have been made out, Bhímadeva, etc.; and on some the Persian titles of the first Musalmán conquerors are impressed.

A fourth series, with a sitting female figure, is in the modern Nágari, and is probably the latest of the Kanauj coins. The early Muhammadan coins of Sabaktagín, Mahmúd, etc., frequently have a partial admixture of Nágari, which will aid in locating the rest; for while this provoking dearth exists with regard to Hindú coins, we find coins with legible names and Hijra dates for the whole line of their Muhammadan conquerors, whose history is amply preserved without their aid.

One confirmation of a historical fact from numismatic aid has been remarked in the discovery of the name of Vása Deva or Bas Deo on a Sassanian coin. Ferishta states, that Bas Deo, of Kanauj, gave his daughter in marriage to Bahráṁ of Persia, A.D. 330:—the coin marks exactly such an alliance; but the Hindú chronicles admit no such name until, much later, one occurs in the Málwa catalogue of Abú'l-Fazl.

In the dynasties of Nepál and Assam, (at least from the middle of the seventeenth century), we have been wholly guided by coins in our possession; and it might be possible, by persevering search, to obtain from the same source the names of many Rájás antecedent to this period, which are now doubtful or wholly unknown.

From the time of the subversion of the Moghal empire in the middle of the last century, the historical train of their coins ceases to be available; all the native states having, in imitation of the English, struck their money in the name of a nominal sovereign of Dihlí, with no regard to dates, or even to the existence of the monarch; and up to the present time, we have had the names of Muhammad Sháh, Alamgír II., and Sháh 'Álam, issuing simultaneously from the native and the Company's Mint, while a second Akbar sways the pageant sceptre of the seven climes.

It must be confessed that a large field still remains open, for the re-investigation of the middle ages of Hindú history, in judicious

<sup>1</sup> See 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. iii. p. 495.

hands; for independently of the new materials now before us in the numerous coins lately discovered, and in many new inscriptions, we have the aid of the foreign histories of Ceylon, Ava, Tibet, and China; we have access to the native volumes before only consulted through interested pandits; and we have Col. Tod's ample traditions and real archives of the principal portion of the Indian continent, the seat of all its important history. To say nothing of the minute and circumstantial numismatic histories of Greece and Rome, it is principally to coins that we owe the history of the Arsacidæ of Persia, through Vaillant's investigation. The Sassanian dynasty has also been illustrated from similar materials by Frœhn and De Sacy. Marsden has extended the same principle to the Muhammadan princes of Persia and India, and to some few Hindú states, in his 'Numismata Orientalia;' and its application may be still further urged in the latter line with the greater success, in proportion to the greater dearth of other materials for history, as is exemplified in the coins of the Bactrian provinces. The first thing to be done will be to expunge and lose sight of the learned but entangled accounts of Colonel Wilford and others, which, while they have confused, have frightened critics at the perplexity of the subject. The three Vikramādityas, and three Rájá Bhojas, invented to reconcile discrepancies in dates, will perhaps be found as little needed as the multiplication of Buddhas, the two principal of which are now seen by the identity of their biography to be the same personage.

Of the confirmation of the testimony of inscriptions by that of coins, we have remarkable instances in the Chandragupta and Samudragupta of Kanauj, names first discovered on the Allahábád pillar, and now fully made out, along with several others of the same dynasty, on the gold coins found in the ruins of that ancient town. In no other record have we any mention of these sovereigns,<sup>1</sup> who must have been several centuries anterior to Chandra Deva, the founder of the last reigning dynasty, which was overthrown by the Muhammadans.

The native dates of events, as has been already stated, are most vague and uncertain: still there are instances in which they have undergone further perplexity from their European commentators.

The looseness with which the chronology of the Pauránic genealogies has been investigated, is pointed out in Mr. Wilson's remarks on the 'Vishnu Purána,' the authority whence Sir Wm. Jones' list was furnished by his pandit ('Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. i. p. 437). By some mistake he gave 345 years to the Kánva dynasty of four Rájas, and in this he was blindly followed by Wilford and Bentley, both professing to consult the original. Now all the manuscripts examined by Mr.

<sup>1</sup> [See vol. i. p. 235.]



Wilson give only 45 years. Indeed, when the epoch of Chandragupta is adjusted, the periods given in this 'Purāna' from Parīkshit (B.C. 1400) down to the termination of the list in A.D. 436, are quite rational.

A more glaring instance of error, sanctioned, nay almost perpetuated, by the extent to which it has been spread, has originated in blindly following the authority of the pioneers of our Sanskrit researches; and it is strange that it has never been detected, that we are aware of, up to the present day. We allude to the mode of converting the Samvat of Vikramāditya into the Christian era, by subtracting 56 instead of 57, thereby inducing a constant error of one year in all dates of chronicles, deeds, and inscriptions so read. We have taken some trouble to trace the origin of this mistake from curiosity, and it shows how subject we are to rest upon the assertions of others without duly scrutinizing the data on which they may be grounded.

Vikramāditya died in the Kali Yuga year 3044, according to Wilford, whose essays in the ninth and tenth volumes of the 'Asiatic Researches' contain the fullest information on the history of the three supposed princes of this name, and of their common rival Śālivāhana. The first Samvat, therefore, concurs with the year 3045 K.Y.; and to convert the latter into the former, 3044 must be uniformly deducted. This calculation agrees with Warren's 'Kāla Sankalita,' (see p. 157, and Table), also with Abū'l-Fazl's statement, that 'in the fortieth year of Akbar's reign (A.H. 1003, commencing 5th Dec. 1594, and ending 25th Nov. 1595, A.D.) there had elapsed 4696 years of the era of Yudhiṣṭhira (Kali Yuga),' making its commencement, 3101, B.C.

Also 1652 years of the era of Vikramāditya ( $1652-1595=57$ , B.C.) and 1517 years of the era of Śālivāhana ( $1595-1517=78$ , A.D.).

The Bengālī Almanacs, published at Nadiyá, give precisely the same agreement.<sup>1</sup> The Almanac of the Sadar Dewání, and the statements at the head of all the regulations of Government, coincide therewith: thus, the Samvat year 1877 began on the 15th March,  $1820=57$  years difference. If further evidence is required of the knowledge of the true era in possession of English authors, we have in Buchanan's 'Mysore,' vol. iii., p. 112:—'3786 years of the Kali Yuga had now elapsed, of which the particulars are, 3044 years of Yudhiṣṭhira,

135 years of Vikrama,

607 years of Śālivāhana,

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3786 K.Y., or A.D. 685.'

<sup>1</sup> One Bengālī Almanac, however, printed in Calcutta, which was brought to us for comparison, had both the Samvat and Śāka era one year in defect; the Bengālī San being the only era now used in Bengal, little care is taken in regard to the rest. The Kali Yuga, the foundation of all, was, however, correct.

Here the interval between 3044, whence the Samvat commenced, to the Saka, is 135, or  $57+58$  years; (or  $135-685-607=57$ ).

Again, Dr. Hunter, in his account of the astronomical labours of Rájá Jai Sinh, dates them in '1750 Samvat, or 1693 A.D.,' making the interval 57 years.

Sir William Jones, residing in Calcutta, where the Samvat is not used, in his speculations on Hindú chronology, only alluded to the Kali Yuga. Davis, in his account of the native method of eclipse calculations, used the Saka only; but he frequently alluded to the Kali Yuga, the first year of which he correctly placed in 3101 B.C.

Whence then can the now common, nay, almost universal, application of the subtrahend 56 have proceeded? Simply from Wilford's having placed the Kali Yuga epoch in 3100, instead of 3101 B.C., in his essay expressly written to settle the eras of Vikramáditya and Sáliváhana, to which too much confidence has been given by subsequent writers. Having everywhere assumed this erroneous datum, it followed that the Samvat epoch, which he rightly placed 3044 after Yudhisthira, would concur with  $3100-3044=56$  B.C.<sup>1</sup> But whence did he get his erroneous epoch of the Kali Yuga? This also we may conjecture, having already seen him convicted, on another count, of blindly adopting Sir W. Jones' data. Sir William, in his 'Essay on Hindú Chronology' ('As. Res.' vol. ii., p. 126), says, '4888 years of the Kali Yuga are passed up to the present time;' and his table of comparative epochs is calculated from 1788, A.D., leaving an obvious difference of  $4888-1788=3100$ , B.C., which Wilford seems to have adopted. Had he, however, looked to the heading of the article, he would have found the date 'January, 1788,' consequently the Kali Yuga year commencing in April, 1787, had not yet expired: the true difference therefore was  $4888-1787=3101$ , or more exactly  $3100\frac{3}{4}$  years; or, for the Samvat,  $56\frac{3}{4}$ , in the nearest round terms 57.<sup>2</sup> (See p. 157.)

Wilford is not the only author who was thus led to adopt the wrong equation. Colebrooke and Wilson always use 56. Jervis's Chronological Tables have the same intercal; and Colonel Tod employs it throughout his voluminous chronicles of the Rájputs, thereby throwing all his events forward one year, excepting such as fall in the

<sup>1</sup> In a previous part of the very same volume, p. 47, Wilford had used 57. In some places he makes the epoch of the Kali Yuga 3001 instead of 3101.

<sup>2</sup> There is another advantage in adhering to the difference 57 in general terms rather than the now correcter number,  $56\frac{3}{4}$ , namely, that before the year 1752 it was customary, in England and most parts of Europe, to commence the year in the month of March, or on the Easter moon; so that for all dates anterior to that period the European year may be accounted to have agreed with the Hindú luni-solar reckoning precisely.

months Pausha, Mágha, Phálgun, and half of Chaitra, subsequent to A.D. 1752. He himself notices here and there a discrepancy of one year with the Mussalmán historians, which is generally attributable to this cause alone.

Captain Fell always uses the correct formula, having had access to native almanacs or to pandits. Mr. Stirling, in his 'Account of Orissa,' has the right epoch of the Kali Yuga; but he applies a wrong equation (+ 77) to the Saka era of his Orissa rajas. It is possible that this may be the mode of reckoning in that province; for we find the Saka vary a year or two also in Burmah and Java, if these variations are not indeed attributable to our English references; for, as we have seen above, they are by no means infallible!

The term Samvat does not apply exclusively to the era of Vikramáditya. Colebrooke first corrected this erroneous supposition in regard to the Samvat of the Gaur inscriptions, which probably commenced with the Bhupála dynasty, about 1000 A.D. Colonel Tod has also established the fact of a Balabhi Samvat in Gujarát, dating in 318 A.D., and a Siva Singha Samvat, in the same country, coinciding with 1113 A.D. This circumstance must be particularly attended to in examining ancient documents.

Kirkpatrick mentions that Raghava Deva introduced the Samvat era into Nepál; adding, that the Newár era is, however, generally used there, its origin being unknown. Now in the list of Nepál rajas, from Hara Sinha Deva, A.D. 1323, back to Raghava Deva, there are but three reigns of extravagant lengths, viz., of 88, 85, and 80 years: if these be cut down to the usual average, the date of Raghava will fall about 880, which is the epoch of the Newár era, so that in all probability the term Samvat in this case merely applied to the latter era, and not to that of Vikramáditya.

It is frequently the custom in eastern authors to estimate dates backwards from the epoch of the writer or compiler. Thus, in the Buddhist chronology of Tibet, translated in M. Csoma's 'Tibetan Grammar,' we find, 'from the incarnation of Shákya 2647 years,' meaning anterior to A.D. 1686. In these cases, and particularly where time is estimated in cycles, great caution is necessary in fixing the initial date, and it is not improbable that from this source has arisen much of the confusion of Hindú chronology; as, for instance, from throwing back the origin of the Kála-chakra system, or Jovian cycle of sixty years, which is traced (see page 161) to the year A.D. 965, as far as regards its introduction into India. Individual inaccuracies are hardly to be wondered at where events are chiefly chronicled from after-recollection. Thus the bard Chand is 100 years out in one place, according to Tod. Amír Khán's 'Biography' is one year out for a

long period, and endless instances of the same inaccuracy might be adduced. The Muhammadans are generally very particular in their dates, and so are the Hindús where they inscribe a deed on brass;—in this case they frequently allude to some eclipse or full moon, the act of donation being more pious for its occurrence on a religious festival.

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It is hardly necessary to enumerate the authorities for the different catalogues to which we may now proceed, since they will be mentioned under each dynasty: but it may be as well to premise that *A. A.* against a name or date denotes *Ayín-i-Akbari*; *F.*, *Ferishta's* history; *J.*, *Jones*; *Wd.*, *Wilford*; *B.*, *Bentley*; *T.*, *Tod*; *H.*, *Hamilton*; and *W.*, *Wilson*.

All dates have, for uniformity sake, been expressed in Christian years, which can readily be converted into the various native reckonings by the rules given in page 172.

As a convenient preface to the mythological catalogues of the Solar and Lunar dynasties, a tabular sketch of the Hindú Theogony, with a few additional memoranda regarding their sacred works, etc., have been inserted. For more ample details on this subject, Moore's '*Hindú Pantheon*,' and Coleman's '*Mythology*,' or the standard work of Ward on the Hindús, may be consulted; while, for the Puránic genealogies at length, the elaborate tables published by Dr. Hamilton, at Edinburgh, in 1819, although inconveniently expanded in dimensions, will be found the most complete and authentic reference. The tables of Sir William Jones, Wilford, and Bentley, in the '*Asiatic Researches*,' have the addition of dates; but, as before remarked, these are hardly admissible in the earlier periods of fabulous history.

In regard to the tables of the Muhammadan sovereigns, it has been thought sufficient, as their history is so readily accessible, to insert merely their names and titles at length, to facilitate the identification of coins, etc., where frequently only a part of the title is visible. To connect the line of these intruders into Hindústán, it was also unavoidable to carry back the list to the Persian, the Arsacidan, Syrian, and Bactrian monarchies; for, although properly speaking beyond the limits of India, their history is, from the time of Alexander, continually mixed up with that of the rich and fruitful country so constantly the prey to their invasions and plunder.

TABLE XV.—*Hindu Theogony.*

1. THE INFINITE ALMIGHTY CREATOR, OF THE VEDAS, BRAHM.			
The Hindū Trinity, or Trimurti ...	Bramhā.	Vishnu.	Siva.
Their consorts .....	{ Saraswatī,	Lakshmi,	Pārvatī,
	{ Saktī, or	Padmā, or	Bhawānī, or
	Māyā.	Srī.	Durgā
Their attributes .....	Creator.	Preserver.	Destroyer.
Their attendant vahan, or vehicle	Hansa, a goose.	Gāruda, bird.	Nandi, bull.
Their symbols.....	Time.	Water.	Fire.
Their stations.....	Meru.	The Sun.	Jupiter.
Their common titles, A U M.....	Paramésvara.	Narāyana.	Mahādeva.
Figure under which they are wor- shipped .....	{ Mentally.	{ Sāligram and 9	The Lingam, under his mil- lion epithets.
Analogue in Western Mythology...	Saturn.	Avatāras.	Jupiter.

2. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE HINDŪ PANTHEON, AND THEIR SUPPOSED ANALOGUES IN WESTERN MYTHOLOGY, ACCORDING TO SIR WILLIAM JONES.

Sareswati.....	{ Minerva, patroness of learn- ing, etc.	Vaitarini .....	The river Styx.
Ganesa.....	Janus, god of wisdom.	Durgā .....	Juno.
Indra .....	Jupiter, god of firmament.	Nāreda .....	Mercury, music.
Varuna .....	Neptune, god of water.	Krishna .....	Apollo.
Prithivi .....	Cybele, goddess of earth.	Bhawānī .....	Venus.
Visvakarma ..	Vulcan, architect of gods.	Kālī or Durgā	Proserpine.
Kārtikeya, or	{ Mars, god of war.	Agni.....	Vulcan, fire.
Skanda ...		Swāhā .....	Vesta (his wife).
Kāma .....	Cupid, god of love.	Asvini-ku- māra .....	{ Castor and Pollux.
Surya, or.....	Sol, the sun.	Aruna .....	Anrora.
Arka .....	Mithra, the same.	Atavideva.....	Diana.
Hanumān, son of Pavana..	{ Pan, the monkey god.	Kuvera.....	Plutus, god of riches.
Rāma .....	Bacchus, the god of wine.	Gangā .....	The river Ganges.
Yama .....	Pluto or Minos.	Vāyu .....	Æolus.
Heracula .....	Hercules.	Srī .....	Ceres.
Aswiculapa ...	Æsculapius? (genii).	Anna Purna...	Anna Perenna.

3. THE TEN BRAHMĀDICAS, CHILDREN OF BRAHMĀ, OR PRAJĀPATIS, LORDS OF CREATED BEINGS.

1 Marichi.....	Morality.	6 Kṛitā.....	Piety.
2 Atri .....	Deceit.	7 Daksha .....	Ingenuity.
3 Angirasa .....	Charity.	8 Vasishtha .....	Emulation.
4 Pulastya .....	Patience.	9 Bhṛigu .....	Humility.
5 Pulaha .....	Pride.	10 Nārada.....	Reason.

4. THE SEVEN MENUS OF THE PRESENT CREATION.

1 Swayambhuva, Adam? 4003, B. C.	5 Rāivata.
2 Svārochesha.	6 Chackshusha.
3 Uttama.	7 Vaivasvata or Satyavrata, Noah?
4 Tāmasa, Chaos, Thaumaz of Egypt? 2950, B. C.	

## 5. THE SEVEN RÍSHIS, SPRUNG DIRECT FROM BRAHMÁ.

1 Kasyapa, Muni.	5 Gautama.
2 Atri, Muni.	6 Jamadagni.
3 Vasishtha.	7 Bharadwaja.
4 Visvamisra.	

## 6. THE TEN AVATÁRAS, OR INCARNATIONS OF VISHŪ.

1 Matsya ..... The fish.	7 Ráma..... Of the solar race.
2 Kurma ..... The tortoise.	8 Krishṇa... Of the lunar race.
3 Várāha ..... The boar.	9 Buddha ... Of the Buddhists.
4 Narasinha ... The lion.	10 Dharma-bhushana or Kalki-avatár,
5 Vámana..... The dwarf.	to appear at the close of the Kali
6 Parasurāma. Son of Jamadagni.	Yuga.

## 7. THE ELEVEN RUDRAS, OR FORMS OF SIVA.

1 Ajaikapáda .....	_____
2 Ahivradhna.....	_____
3 Virupáksha.....	_____
4 Sureswara .....	Mohana.
5 Jayanta .....	Bama.
6 Bahurúpa .....	_____
7 Tryambaka .....	Bhawa.
8 Aparájita.....	Aja.
9 Savrita.....	Rawati.
10 Hara .....	Ugra.
11 Isha .....	Bhíma.

The names are differently  
given in the ' Bhāgavat.'

## RUDRAS ACCORDING TO THE HARIVANSA.

1 Mrigavyádha.
2 Sarwa.
3 Nirriti.
4 Ajekapád.
5 Ahivradhna.
6 Pinákin.
7 Aparájita.
8 Havana.
9 Iswara.
10 Kapálin.
11 Sthánu.
12 Bhava. (J.P.)

## 8. THE EIGHT VASUS; A KIND OF DEMI-GOD.

1 Dhava.	5 Anila, or wind.
2 Druva.	6 Anala, or fire.
3 Soma, the moon.	7 Prabhúsha.
4 Vishnu.	8 Prabhava.

## 9. THE TEN VISHWAS, A CLASS OF DEITY WORSHIPPED IN FUNERAL ORSEQUIES.

1 Vasu.	6 Káma.
2 Satya.	7 Dhriti.
3 Kratu.	8 Kuru.
4 Daksha.	9 Pururava.
5 Kála	10 Madrava.

## 10. THE EIGHT DIKPÁLAS, GUARDIANS, AND THE EIGHT DIKPATIS, LORDS, OF THE CARDINAL POINTS.

1 Indra..... East.	1 Surya..... The Sun.
2 Agni (or Vahni) ..... South-east.	2 Sukra..... Venus.
3 Yama..... South.	3 Mangala ..... Mars.
4 Nairriti ..... South-west.	4 Ráhu ..... Asc. node.
5 Varuna ..... West.	5 Sani ..... Saturn.
6 Marut (Vayu, Pavan).. North-west.	6 Chandra ..... The Moon.
7 Kuvera ..... North.	7 Buddha ..... Mercury.
8 Isána (Prithivi) ..... North-east.	8 Vrihaspati..... Jupiter.

11. THE TWELVE ADITYAS; MONTHLY NAMES OR EMBLEMS OF THE SUN.

1 Varuna.	7 Gabhasti.
2 Surya.	8 Yama.
3 Vedanga.	9 Swarnareta.
4 Bhānu.	10 Divakara.
5 Indra.	11 Mitra.
6 Ravi.	12 Vishṇu.

ADITYAS, ACCORDING TO THE HARIYANSA.

1 Dhātri.	7 Indra.
2 Aryaman.	8 Visaswān.
3 Mitra.	9 Pūchan.
4 Varuna.	10 Twashtri.
5 Ansa.	11 Savitri.
6 Bhaga.	12 Vishṇu.

12. THE TWENTY-SEVEN NAKSHATRAS, DAUGHTERS OF DAKSHA, OR LUNAR MANSIONS.

1 Aswini.	10 Maghā.	19 Mūlā.
2 Bharani.	11 Purva Phālguni.	20 Purva Āsārha.
3 Kṛtika.	12 Uttara Phālguni.	21 Uttara Āsārha.
4 Rohini.	13 Hasta.	22 Śravana.
5 Mrigāsira.	14 Chitra.	23 Dhāneshtha.
6 Ārdra.	15 Swatī.	24 Satābhisha.
7 Punarvasu.	16 Viśākha.	25 Purva Bhādrapada.
8 Pushya.	17 Anuradha.	26 Uttara Bhādrapada.
9 Āśleṣha.	18 Jayeṣtha.	27 Revatī.

13. THE NAMES OF BUDDHA.

Buddha, Śākya-muni or Sinha, Gautama, Tathāgata, Mahā-sramāṇa; Saudhodani, from his father Sudhodhana; Arkabandhu, or kinsman of the Sun; Māyā-devi-suta, or child of Māyā.

But, of the Mussalmāns.	Pout, of Siam.
Buddas and Sarmanes, of the Greeks.	Sommonokodam, of ditto.
Mercurius Mayæ filius, of Horace.	Godama, of Ava.
Bud or Wud, of the Pagan Arabs.	Kshaka, of Japan.
Woden, of the Scandinavians.	Chakabout, of Tonquin China.
Toth, of the Egyptians.	Chom-dan-das, } of Tibet.
Fo, Foe, or Fo-hi, and Sa-ka, of the Chinese.	Sangs-gyas, }

*Bauddha System of Theogony.*

Adi-Buddha, the Supreme Being, created by dhyān five divine Buddhas, who are quiescent, viz. :—

1 Vairochana Akshobhya.	Each of whom produced from himself his son, or Bodhisatwa,	1 Samanta Bhadra.
2 Ratna.		2 Vajra Pani.
3 Sambhava.		3 Ratna Pani.
4 Amitabha.		4 Padma Pani.
5 Amogha Siddha.		5 Viśwa Pani.

The Buddhist Triad, or mystic syllable A U M, is interpreted :—

A, the Vija mantra of the male Buddha, the generative power.

U, ditto of the female Dharma or Adi Prajñā, the type of productive power.

M, ditto of Sanga, the union of the essences of both.

*The seven human or earth-born Buddhas.*

1 Vipasya.	5 Kanaka Muni.
2 Sikhi.	6 Kasyapa, and
3 Viśwa Bhu.	7 Śākya Sinha.
4 Karkut Chand.	Ārya Maitri, the future Buddha.

## 14. THE TWENTY-FOUR JINAS OR TIRTHANKARAS, OF THE JAINS.

	Where born.	Where died.
1 Ādināth or Rishabhanāth .....	Ayodhya.	Gujarāt.
2 Ajitanāth .....	"	Mt. Sīkhar (hod.
3 Sambhunāth .....	Sāwanta.	Parisānāth.)
4 Abhinandanānāth .....	Ayodhya.	"
5 Sumatināth .....	"	"
6 Padmaprabhunāth .....	Kausambhī.	"
7 Suparswanāth .....	Benares.	"
8 Chāndraprabha .....	Chāndripur.	"
9 Suvidhanāth or Pushpadanta ...	Kakendrapuri.	"
10 Sitalanāth .....	Bhadalpur.	"
11 Śrī Ansanāth .....	Sindh.	"
12 Vasupādya .....	Champapuri.	Champapuri.
13 Vimalanāth .....	Kumpalapuri.	Mt. Sīkhar.
14 Anantanāth .....	Ayodhya.	"
15 Dharmanāth .....	Ratanpuri.	"
16 Santanāth .....	Hastināpur.	"
17 Kunthunāth .....	"	"
18 Aranāth .....	"	"
19 Mallināth .....	Mithila.	"
20 Munisuvrata .....	Rājgriha.	"
21 Nemināth .....	Mithila.	"
22 Namināth .....	Dwārika.	Mt. Girināra.
23 Parswanāth .....	Benares.	Mt. Sīkhar.
24 Vardhamāna or Mohāvira Swāmi	Chitrakot.	Pawapuri.

## 15. THE SAPTA DWĪPAS OR DIVISIONS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD, RULED BY THE SONS OF PRIYABRATA, KING OF ANTARVEDA.

Oldest Division.		Newer Division.	
Jambudwīpa .....	India.	Jambudwīpa ...	India.
Angadwīpa .....	Nepal?	Plakshadwīpa ..	Asia Minor, W.
Yamadwīpa .....	Assam, Ava?	Salmalidwīpa ..	Ceylon? W.
Yamaladwīpa .....	Malaya.	Kushadwīpa ...	Assyria, Persia, etc.
Sankhadwīpa .....	Africa.	Karanchadwīpa	Near the Baltic? W.
Kushadwīpa .....	Assyria.	Sakadwīpa .....	Part of Kushadwīpa,
Varāhadwīpa .....	Europe.		Britain? W.
		Puskaradwīpa .	Part of Kushadwīpa,
			Ireland? W.

## 16. THE FOUR VEDAS.

1 The Rīg veda.	3 The Sāma veda.
2 The Yajur veda.	4 The Atharva veda.

## 17. THE FOUR UPAVEDAS.

1 The Ayush .....	Medicine.	3 The Dhanush .....	Warfare.
2 The Gāndharva ...	Music.	4 The Sthāpatya ...	Mechanics.

## 18. THE SIX ANGAS, OR BODIES OF LEARNING.

1 Śiksha .....	Pronunciation.	4 Khandas .	Prosody.
2 Kalpa .....	Religious acts.	5 Jyotish ...	Astronomy.
3 Vyākaraṇa ...	Grammar.	6 Nirukti ...	Interpretation of Vedas.



## 19. THE FOUR UPĀNGAS.

- |   |                     |   |
|---|---------------------|---|
| 1 | Purāṇa .....        | History, comprising the eighteen Purāṇas. |
| 2 | Nyāya .....         | Logic, and the principles of knowledge.   |
| 3 | Mīmāṃsā .....       | Religious principles and duties.          |
| 4 | Dharma śāstra ..... | Law, human and divine.                    |

## 20. THE EIGHTEEN PURĀṆAS.

- |   |  |    |                                   |
|---|--|----|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | Brahmā-purāṇa.   | 10 | Nārada.                           |
| 2 | Padma, or lotus.   | 11 | Skanda.                           |
| 3 | Brahmāṇḍa, egg of Brahmā.  | 12 | Mārkaṇḍa.                         |
| 4 | Agneya, or Agni, fire.   | 13 | Bhaviṣya, prophetic.              |
| 5 | Vaiṣṇava, or Viṣṇu-purāṇa.   | 14 | Matsya, or the fish.              |
| 6 | Gāruḍa, Viṣṇu's bird.  | 15 | Varāha, or boar.                  |
| 7 | Brahma-vaiṣṇava, or transformations<br>of Kṛiṣṇa (as the supreme). | 16 | Kūrma, tortoise.                  |
| 8 | Śaiva, or of Śiva. [Vāyu replaces it.]                             | 17 | Vāmana, or dwarf.                 |
| 9 | Linga-purāṇa.  | 18 | Śrī Bhāgavata, or life of Kṛiṣṇa. |

## 21. THE SIX PRINCIPAL SECTS OF THE HINDŪS.

- |   |               |  |
|---|---------------|--|
| 1 | Śaiva.....    | Worshippers of Śiva, in his thousand forms.  |
| 2 | Vaiṣṇava ...  | Viṣṇu.                                       |
| 3 | Sauriya ..... | " Surya, or the Sun.                         |
| 4 | Gāṇapatya...  | " Gaṇeśa.                                    |
| 5 | Śakta.....    | " Bhavānī, or Pārvatī.                       |
| 6 | Bhagavati ... | " Who recognize all five divinities equally. |

## PAURĀNIC GENEALOGIES.

TABLE XVI.—*Descendants of Svāyambhuva, the first Manu, King of Brahmaparvata, and progenitor of mankind (Adam ? J.), according to the 'Bhāgavat Purāṇa,' II.*

[Professor Wilson (Preface to 'Viṣṇu Purāṇa') reviews in detail the date and authenticity of the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa;' his conclusions on these subjects may be gathered from the following quotation :—

'The statement of the text is of itself sufficient to show that, according to the received opinion of all the authorities of the priority of the eighteen Purāṇas to the Bhārata, it is impossible that the 'Śrī Bhāgavata,' which is subsequent to the Bhārata, should be of the number. . . . There does not seem to be any other ground than tradition for ascribing it to Vopadeva, the grammarian; but there is no reason to call the tradition in question. Vopadeva flourished at the court of Hemādri, Rājā of Devagiri, Deogur, or Dowlutabad, and must consequently have lived prior to the conquest of that principality by the Muhammadans in the 14th century. The date of the 12th century, commonly assigned to him, is probably correct, and is that of the 'Bhāgavata Purāṇa,' p. 31.]

BRAHMA.  
SWAYAMBHUYA.

UTTĀNAPĀDA, King of Bharat-khanda. ( <i>From whom descended the Kings of Brahmanavarta.</i> )	PRĪYAVRATA, King of Antarveda. <sup>1</sup> AGNĪDHRA, King of Jambudwīpa. ( <i>From whom descended the Kings of Bharatkhandā.</i> )
Dhruva.	Nābhi.
Vatsara.	Rishabha-deva. <sup>2</sup>
Pusparna.	Bharata.
Vyushṭa.	Vridhasēna (Sumati, 'V. P.').
Sarvatajas.	Devatajit (Indrayumna).
Chaxusha.	Devadyumna.
Ulmuka.	Purmeshtī (Parameshtin).
Angga.	Pritihā (Pratihāra).
Vena-adharmaraja.	Pritiharta (Pratihartā).
Prithu.	Bhuma (Bhava).
Vijitaswa, or Antardhyana.	Udgitha.
Havirdhana.	Prastāra.
Varhishata, or Prachinavarhi.	Bibhu (Prithu).
Pracheta, and 9 brothers.	Prathusena.
Daksha Prajapati,	Nakta.
<i>Among whose numerous progeny were</i>	Gaya.
10 daughters, married to Dharma.	Chitraratha (Nara. <sup>3</sup> Succession varies considerably in 'V. P.' p. 165.)
13 daughters, married to Kasyapa Muni, the son of Marichi (see Solar race), progenitors of men, animals, vegetables, etc.	Sumrata.
Danā, mother of evil genii, comets, etc.	Marichi (see Solar race).
Diti, mother of the Daityas, or Asuras.	Binduma.
Aditi, mother of the gods and Suras.	Madhu.
27 daughters, the Nakshatras, married to the Moon.	Viravrata.
1 daughter, mother of the 11 Rudras, and others of less importance.	Manthu.
	Bhauvana.
	Twashtha.
	Viraja, and 100 sons, whose names are unknown.

TABLE XVII.—*The Surya-vansa, or Solar Dynasty, collated from the lists of Jones, Wilson, Tod, and Hamilton.*

Marichi.

Kasyapa Muni, married Aditi, Daksha's daughter (see Table XVI.).

Vivaswana, or Surya, the Sun.

Sradhadeva, or Vaivaswata (the Sun), King of Ayodhya.

Ikshwaku, in the Treta Yuga.—B.C. 3500, J.—2200, T.

<sup>1</sup> Priyavrata was also father of Idhmajabha, King of Plaksha Dwipa; Yagyabahu, of Salmala Dwipa; Hiranyarita, of Kusa Dwipa; Ghritaprishta, of Krauncha Dwipa; Medhatithi, of Saka Dwipa; and Bitihotra, of Puskara Dwipa; of whom the descendants are not traced farther than the first generation.

<sup>2</sup> Rishabha-deva was also father of the kings of various other nations, viz.:—Kusa-warta, of Kusa-warta-des; Ila-warta, of Brahma-warta, Malaya, Ketu, Bhadrāsēna, Indraprik, Bidharbha, and Kikata, of desas, or countries, bearing the same names; besides the nine immortal Siddhas,—Kabyaga, Hari, Antarixa, Prabuddha, Pippalayana, Abirhotra, Dranila, Chumasa, and Karubhajana; also eighty-one Brāhmans, names unknown.

<sup>3</sup> [I do not think it necessary to continue these corrections of mere nominal lists of fabulous ages.]

*From whom sprung the two Solar Dynasties.*

## OF AYODHYA (OUDE).

Vikukshi (did not reign, W.).  
 Kukutsh'ha, or Puranjaya.  
 Anenas } An-Prithú, T.  
 Prit'hu }  
 Viswagandhi, Visvagaswa, W.  
 Chandra { Ardra, T. W.  
 { Bhadrardra, W.  
 Yuvanás'wa.  
 Sráva, Svasava, H.  
 Vrihadas'wa.  
 Dhundhumara, Kuvalayaswa, W.  
 Drid'hás'wa.  
 Haryas'wa.  
 Nikumbha.  
 Cris'ás'wa { Varunaswa, T. H.  
 { Sankataswa, W.  
 Senajit, Prasenajit, W.  
 Yuvanás'wa, H. W. *car.* J.  
 Mándhata { Suvindhu, T.  
 { King of Saptadwípa.  
 Purukutsa.  
 Trasadasyu, *car.* T.  
 Anaranya.  
 Prishadaswa, W.  
 Haryas'wa, H. W.  
 Praruna, Aruna, H., Vosumána, W.  
 Trivindhana, Tridhanwa, W.  
 Satyavrata, Tráyaruna, W.  
 Suvritha, T., *car.* J. H. W.  
 Tris'anku.  
 Harischandra, King of India.  
 Rohita, Kohitaswa, H.  
 Háríta.  
 Champa, Chunchu, W.  
 Sudéva, *car.* T. W.  
 Vijáya (his brother; Kurm. Pur.)  
 Bharuca.  
 Vrika.  
 Bábhuka, Bahu, W.  
 Sagara, had 10,000 sons.  
 Asamanjasa, only survivor.  
 Ansumán.  
 Dulipá, W. T. H., *car.* J.  
 Bhagirat'ha, brought down Ganges river.  
 Sruta.  
 Nábhaga.  
 Ambarisha, T. W.  
 Sindhudwípa.  
 Ayutáyush.  
 Ritaperna.  
 Nala, T. } *car.* J. H.  
 Sawakáma, W. T. }  
 Saudása.  
 Kalmáshapáda, W. H., *car.* J. T.  
 Asmaka.  
 Mílaca, Harikavacha, W.  
 Das'arat'ha.  
 Aidabida, Ilivita, W.

## OF MAITHILA (TIRHUT).

Nimi.  
 Janaka, built Janakpur.  
 Udvasu.  
 Nandiverdhana.  
 Suketu.  
 Dewarata.  
 Vrihadratha.  
 Mahabirya.  
 Sudhrita.  
 Dhristaketu.  
 Haryaswa.  
 Maru.  
 Pratipaka.  
 Kritiratha.  
 Devamirha.  
 Visruta.  
 Mahadhrít.  
 Dhritiratu.  
 Maharoma.  
 Swarnaroma.  
 Haraswaroma.  
 Swadhaja, { Father of Sitá, who  
 married Ráma (see  
 the parallel line of  
 Ayodhya.)  
 Kesidhaja.  
 Dharmadhwaja.  
 Kritadhwaja.  
 Kesidhwaja.  
 Bhanuman.  
 Satadyumna.  
 Suchi.  
 Sunadhwaja.  
 Urdhaketu.  
 Ayu.  
 Purajit.  
 Arishtanemi.  
 Srutayu.  
 Supanswaka.  
 Chitraratha.  
 Kshemadhi.  
 Samaratha.  
 Satyaratha.  
 Upa-guru.  
 Upajupta.  
 Baswananta.  
 Yugudhana.  
 Subhasana.  
 Sruta.  
 Jaya.  
 Vijaya.  
 Rítu.  
 Sunaka.  
 Bitahala.  
 Dhriti.  
 Bahulaswa.  
 Kriti.  
 Mahabasi.

This list is imperfect in number, if the father of Sitá, the bride of Ráma, be correctly placed.

AYODHYA RĀJĀS, *continued*.

Viśwasaha.  
K'hatwānga, Kharbhanga, T.  
Dirghabāhu.  
Raghu.  
Aja.

Das'arat'ha, 2nd W.

Rāma, A. C. 2029, J.,  
950, B., 1100, T.

{ His brothers,  
Bharata,  
Lakshmana,  
Satroghana.

## DWĀPĀR YUGA OR BRAZEN AGE.

Kusha, Lava, T.  
Atithi.  
Nishadha.  
Nabhas, or Nala, T.  
Pundarika.  
Kshemadhanwas.  
Dévānica, Dwarika, W.  
Ah'inagu, Ahinaja, W., Hina, II.  
Kuru, W., *car.* J. H.  
Pāciputra.  
Dala, W., Bala, H.  
Rana-chhala.  
Uktha, W., *car.* J. H.  
Vajranabha.  
Arca, *car.* W. T. H.  
Sugana, Sankhanābhi, W.  
Vidhrītī, Vijuthitābhi, W.  
Viśwasaha, 2nd W., Visitaswa, T.  
Hiranyanābha.  
Pushpa, Pushya, H.  
Dhruvasandhi, *car.* T.  
Suders'ana, *car.* W.  
Agnivera, Apaverna, W.  
Sighra.  
Manu, Maru, W. T. H.  
Prasusruta.  
Sandhi, Susandhi, W.  
Amers'ana, Amersha, W.  
Mahaswat, Avaswana, T.  
Viśwabhāhu, } Viśwasava, T.  
Prasénajit, } *car.* W.  
Takshaka,  
Vrihadbala.<sup>1</sup>  
Vrihadsan'a, B. C. 1300 J.

## SOLAR LINE OF VESALA

(ALSO DESCENDED FROM SRADHA-DEVA.)

Dishta, King of Vesala.  
Nabhaga.  
Bhalandana.  
Vatsaprité.  
Prangsu.  
Pramati.  
Khanitra.  
Chaxusha.  
Bibingsati.  
Rambhu.  
Khaninetra, } *car.* Vanselāta.  
Dharmika,  
Karandhāma.  
Adixita.  
Maruta.  
Dama, *car.* do.  
Rajyavarodhana,  
Sudhriti.  
Nara, *car.* do.  
Kebala.  
Dhundhumana, or Bandhuman.  
Begawan, } *car.* do.  
Budha,  
Trinavindhu,<sup>2</sup>  
Besabiraja, or Visala, who founded  
Vaisali (Allahābād).  
Hemachandra.  
Dhumraka.  
Sangyam.  
Sahadeva, *car.* V. L.  
Krisaswa.  
Somadatta.  
Sumati (ends V. L.)  
Janamejaya.

[N.B.—The names which are enclosed in parentheses in the subjoined tables are not to be found in the 'Vishnu Purāna.' The orthography of the leading names has generally been adopted and corrected up from that authority.]

As illustrative of the probable date and authenticity of this Purāna, I cite Prof. Wilson's careful *résumé* of the subject :]

'The fourth book contains all that the Hindús have of their ancient history. It is a tolerably comprehensive list of dynasties and individuals; it is a barren record of events. It can scarcely be doubted, however, that much of it is a genuine chronicle

<sup>1</sup> ['Vishnu Purāna,' p. 463.]

<sup>2</sup> His daughter, Brabira, married Visvarawa Muni, the father (by another wife, Nikaksha) of Rāvana, the demon king of Lanka, or Ceylon, afterwards killed by Rāma.

of persons, if not of occurrences. That it is discredited by palpable absurdities, in regard to the longevity of the princes of the earlier dynasties, must be granted, and the particulars preserved of some of them are trivial and fabulous. Still there is an inartificial simplicity and consistency in the succession of persons, etc. . . . It is not essential to its credibility or its usefulness that any exact chronological adjustment of the different reigns should be attempted. . . . Deducting, however, from the larger number of princes a considerable proportion, there is nothing to shock probability in supposing that the Hindú dynasties and their ramifications were spread through an interval of about twelve centuries anterior to the war of the Mahábhárata, and, conjecturing that event to have happened about fourteen centuries before Christianity, thus carrying the commencement of the regal dynasties of India to about 2600 years before that date, pp. 64, 65. . . . After the date of the great war, the 'Vishnu Purána,' in common with those Puráṇas which contain similar lists, specifies kings and dynasties with greater precision, and offers political and chronological particulars, to which, on the score of probability, there is nothing to object, pl. 70. . . . The 'Vishnu Purána' has kept very clear of particulars from which an approximation to its date may be conjectured. No place is described of which the sacredness has any known limit, nor any work cited of probable recent composition. The Vedas, the Puráṇas, other works forming the body of Sanskrit literature, are named; and so is the Mahábhárata, to which, therefore, it is subsequent. Both Bauddhas and Jains are adverted to. It was, therefore, written before the former had disappeared; but they existed in some parts of India as late as the twelfth century at least, and it is probable that the Purána was compiled before that period.'—p. 71.

[I curtail my quotations in this, as in previous instances, precisely where Prof. Wilson ceases to speak from the absolute knowledge contributed by the Sanskrit writings, of which he is *facile princeps* the exponent.]

## KALI YUGA,—IRON, OR FOURTH AGE, 3101, B.C.

Urukshepa, Urukria, W.	Bentley places these eight names immediately after Ráma.	(Barhi), Dharman, W.
Vatsa, W., <i>car.</i> J.		Kritanjaya, first emigrant from Kosala
Vatsa, (vridha) Vyáha, W.		(Onde) and founder of the Suryas in
Prativyoma.		Sauráshtra, T.
(Bhānu, <i>car.</i> W.)		Rājanjaya.
Divákara.		Sanjaya.
Sahadeva.		Śákya, W. T. (Slocya).
(Vira, <i>car.</i> W. T.)		Suddhodana, Khroddhodana, W., Sudipa,
Vrihadaswa.		T.
Bhānuratha—Bhānumat, Bahman, Longimanus of Persia? T.		Rátula, W. <sup>1</sup> (Lāngalada, Sangala, T.)
(Pratías'wa, <i>car.</i> W.)		Prasenajit.
Supratitha.		Kshudraka, Romika, T.
Marudeva.		Kundaka, W., <i>car.</i> J.
Sunakshatra.		Suratha, Surita, W., <i>car.</i> J.
Kinnara—Pushcara.		Sumitra, B.C. 2100, J., 57, T. The last
Antariksha, Rekha, T.		name in the 'Bhāgavat Purána,' said
Suvarna, W. (Suta, Sutapas).		to be contemporary with Vikramá-
Amitrajit.		ditya? T. from this prince the Mewar
Vrihadrája.		chronicles commence their series of
		Rájás of Sauráshtra (see Tab. xxvi.).

<sup>1</sup> [Ráhula, 'Váyu Purána'; Siddhártha or Pushkala, 'Matsya Purána'; Lāngala, 'Bhāgavat Purána.' 'This and the two preceding names are of considerable chronological interest; for Śákya is the name of the author or reviver of Buddhism, whose

TABLE XVIII. — *Chandra-vansa, Indu-vansa, or Lunar Race, who reigned in Antarveda and Kāśī; afterwards in Magadhā (Behar), and Indraprastha (Dihli).*

Atri.....	Muni.
Soma .....	(Lunus, the Moon).
Buddha .....	(Mercury) married Ilā, daughter of the Sun.
Ailas, or .....	Purūravas.
Ayu.....	Kings of Kāśī also descended from him (see below).
Nahusha.....	(Devanahusha, Dionysos, Bacchus, W.D.).
Yayati .....	Father of Puru and Yadu (see next page).

## KINGS OF KĀŚĪ (DENARES).

Kshetravridha, son of Ayu.	Ritadwaja.
Subatra.	Alarka.
Kāśī.	Santati.
Kāśī.	Sunitha.
Rashtra.	Suketana.
Dirghatama.	Dharmaketu.
Dhanwantra.	Satyaketu.
Ketumana.	Dhrishtaketu.
Bhimaratha.	Sukamara.
Divodāsa, becomes a Buddhist.	Bitihotra.
Dyamana.	Bharga.
Pratardan.	Bhargabhumī (end in 'Bhāgavat P.')

## LINE OF PURU.

Puru, king of Prātishthāna.  
 Janamejaya, king of Antarveda.  
 Prachinwat.  
 Pravira.  
 Manasya.  
 Bhayada.  
 (Sudhyumna.)  
 (Bahugava.)  
 Samyāti.  
 Ahamyāti.  
 Raudrásva.  
 Riteyu, *car.* W.  
 Rantīnāra, Rantimara, W.  
 Tansu, W. (Sumati).  
 (Raibhi or Anila, *car.* W.)  
 Dushyanta or Dushmanta, husband of  
 Sakuntalā.  
 BHARATA, king of Antarveda and  
 India.  
 Vitatha, or Bhāradwāja, adopted.  
 Bhavanmanyu.  
 Vrihatkshatra.  
 Suhotra.

## LINE OF YADU.

Yadu, excluded from succession.  
 Kroshta.  
 Vrijinavan.  
 Swāhi.  
 Rishadyu.  
 Chitraratha.  
 Saravindu.  
 Prithusravas.  
 Tamas, or Dharma.  
 Usanas.  
 Sīteshu, Sīteyas, W. *car.* H.  
 Ruchaka, Rukshma, W.  
 Kavalha, W. *car.* J.  
 Parāvratā, line extinct.  
 Jamodhya, Jyamagha, W.; from  
 Saravindu by another line.  
 Vidarbha.  
 Krotha.  
 Kunti.  
 Drashti, Vrishni, W.  
 Nirvratī.  
 Dashārha.  
 Vyoma, Vījāman, W.

birth appears to have occurred in the seventh century, and death in the sixth century, B. C. (B. C. 621-543). There can be no doubt of the individual here intended, although he is out of his place, for he was the son, not the father, of Suddhodana, and the father of Rāhula, as he is termed in the Amara and Haima Koshas.' . . . 'Vishnu Purāṇa,' p. 463.

LINE OF PURU (*continued*).

Hastin, built Hastinapur.<sup>1</sup>  
 Ajamidha, reigned at do.  
 Riksha, do.<sup>2</sup>  
 Samvarana.  
 Kuru, from whom also descended the  
 Magadhá princes (see tab. xx.  
 and 'V. P.', p. 455).  
 Parikshit, 'V. P.'  
 Jahnu.  
 Suratha.  
 Vidúratha.  
 Sárvaabhauma.  
 Jayasena, Arávin 'V. P.'  
 (Radhica, Arávi, W.)  
 Ayutáyus, Ajita, H.  
 Akrodhana.  
 Devatithi, *car.* W.  
 Riksha [another son of Akrodhana].  
 (Bhimasena, *car.* J.)  
 Dilípa.  
 Pratípa.  
 Śántanu.  
 Vichitravíryya, married Ambá and Am-  
 baliká, daughters of the King of  
 Káśi, who have issue, after his  
 death, by his half-brother, Krishna-  
 dwaipáyana or Vyása, Dhritaráshtra  
 and Pandu, whose wives bore the  
 five Pandavas, viz :  
 1 Yudhisthira (see table xix.)  
 2 Arjuna, father of Parikshita (see do.)  
 3 Bhíma, no descendants.  
 4 Nakul, and } founded the Magadhá  
 5 Sahadeva, } line (table xx.)

LINE OF YADU (*continued*).

Jimutra.  
 Vikrati.  
 Bhímaratha.  
 Navaratha.  
 Dasaratha.  
 Sakuni.  
 Kusambha.  
 Devarata.  
 Devakshetra.  
 Madhu.  
 Anavaratha.  
 Kuru-vatsa.  
 Anuratha.  
 Puruhotra.  
 Ayu, Angasa, W.  
 Satwata (several branches).  
 Andhaka, do.  
 Bhajamána.  
 Viduratha.  
 Sura.  
 Sami, Samana, W.  
 Pratikshetra.  
 Swayambhuva.  
 Hridika (several branches).  
 Devamida.  
 Sura (numerous progeny by Marusá).  
 Vasudeva, the eldest, who had thirteen  
 wives.  
 Krishna and Balaráma, with whom  
 this line becomes extinct, by quarrel  
 of the Yádus.

## SYNCHRONISMS OF THE SOLAR AND LUNAR RACES, T.

- T. { Buddha of the Lunar race married Ilá, the sister of Ikshwaku, s. l.  
 { Harischandra, s. l. cotemporary of Parasuráma, of lunar line.  
 Sagara, cot. of Taljanga, of do.  
 Ambarisha, cot. of Gadhi, founder of Kanauj.

TABLE XIX.—*Pandu Dynasty of Indraprastha, or Dihli, continued  
 from the line of Puru of the Chandra vansa, or Lunar line, and  
 collateral with the Magadhá Princes, descending from Jarasandha,  
 of TABLE XX.*

ACCORDING TO THE 'BHÁGAVAT PURÁNA,' H.  
 Yudhisthira, 1st King of Indraprastha  
 —no issue.  
 B.C. 3101 J. Parikshita, son of Arjun (son of Abhim-  
 anyu, 'V. P.') succeeds.  
 1300 W. Janamejaya, W.  
 1100 T. Satánika

ACCORDING TO THE  
 'RÁJAVALI,' T.—['V. P.', 461.]

Parikshita.  
 Janameja.  
 Asmunda.

<sup>1</sup> ['It was finally ruined by the encroachments of the Ganges, but vestiges of it were, at least until lately, to be traced along the river, nearly in a line with Dihli, about sixty miles to the east.'—'V. P.', p. 462.]

<sup>2</sup> [Another son, Kanwa.—'V. P.', 452.]

## 'BHĀGAVAT,' (continued).

(Sahasranika, *car.* W.)  
 Aswamedhadatta  
 Asmakrishna, Nichakra, W.  
 Nichakra—Nemi, king of Hastināpur (capital washed away)<sup>1</sup>  
 Chakra, built Kausāmbhī.  
 Ushna, Ukata, king of Kausāmbhī, W.  
 Chitraratha.  
 (Kabiratha, *car.* W.)  
 Vrishnimata, Dhrihtimān, W.  
 Sushena.  
 Mahipati, *car.* W.  
 Sunitha.  
 Sukhsbala { Richa, W.  
                   { Nrichakshu, W.  
                   { (Sukhavati), W.  
 Pariplawa.  
 Sunaya.  
 Medhavin.  
 Nripanjaya.  
 Mridu, W. (Durba).  
 Tigma, W. (Timi).  
 Vrihadratha.  
 Vasudāna, W. (Sudasa).  
 Satānika.  
 Udayana, W. (Durdamana).  
 Ahinara, W. (Babinara).  
 Khandapāni, Dandapani.  
 Nimi, Niramitra, W.  
 Kshemaka, *car.* W.

## 'RAJĀVALI,' (continued).

Adhuna.  
 Mahajuna.  
 Jesrita.  
 Dehtwana.  
 Ugarsēna.  
 Sursēna.  
 Sutasshama.  
 Rēsmaroja.  
 Bachil.  
 Sootpāla.  
 Narhardēva.  
 Jesrita.  
 Bhupata.  
 Scovansa.  
 Médavi.  
 Sravāna.  
 Kikan.  
 Pudhārat.  
 Dasunama.  
 Adelika.  
 Huntavarnu.  
 Dandapāla.  
 Dunsāla.  
 Sēnpāla.  
 Khēvanraj, deposed, and Panduline ended, T.

The 'Rājāvali continues the Indraprastha sovereigns of the Lunar race, through three more Dynasties, Tod, viz. :—

SECOND DYNASTY 14, PRINCES, REIGNED  
500 YEARS.

Viserwa (contemporary with Sisunāga ? T.)  
 Surien.  
 Sīrsah.  
 Ahangsal.  
 Vyerjita.  
 Durbara.  
 Sodpala.  
 Sursana.  
 Singraja.  
 Amargoda.  
 Amarpāla.  
 Sérbéhé.  
 Padharat.  
 Madpāl, slain by his Rajput minister.

## THIRD DYNASTY.

Mahraje, Maharaje of Ferishta ? T.  
 Srisēna.  
 Mahipāla.  
 Mahāvāli.  
 Srupvarti.  
 Netrasēna.  
 Samukdana.  
 Jetmala.  
 Kālanka.  
 Kālmana.  
 Sirmandan.  
 Joywanga.  
 Hergūja.  
 Hirasena.  
 Antinai, resigned to his minister.

[Major Cunningham has investigated this section of the Dihli line with a view to the illustration of certain local coins derived from the

<sup>1</sup> [His son (Asīma-krishna's) will be Nichakra, who will remove the capital to Kausāmbī, in consequence of Hastināpura being washed away by the Ganges.—'V. P.', p. 461.]



type of the Bactrian monarch Strato. As the nomenclature varies in the different authorities, and these lists may be held to be fairly within the limits of legitimate history, I append the modifications<sup>1</sup> advocated by that numismatist, as well as those cited by him from 'Ward's Hindús.']

FOURTH DYNASTY.—TOD.	WARD, Vol. i., p. 24.	GUNNINGHAM, 'J.A.S.B.', vii., 1854.
Séndhwaja.	Dhurandhara, B.C. 230	Yonadhara.
Maháganga.	Senodhata, „ 210	Senadhwaja.
Náda.	Mahákataka, „ 190	Mahiganga.
Jewana.	Mahayodha, „ 170	Mahajodh.
Udiya.	Nátha, „ 150	Sarma.
Jehala.	Jirana-rája, „ 130	Jivan-siráj.
Ananda.	Udaya-Sena, „ 110	Umed-sen.
Rájapála, invaded Kemaon, and killed by Sukwanti, who seized on Indra- prastha, whence he was expelled by Vikramáditya, T.	Vindhachala „ 90	Anandajala.
	Rájapála, „ 70	Rájapála.
	„ 60	Dihli taken by Sákáditya or Sakwanti B.C. 57, retaken by Vikramáditya Sákári.

TABLE XX.—*Kings of Magadhá, or Central India, hol. Behar, of the Indu, or Chandra Vansa, Capital, Rdjagriha.*

BARHADRATHA DYNASTY.

(See Table xviii.)

Kuru.	Vrihadratha, 'V. P.'
Sudhanush.	Kuságra.
Suhotra.	Vrishabha.
Chyavana.	Pushpavat.
Kritaka.	Satyadhritha.
(Visruta).	(Urja), Sudhanwan, 'V. P.'
Uparichara—the Vasu.	(Sambhava), Jantu, 'V. P.'

LINE OF PANDU.

(Brought on from page 237.)

Jarasandha, cot. of Yudhisthira and Krishna, B.C. 3101 ? J.	
B.C. 1400. W. Sahadéva, Parikshita born, great war ends.	B.C. 1400, W. Suvrata.
(Márjári), or Somapi, W.	Dherma.
Srutavat.	(Nribhrata, Wd.)
Ayutáyus.	Susuma.
Niramitra.	Drirhasena, Vrihadséna, Wd.
Sukshatra.	Sumati.
Vrihatkarman.	Suvala, Suddhamva, Wd.
Senajit.	Sunita.
(Srutanjaya.)	Satyajit.
(Vipra.)	Visvajit.
(Suchi).	915. Ripunjaya, 700 Wd., a Buddha born in his reign, 'As. Res.'
(Kshema).	vol. ii., p. 138. <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> [Derived from a new list, 'obtained from a *Purohit* in the Punjab.']

<sup>2</sup> ['Our list,' says Prof. Wilson, 'and that of the 'Vayu,' specifies 21 kings after Sahadeva; the 'Bhágavata' specifies 20, and in another passage states that to be the

## SUNAKA DYNASTY, KINGS OF BHARATKHANDA, REIGNED 128 YEARS.

('V. P.' 138 years, p. 466.)

B.C. 915, W. Pradyota, B.C. 700, W.D. 650?	B.C. 915, W. Viśākhayūpa.
'Bud. Chron.' 2100, Jones.	Janaka (Rajaca or Ajaca, W.D.)
Pālaka.	Nandivarddhana (or Takshae, T.)

## ŚAIṢUNĀGAS OR Ś'ESNĀGS, REIGNED 360 YEARS.

('V. P.' 362 years, p. 467.)

B.C. 777, W. Śiṣunaga, 1962, T., 550, W.D., 472, B. }	B.C. 777, W. (Sumalya or Vikhyaat, T.) 415. Nanda, <i>Mahāpadma</i> , 1602, J., 340, W. 'He will bring the Kākavarṇa ..... } <i>car.</i> W.D. whole earth under one um- Kshemadherman. brella; he will have eight Kshatraujas (Kshetranja). sons, Sumālya and others, Vidmisāra (Vidhisāra). who will reign after Mahā- Ajātaśatru 450, W.D. 551, 'Bud. padma; he and his sons will Chron.' of Ava. govern for 100 years. The Darbhaka, Dāsaca. Brahman Kautilya will root Udayāśwa, Udāsi, Ajaya. out the nine Nandas.' 'V. P.' Nandivarddhana. p. 468. Mahānandi (Mahabali, W.D. 355.)
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## MAURYA DYNASTY, GOVERNED 137 YEARS.

('V. P.' p. 470.)

B.C. 315. W. Chandra-gupta Sandracottus of Greeks, 1502 J. Vindusāra, Varisāra. Aśoka Varddhana, patron of the Buddhists, 330, 'Bud. Chron.' <sup>1</sup> Suvāśas, Sujaswa, T. Cūlāta, W.D.	B.C. 315, W. Daśaratha, <i>car.</i> T. W.D. <sup>2</sup> Sangata, Bandupālita, W.D. Śālisūka, Indrapālita, W.D. (Devadharmā, W.D.) Somaśarman. Saśadharman (Satadhanwa). Vrihadratha.
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## ŚUNGA DYNASTY, 110 YEARS.

('V. P.' 112 years.)

B.C. 178. W. Pushpamitra, puts his master, the last of the Mauryas, to death, 1365, J. Agnimitra, Sujyeshtha, Vasumitra.	B.C. 178. W. Ādraka, Abhadraça, W.D., Badraka, T. Pulindaka. Ghoshavasun. Vajramitra, (Vicramitar, W.D.) Bhāgavata. Devabhūti.
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## KĀNWA DYNASTY, 45 YEARS. ('V. P.')

B.C. 66. W. The Kanwa named Vasudeva usurps his master's kingdom, 1253, J. <i>car.</i> T. Bhūmimitra, cot. of Vikramā- ditya, T.	B.C. 66. W. Nārāyaṇa, Parana, T. Susarman. (Wilford supposes interval of 150 years before Sipraka.)
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number. My copy of the 'Matsya' names but 19, and the 'Radcliffe' but 12; but both agree in making the total 32. They all concur with the text also, in stating that 1000 years had elapsed from the great war, at the death of the last Vārhadratha prince; and this is more worthy of credit than the details, which are obviously imperfect.' 'V. P.' p. 465.]

<sup>1</sup> [ Cf. also 'Burnouf,' vol. ii. p. 778; 'Huen Tsang Mémoires,' p. 170; 'Bhāgavata Purāna,' xii., i. p. 12.]

<sup>2</sup> [Buddha Gaya Insc., 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.', vol. vi. p. 671, 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', etc.]

TABLE XXI.—*Āndhra or Vriṣpala dynasty, of Āndhra (Orissa ?) or Telingana, in continuation of the Magadha line.*

(See Wilford's comparative list from the 'Bhāgavat, and three other Purānas, in the 9th vol. of 'As. Res.'). [These thirty Āndhra Bhṛitya kings will reign 456 years.—'Vishṇu Purāna.' Prof. Wilson adds in a note.—'The 'Vāyu' and 'Bhāgavata' state also 30 kings and 456 years; the 'Matsya' has 29 kings and 460 years. The actual enumeration of the text gives but 24 names; that of the 'Bhāgavata' but 23; that of the 'Vāyu' but 17. The 'Matsya' has the whole 29 names, adding several to the list of our text ('V. P.'), and the aggregate of the reigns amounts to 435 years and six months.]]

B.C. 21. Sīpraka, 'a powerful servant of Suśarman, kills the latter and founds the Āndhra bhṛitya dynasty;' Balin, Balibhita, B.C. 908, J. A.D. 190, W.D.<sup>1</sup>  
 Kṛishṇa  
 Śrī Śātakarṇi  
 Pūrnotsanga, Paurnamāsa } ear.  
 Śātakarṇa, II. } W.  
 Lambodara  
 Iṣilaka, Apilica, W.D.  
 Megha Swāti  
 Patumat.  
 Arishtakarman, ear. Bhāg. Purāna.  
 Hāla.  
 Tālaka, Tiluk, T.  
 Pravilasena.  
 Sundara, named Śātakarṇa.

B.C. 21. Chakora Śātakarṇa  
 Sivaswāti  
 Gomatiputra, (Gautami, W.D. A.D. 500).  
 Pulimat, Purimat  
 (Śātkarṇi IV. ear. Bhāg. Purāna).  
 Śivasrī.  
 Śivaskandha.  
 408. Yajñasrī, (Yeug nai of Chinese ? W.D.)  
 Vijaya.  
 A.D. 428. Chandrasrī, (or Vijaya, last Magadha king, 300, J. 546, T.)  
 Pulomārchish, (Poulomien of Chinese ? W.D. dies, 648, A.D. Salondhi, T. cot. of Bappa Rāwal of Mewār, A.D. 720 ?)

TABLE XXII.—*Rājās of Kashmīr, of the Line of Kuru in the Lunar race: worshippers of Nāgas or Snakes.*

[I have scarcely left myself space in this reprint to attempt to unravel the mystifications of the early Kashmīr Chronology. The con-

<sup>1</sup> [Pliny, 'Hist. Nat.', vol. vi. p. 22, 'As. Res.', vol. ix. p. 101. 'Sīpraka is variously named, *Sindhuka*, Vāyu; *Sisuka*, Matsya; Balin, Bhāg; and, according to Wilford, *Chhismaka* in the 'Brahmanda P.', and *Sūdraka*, or *Sūraka*, in the Kumārikā Khanda of the 'Skanda Purāna.' . . . If the latter form of his name be correct, he may be the king who is spoken of in the prologue to the 'Mrichchakatī.' Prof. Wilson, in a valuable notice on the subject, further reviews the various items of evidence bearing on the date of the Āndhras, and arrives at the conclusion that 'the race of Āndhra kings should not commence till about 20 years B.C., which would agree with Pliny's notice of them; but it is possible that they existed earlier in the south of India, although they established their authority in Magadhā only in the first centuries of the Christian era.'—'V. P.', p. 475. Major Cunningham has discovered the name of Śrī Śātakarṇi among the votive Buddhist inscriptions at Sanchī. He transcribes the original Pāli legend as follows, *Rajnye Sri Śātakarṇa Avesanisa Vāsithi-putasa, Anandasa dānam*, 'Gift of Ananda, son of the neophyte Vāishtha, in the reign of Śrī ŚĀTKARNI.'—'Bhilsa Topes,' p. 264. The writing itself is referred to the time of the king of this name, third in the Magadhā list, though any such special appropriation of the designation is open to question when we find Prof. Wilson remarking, 'The adjuncts *Swāti* and *Śātikarṇa* appear to be conjoined or not with the other appellations, according to the convenience of the metre, and seem to be the family designations or titles.'—'V. P.', p. 474. See also Stevenson, under Saurashtrā *infra*, and 'Bombay Jour.', July, 1853.]

jectural results arrived at severally by Prof. Wilson,<sup>1</sup> Captain Troyer,<sup>2</sup> and Major Cunningham,<sup>3</sup> are subjoined in parallel columns for the scrutiny of future inquirers. Prof. Wilson, without according any great faith to the Sanskrit authority, from which his outline of the history of Kashmír was translated, contented himself with leaving it to carry its own weight. The succeeding commentators have exercised less reserve in the adaptation of the original materials, and hence their rectifications demand a more distinct review. I should naturally desire to abstain from the use of any harsh expression in referring to the exhaustive labors of M. Troyer; but, in truth, I can scarcely bring myself to notice his arguments with much seriousness; and this feeling will, perhaps, be better understood when I say that we are invited to believe that Aśoka reigned in 1436 B.C. (vol. ii., p. 435), and that the Scythian Kanishka ought to be dated in the 13th century, B.C. Equally must the author's endeavor to account for the extraordinary lengths of reigns be received with distrust, which line of reasoning is appropriately climaxed by an attempt to show that it was possible that Ranáditya lived and even reigned 300 years (vol. ii. p. 379).

Major Cunningham's ratiocination towards the general settlement of the relative epochs is based primarily upon the assumed fact of Hiranya and Toramána having been contemporaries of the 3rd Vikramáditya of Ujain (s. 466 = A.D. 409),<sup>4</sup> whom the author, in preparatory training for the more complete development of the same idea in his subsequent works,<sup>5</sup> identified with the Chandra Gupta of the Gupta coin series, and the 3rd Vikramáditya. I do not at all wish to contest that there may have been one of the many monarchs who assumed the supplementary titular designation of Vikramáditya ruling over Malwa at or about this period, and that the potentate in question may well have been a contemporary of Toramána of Kashmír, whom, judging from the style of writing on his coins, I should not desire to place so early as Wilson and Troyer have done; but this concession by no means implies an accord with the other portion of the argument, that would bring the Guptas down to so modern an epoch as is there proposed. In other sections, Major Cunningham's method of compression is about as summary and as little satisfactory as Troyer's system of expansion, inasmuch as the process of the reduction of the supposed superfluous periods of the Aditya and Gonerdiya dynasties is effected by the easy arithmetic of a diminution of the declared totals of *one-half* and *one-third* respectively.

<sup>1</sup> ['Asiatic Researches,' xv., and 'Ariana Antiqua,' p. 347.]

<sup>2</sup> ['Rājatarangini,' Paris, 1840.]

<sup>3</sup> ['Numismatic Chronicle,' vol. vi., 1843.]

<sup>4</sup> [Wilford, 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. ix., p. 156.]      <sup>5</sup> ['Bhilsa Topes,' p. 142.]

There is one point, however, somewhat assuring, that is—the general coincidence of the different commentators in regard to the proper period of the initial date of the Nága dynasty, and, for the present, we must accept this as the single bright spot in the otherwise hazy atmosphere with which Oriental authors so often envelope the simplest history.]

‘The Rája Tarangini, whence this line is taken, commences with an account of the desiccation of the valley by Kasyapa Muni: supposed to allude to the Deluge.’—Wilson, ‘As. Res.’, vol. xv. p. i.

## FIRST PERIOD—KAURAVA RACE, 1266 YEARS.

B.C. 3714. Kashmir colonised by Kasyapa, B.C. 2666, W.

Fifty-three Princes,<sup>1</sup> names omitted by Hindú writers, but partly supplied by Muhammadan authority, as follows:

Sulimán.  
Cassalgham.  
Maherkaz.  
Bandu-khán, (Pandu of the Lunar line?)  
Ládi-khán.  
Ledder-khán.  
Sunder-khán,—Hindú worship established.  
Cunder-khán.  
Sunder-khán.  
Tundu-khán.  
Beddu-khán.  
Mahand-khán.  
Durbinash-khán.  
Deosir-khán.  
Tehab-khán, dethroned by king of Kabul.  
Cálju-khán.  
Luvkhab-khán.  
Shermaharam-khán.  
Nauveng-khán, conquered China.  
Barigh-khán.  
Gowasheh-khán.  
Pandu-khán II. extended empire to the sea.  
Haris-khán.  
Sanzil-khán.  
Akber-khán.

Jaber-khán.  
Nauder-khán.  
Sanker-khán, slain by Bakra Rája.

An interval ensues, and authentic history commences with

2448. Gonerda, I. Kali Yuga, 653.  
Gonanda or Agnand, a relation of Jarasundha, 1400, W. B.C. 1045, P.

Damodara, 1st.

Gonerda, II.

Thirty-five Princes, names forgotten.

1709. Lava (Bal-lava); Loo of Muhammadan historians. B.C. 570, P.

1664. Kauscsaya.

1660. Khagendra.

1600. Surendra, cot. with Bahman of Persia.

1573. Godhara, Gowdher, A. A.

1537. Suverna, Suren, do.

1477. Janaca, Jenak, do.

1471. Sachinara, Sejjuner, do.

1394. Asoka, established Buddhism. (See pages 216, 240, B.C. 250<sup>2</sup>)

1332. Jaloka, adopted castes.

1302. Damodara, II. a Saiva; transformed into a snake.

1277. Hushka, } Tartar princes, re-  
Jushka, } established Budd-  
Kanishka, } him.

1217. Abhimanyu, an orthodox Hindú, B.C. 423, W. B.C. 73, P.

<sup>1</sup> [M. Troyer has the following note upon the subject of these fifty-three princes:—‘C’est sans doute par le vague des expressions de Kalthana, et par le récit des écrivains mahométans qui font mention d’autres rois avant Gonarda 1er, que M. Wilson a été induit à placer avant ce roi une première série de cinquante-trois princes, tandis que le texte, comme je crois l’avoir démontré, ne fixe la durée d’aucune autre série avant celle qui précède le règne de Gonarda III. Il serait en effet très-singulier de trouver deux séries consécutives, qui offriraient le même nombre de rois et la même durée de règne. Je suis bien loin de nier qu’il n’ait pu y avoir plusieurs rois avant Gonarda 1er, et j’admets même qu’on a une presque certitude à cet égard; mais le Rádjataranginí n’en dit rien de positif.’—Vol. II. p. 371.]

SECOND PERIOD—GONERDIYA DYNASTY, 1013 YEARS, OR 378 YEARS AFTER  
ADJUSTMENT, W.<sup>1</sup>

Troyer. B.C.	Cunningham. A.D.	Wilson. B.C.		B.C.
1182	53-3 <sup>2</sup>	1182	Gonerda, III. Nāga worship resumed,	388 W. 103, P.
1147	61-9	1147	Vibhishana,	370
1093-6 }		1096	Indrajita,	352
1058 }	73-1	1060-6	Ravana,	334
1028	80-8	1030-6	Vibhishana, II.	316
992-6	89-2	993	Nara (Kinnara), persecuted Buddhists,	298
952-9	99-2	953-3	Siddha,	280
892-9	114-2	893-3	Utpalāksha Adutbulabeh, A. A.	262
862-3	121-9	862-9	Hiranyāksha, Teernya,	244
824-8	131-2	825-2	Hiranyākula, Herenkul,	226
764-8	146-2	765-2	Vasūkula, Ebeshak,	218
704-8	163-8	705-2	Mihirākula [Mukula, Troyer], invaded Lanka or Ceylon,	200
634-8	178-8	635-2	Vaka,	182
571-8	187-8	572-2	Kshitinanda (Nandana),	164
541-8	195-2	542-2	Vasunanda, Vistnand, A. A.	146
489-6	208-2	490	Nara II. or Bara—Nir, "	128
429-6	223-2	430	Aksha, Aj, "	100
369-6	238-2	370	Gopaditya, a pious brahminist, Kul- varit, A. A.	82
309-6	253-2	310	Gokerna, Kurren, A. A.	64
251-7	269-11	253	Narendrāditya, Nurundrawut, A. A.	46
<sup>3</sup> 215-4	279-0	216-9	Yudhisthira, surnamed the blind, (see Lunar race?)	28

ADITYA DYNASTY, 192 YEARS.

167-3	287-6	168-9	Pratāpāditya, kinsman of Vicramāditya, 10 W.	
135-3	303-6	136-9	Jalaucas, Juggooh, A. A.	<sup>A.D.</sup> 22
103-3	319-6	104-9	Tunjina, a great famine, Bunjir, "	54
67-3	338-6	66-9	Vijaya, Bejeery, "	90
59-3	341-6	60-9	Jayendra, Chander, "	98
22-3	360	23-9	Arya Rāja, of miraculous accession, (Sandhimati),	135 400, P.

GONERDIYA LINE RESTORED, 592 YEARS, OR  
433 ADJUSTED.

A.D. 24-9	A.D. 383	A.D. 23-3	Méghavāhana, Megdahen, A. A., invited Baudhdhas, and invaded Ceylon.	
58-9	400	57-9	Srēshtasēna, or Pravarasēna.	
88-9	415	87-3	Hiranya, contention with Toramāna Yu- varāja, contemporary with Vicramāditya.	
118-11	430	117-5	Mātrigupta, a Brāhman from Ujjain, suc- ceeds by election,	471 W.
123-8	432-6	122-2	Pravarasēna, invaded Silāditya of Gujarāt, (table xxvii.)	476
183-8	464	185-2	Yudhisht'hira II.	499
204-11	483	224-5	Nandrāvāt, Narendrāditya, or Lakshman'a	522
217-11	490	237-5	Ranāditya, married daughter of Chola Rāja,	545
517-11	555-6	537-5	Vicramāditya, supposed an interpolation (Ujjain princes?)	568
559-11	576-6	579-5	Balāditya, last of the Gonerda race,	592

<sup>1</sup> See also 'Ayin-Akbari,' vol. ii. p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> The fractional figures express the months of the year to which they are in each case appended.

<sup>3</sup> Note, p. 364.

## NÁGA OR KARKOTA DYNASTY, 260 YEARS, 5 MONTHS.

Troyer. A.D.	Cunningham. A.D.	Wilson. A.D.	
597-3	594-6	615-5	Durlabhaverddhana, contemporary with Yezdijird.
633-3	630-6	651-5	Pratápáditya, founded Pratápapur. Durlabhaca, <i>car.</i> W.
683-3	680-6	701-5	Chandrápíra, or Chandránand, a virtuous princee.
691-11	689-2	710-1	Tarápíra, a tyrant.
695-11	693-2	714-1	Lalitáditya, conquered Yasovarman of Kanauj, (Yasovigraha of inscriptions) and overran India.
732-7	729-9	750-8	Kuvalayápíra.
733-7	730-9	751-8	Vajráditya.
740-7	737-9	758-8	Prithivyápíra.
744-8	741-11	762-10	Sangramápíra.
751-8	748-11	769-10	Jajja, an usurper, deposed by
754-8	751-11	772-10	Jayápíra, married daughter of Jayánta of Gaur, encouraged learning, invaded Bhíma Séna of Gujárat, 841?
785-8	782-11	803-10	Lalitápíra.
797-8	794-11	815-10	Sangramápíra II. or Prithivyápíra.
804-8	801-11	822-10	Vrihaspati, or Chippatajaya, son of a prostitute, whose five brothers governed in his name.
816-8	813-11	834-10	Ajitápíra, set up by the same usurpers.
852-8	849-11	870-10	Anangápíra, restored to the succession.
855-8	852-11	873-10	Utpalápíra, last of the Karkota race.

UTPALA DYNASTY, 84 YEARS 5 MONTHS.<sup>2</sup>

857-8	854-11	875-10	Aditya Vermá, or Avanti Vermá, a severe famine.
886-8	883-2	904-1	Sankara Vermá, invaded Gujjara and Rája Bhoja (? see Málwá), Kashmir cycle brought into use, 59.
904-8	901-10	922-9	Gopála Vermá, killed in youth.
906-8	903-10		Sankatá, last of the Vermá race.
906-9	903-10	924-9	Sugandhá Ráni, recommended the election of
908-9	905-10	926-9	Part'ha.—The Patris and Ekangas powerful.
924-9	920-10	941-9	Nirjita Vermá, also called Pangu, the cripple.
925-9	921-10	942-9	Chakra Vermá, civil wars.
936-9	931-10	952-9	Sura Vermá.

<sup>1</sup> Renaud, 'Mémoire sur l'Inde,' p. 189; 'Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques,' vol. i. p. 190.

<sup>2</sup> [Prof. Wilson, in anticipation of the due course of publication, has obligingly favoured me with the subjoined note on an inscription which, under the double aspect of geographical proximity and identity of family names, seems to establish some sort of connexion between its line of kings and the Vermá dynasty of Kashmir:—'An inscription of some interest has lately been communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society by the President, having been sent to him by Mr. John Muir; unfortunately it is not known where it was originally found, beyond the fact that it was procured in the north-west of Hindústán; another defect is want of date, but the character in which it is written renders it probable that it is not later than the seventh or eighth century. The invocation shows it to belong to the orthodox system, as it is addressed to the Creator of the Triad, Brahmá, Vishnu, and Rudra, for the sake of the creation, preservation, and destruction of the universe. The document records, in a plain and uninflated style, the following succession of princes, of the Yadu family: 1. Sena Vermá; 2. Árya Vermá, his son; 3. His son, Śrīdeva V.; 4. His son, Vṛadīpta V.; 5. His son, Iṣwara V.; 6. His son, Vṛiddha V.; 7. His son, Siddha V.; 8. His son, Jala V.; 9. His son, Yajna V.; 10. His son, Achala V.; 11. His son, Divákara V.; 12. His younger brother, Bháskara V., who married Jayavati, daughter of Kapila-varddhana; 13. Their daughter was Iswari, married to Chandragupta, son of the king of Jálándhara: on her husband's death she founded an establishment for religious mendicants, which foundation it is the purpose of the inscription to record.]

Troyer. A.D.	Cunningham. A.D.	Wilson. A.D.	
937-9	932-10	953-9	Part'ha, a second time.
938-9	933-4	954-3	Chakra Vermá, ditto
939-3	933-10	954-9	Sankara Verdhana.
939-7	935-4	956-3	Chakra Vermá, a third time.
939-11	936-8	957-7	Unmatti Vermá.
941-11	938-10	959-9	Sura Vermá II.

## LAST OR MIXED DYNASTY, 64 YEARS 4 MONTHS.

942-1	939-4	960-3	Yasaskara Deva, elected sovereign.
	948-4	969-3	Sangrama Deva, dethroned and killed by
951-1	948-10	969-9	Parvagupta, slain at Suréswari Kshetra.
952-10	950-2	971-3	Kshemagupta, destroyed many Viharas of Buddhists.
961-4	958-8	979-9	Abhimanyu, intrigues and tumult.
975-2	972-8	993-9	Nandigupta, put to death by his grandmother Diddá.
976-2	973-9	994-10	Tribhuvana, shared the same fate.
978-2	975-9	996-10	Bhimagupta, ditto.
982-6	980-0	1001-1	Diddá Ráni, assumed the throne herself, adopts
1006-9	1003-6	1024-7	Sangrama Deva II. (with whom Wilson's list closes.)
	1028-4	1032	Harirája and Ananta Deva, <sup>1</sup> his sons (continued from the printed Tarangini.)
	1080-9	1054	Kalasa.
	1088-10	1062	Utkarsha, and Harsha deva.
	1100-7	{ 1062	Udayama Vikrama, son of the latter.
		{ 1072	Sankha Rája.
	1110-11	1002	Salha, grandson of Udayama.
	1111-3	1072	Susalha, usurper, do.
	1127-3	1088	Mallina, his brother (end of Kalhana Pandit's list.)
	1127-9	1088	Jaya Sinh, son of Susalha, (Jona Rája's list.)
	1149-9	1110	Paramána.
	1159-3	1119	Bandi deva.
	1166-3	1126	Bopya deva.
	1175-7	1135	Jassa deva, his brother, an imbecile.
	1193-8	1153	Jaga deva, son of Bopya.
	1208-2	1167	Rája deva.
	1231-6	1190	Sangrama deva, III. a relation
	1247-6	1206	Ráma deva.
	1268-7	1227	Lakhana deva, adopted.
	1281-10	1261	Sinha deva, new line; killed by his brother-in-law
	1296-4	1275	Sinha deva II. an usurper, who was himself deposed and killed by the Mlechhas under Rája Dullach (?)

The name or title Varmma, or Varmá, is especially appropriate to a man of the Kshatriya, the military and regal caste; it affords, therefore, no safe clue to the identification of this dynasty; but the mention of Jalandhara intimates their position among the mountains not far from Kashmir, where we find a race of princes bearing the same title; the first of these, Avanti Varmá, began his reign after the middle of the ninth century, and he may have been a scion of the family recorded in this inscription, which, as above stated, is in a character that may be possibly of the seventh or eighth century, just prior to the date of the Varmá dynasty of Kashmir. Thirteen generations, of what appears to have been a peaceable succession, will carry us back at least two centuries, so that we may safely place the first prince of this series in the sixth century of the Christian era.]

<sup>1</sup> The lengths of reigns only are given in the original: calculating therefore backwards from 'Alá-ud-dín, it becomes necessary to curtail the reign of Harirája (52 years) by about 30 years, to form a natural link with Wilson's date of Sangrama Deva.—J. P. [Major Cunningham ('Num. Chron.', vol. vi.) has pointed out the error committed by Prinsep in this place in confounding 'Alá-ud-dín of Dihli with the Kashmir monarch of the same titular designation, whose date should therefore be corrected to A.D. 1351, or, as adjusted by Major Cunningham, to 1339.]



## THE BHOTA DYNASTY.

Troyer.	Cunningham.	Wilson,	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	
Udayana- deva	1318-10	1294	Sri Rinchana, obtained throne by conquest.
Kota Rání	1334-0	1294	Kota Rání, his wife. <sup>1</sup>

[The names of the Musalman kings are continued from Major Cunningham's paper—]

Sháh Mir	1334	6	10	Fateh Sháh	1483	7	28
Jamshir	1337	5	0	Muhammad (2nd time)	1492	7	28
Alá-ud-dín	1339	4	0	Fateh Sháh (ditto)	1513	5	7
Shaháb-ud-dín	1352	0	23	Muhammad (3rd time)	1514	5	7
Kutb-ud-dín	1370	0	23	Fateh Sháh (ditto)	1517	5	7
Sikandar	1386	0	23	Muhammad (4th time)	1520	5	7
Alí Sháh	1410	0	23	Názuk Sháh	1527	5	7
Zain ul Abidin	1417	0	23	Muhammad (5th time)	1530	5	7
Haidar Sháh	1467	0	23	Názuk Sháh	1537	5	7
Hasan	1469	0	23	Mirza Haidar	1541	5	7
Muhammad	1481	0	28	Humáyún			

Kashmír finally annexed to the Moghul Empire under Akbar, in 1586, A.D.

TABLE XXIII.—*Chohan or Chakuman Dynasty, at Ajmir, Dilli, and afterwards Kotah and Bund.*

'The Chohans, one of the four Agnicula tribes, Choháns, Puriháns, Solánki and Pramára, said to have been produced by a convocation of the gods on Mount Abú supposed of Parthian descent.'—Tod, vol. ii. p. 451.

B.C. 700 Anala, or Anhul Chouhan, established at Garra Mandela.  
Suvácha.

Mallan, source of Mallani tribe?

Galan Súr.

A.D. 145 Ajipála, Chakravarti, founder of Ajmír, 202 of Virát era?

500 Sámanta Déva,

Mahá Déva,

Ajaya Sinh,? Ajipala, } Wilford.

Virá Sinh,

Vindasur,

Vairi Vihanta,

684 Dola Rái, lost Ajmír to Muhammadans.

695 Manikya Rái, founded Sambhar: hence title of Sámbrí Rao, slain by Moslem invaders under Abul Aás; eleven names only in Jáçga's catalogue, Tod, vol. ii. p. 444.

Mahásinha.

Chandra Gupta, (of Allahabad pillar inscription? See Kanauj.)

Pratáp Sinh.

Mohan Sinh.

Setarai.

Nágahasta.

Lohadhár.

Virá Sinh, II.

Vibudh Sinh.

Chandra Ray.

<sup>1</sup> 'The names of the Muhammadan chiefs, who held possession of the valley, sometimes independently, under the Patan and Moghul Emperors, are so disfigured in Nagari characters as to be hardly recognizable. Jona Rája's list continues to Zein-ul-áb-ud-dín, 815 Hijra, whence Sri Vara Pandit continues it to Fateh Sháh, A.D. 1477. The 'Rájavalí Patáka' brings on the line to Akbar's conquest in 1530; (see Muhammadan dynasties.)—J. P.

<sup>2</sup> 'Bombay Government Selections,' vol. iii. p. 193.

- B.C. 770 Harihara Ray (Hursráj, Tod), defeated Subaktegín.  
 Basanta Rai.  
 Balianga Rai (Belundeo? Tod), or Dheruca Gaj, slain defending Ajmir  
 against Sultan Mahmúd.  
 Pramatha Rai.  
 Anga Rája, (Amilla Deva, Dihlí inscription).  
 1016 W. Visala Deva,<sup>1</sup> from inscriptions, 1031 to 1095, Tod, interpolated date  
 in the books of Chand, S. 921.  
 Seranga Deva, a minor.  
 Ana Deva, constructed the Anah Ságar, at Ajmir.  
 Hispál (of Ferishtah), father of  
 977 Jayah Sinh (or Jypal of Ferishtah, burned himself, 1000, see Málwá),  
 extended his dominion to Lahore, etc.  
 1000 Ananda Deva (or Ajay deo), Anandpál, F.  
 Someswara, married daughter of Anangpál of Dihlí.  
 1176 Prithiráj, of Lahor, obtained Dihlí, slain by Shahábuddín, 1192.  
 1192 Rainasi, slain in the sack of Dihlí, T.  
 Vijaya Ray, adopted successor of Prithiray (see Dihlí pillar).  
 Lakunsi, thence twenty-six generations to Nonad Sinh, present chief of  
 Nimrána, nearest lineal descendant of Ajipál and Prithiráj.<sup>2</sup>

TABLE XXIV.—*Haravati or Harauti branch of the Chohan Dynasty.*

The Haras are descended from Anurája, a son of Visaladeva, or more probably  
 of Mánikya Rai, Tod, vol. ii. p. 454 (see preceding table).

- A.D. Anurája, took possession of Asi, or Hansi, in Hariána.  
 1024 Ishtpála, obtained Asirgarh, miraculously.  
 Chand Karna.  
 Lok Pál.  
 1192 Hamíra (known in Prithirája wars), killed in 1192.  
 Kálkarna.  
 Mahá Magd.  
 Rao Bacha.  
 1298 Rao Chand, slain with all but one son by A'la-ud-dín.  
 1300 Rainsi, protected at Chitor, obtained Bhynsrór.  
 Kolan, declared lord of the Pathár, (central India.)  
 1341 Rao Bango, took possession of the Hun court of Mynál.  
 Rao Deva, summoned to Lodi's court, abdicated to his son.  
 Hara Rája, founded Bundí; country called Haravati after him.  
 Samarsi (Samara Sinh), conquered the Bhils.  
 Napúji, feud with Solankhi chief of Thoda.  
 Hamú-ji, defied supremacy of Rána of Mewár.  
 Birsingh.  
 1419 Biru.  
 1485 Rao Banda, a famine, 1487, expelled by his brothers  
 Samarkandí and Amarkandí, who ruled twelve years.  
 Narain Dás, recovers Bundí.  
 1533 Suraj Mal, assassinated by Chitor Rána.  
 1534 Soortan, a tyrant, banished.  
 Rao Arjun, his cousin, killed in defence of Chitor.  
 1575 Rao Rája Surjan, Chunar, and Benares given to him.  
 Rao Bhoja, separation of Bundí and Kota.

BUNDÍ BRANCH.

- 1578 Rao Ratan, built Ratanpur, his son Mádhú Sinh receives Kotá from  
 Jehángir, henceforward separation.

<sup>1</sup> The lath of Firoz, bearing Visala Déva's name, is dated S. 1220, in the reign  
 of Vighraha Rai Deva. See *ante*, vol. i. p. 325; also 'As. Res.', vol. vii.

<sup>2</sup> See also lists in 'Ayin-i-Akbari,' vol. ii. p. 94-97, etc.

- A.D. 1578 Gopináth.  
 1652 Chatra Sál, took Kalberga, under Aurangzib, killed with twelve princes  
 in battle of Ujjain.  
 1658 Bhao Sinh, received government of Aurangábád under Aurangzib.  
 1681 Anurad Sinh.  
 1718 Budh Sinh, supported Bahádúr Sháh, dispossessed by Jypur Rája.  
 1743 Omeda, regains Bundí, 1749, with Holkar's aid, retires 1771, dies 1804.  
 1770 Ajit Sinh, Jugráj, murders Rána of Mewar.  
 Rao Ráj, Bishen Sinh, minor, protects Colonel Monson's flight.  
 1821 Rám Sinh.

## KOTAH BRANCH.

- 1579 Madhu Sinh, son of Rao Ratan (see above).  
 1630 Mokund Sinh.  
 1657 Jagat Sinh.  
 1669 Keswar Sinh.  
 1685 Rám Sinh.  
 1707 Bhim Sinh, entitled Maháráo.  
 1719 Arjun.  
 1723 Durjan Sál, without issue, Zálím Sinh, born 1740.  
 Ajit, grandson of Bishen Sinh.  
 Chatr Sál, succeeded by his brother.  
 1765 Gomán Sinh,—Zálím Sinh, Foujdár.  
 1770 Omeda Sinh, " Regent.  
 1819 Kiswar Sinh, Madhu Sinh, ditto.

TABLE XXV.—*Rájas of Malwa, Capitals Ujjayana, and Mandor.*

'This line is taken from Abú'l Fazl,' and is supposed to have been furnished from Jain authorities: it agrees nearly with appendix to 'Agni Purána.'—Wilford.<sup>2</sup>

In early ages Mahahmah founded a fire temple, destroyed by the Buddhists, but restored by

B.C. 840 Dhanjí (Dhananjaya, a name of Arjun) about 785 before Vikramáditya  
 (see Anjana, Burmese list).

760 Jitchandra.

<sup>1</sup> ['Ayin-i-Akbari,' vol. ii. p. 49, et seq.]

<sup>2</sup> [As Wilford's lists, purporting to be taken from the 'Agni Purána,' were largely quoted in the original edition of this work (A.D. 1835), it is necessary that I should annex the caution in the reception of that author's data since enjoined by Prof. Wilson:—] 'Col. Wilford (Essay on Vikramáditya and Sáliváhana, 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. ix. p. 131) has made great use of a list of kings derived from an appendix to the 'Agni Purána, which professes to be the 63rd or last section. As he observes, it is seldom found annexed to the 'Purána.' I have never met with it, and doubt it ever having formed any part of the original compilation. It would appear from Col. Wilford's remarks, that this list notices Muhammad as the institutor of an era; but his account of this is not very distinct. He mentions explicitly, however, that the list speaks of Sáliváhana and Vikramáditya; and this is quite sufficient to establish its character. The compilers of the 'Purána' were not such bunglers as to bring within their chronology so well-known a personage as Vikramáditya. There are in all parts of India various compilations ascribed to the Puránas, which never formed any portion of their contents, and which, although offering sometimes useful local information, and valuable as preserving popular traditions, are not in justice to be confounded with the Puránas, so as to cause them to be charged with even more serious errors and anachronisms than those of which they are guilty.'—'Vishnu Purána,' pp. 38-9. London, 1840—Again, p. 73, *preface*, 'The documents to which Wilford trusted proved to be in great part fabrications, and where genuine, were mixed up with so much loose and unauthenticated matter, and so overwhelmed with extravagance of speculation, that his citations need to be carefully and skilfully sifted, before they can be serviceably employed.'

B.C.	670	Sáliváhana. <sup>1</sup>
	680	Nirváhana.
	580	Putra Rájás, or Vánsávalis, without issue.
	400	Aditya Punwar, elected by nobles (cot. Sapor, A.D. 191, W.)
	390	Birma or Brahma Rája, reigned in Vidharbanagar.
	360	Atibrahma, at Ujjain, defeated in the north.
	271	Sadhrashana Sadásva-Sena <sup>2</sup> ).
	191	Heymert, Harcha Megha, killed in battle (misplaced, Wn.)
	91	Gundrup, Gardabharupa, Bahram-gor? of Wilford.
	56	VIKRAMÁDITYA (3rd of Wilford. A.D. 441 Yesdejird?) Tuár tr.
A.D.	44	Chandrassen, possessed himself of all Hindústán.
	135	Karaksen, Surya Sena, W. 676.
	215	Chaturkot (Sactisinha succeeded, W.)
	216	Kanaksen (see Saurashtra, which he conquered? 144, Tod).
	302	Chandrapál.
	402	Mahendrapál.
	409	Karmchandra.
	410	Vijjananda, adopted a successor (his son being an infant) Sindula, W.
	470	Munja, killed in the Dekhan (reigned A.D. 993 according to Tod).
	483	भोजा <sup>3</sup> (S. 540), by Tod. 567 A.D. <sup>4</sup> Kalidás flourished.
	583	Jayachandra, put aside in favour of
	593	Jítpál, of the Tenore (Tuár) caste (Chaitra Chandra, 'Bavishya P.')
	598	Rána Rája.
	603	Rána Baju.
	604	Rána Jalu.
	620	Rána Chandra.
	654	Rána Bahádur.
	659	Rána Bakhtmal.
	664	Ráy Suhenpál.
	669	Ráy Keyretpál.
	674	Ráy Anangapál (rebuilt and peopled Dihlí, 791, Tod).
	734	Kunwerpál.
	735	Rája Jagdeva, of the Chohán tribe.
	745	Jagannath.
	755	Hara deva.
	770	Vásu deva.
	786	Suradeva.

<sup>1</sup> [Orientalists do not rely much upon Wilford's speculations in these days; but as evidence imperfect in itself has often some foundation in truth, it may not be inappropriate to transcribe the following, which seems oddly to assimilate with some of the indications noted at p. 274-5, vol. i., in regard to the Gupta succession:—'As there are several kings and legislators called Vikrama; in the same manner we find also several Sáliváhanas. This grandson of Dhananjaya is made contemporary with another Vikramáditya, who is supposed to have begun his reign A.D. 191; but, according to others, either in the year 184 or 200. In Raghunáth's lists, current in the western parts of India, which have appeared in print, instead of Sáliváhana, we find Samudrapála.'—'As. Res.' ix. 135. See also pp. 146-7, *ibid*; and the curious tale in connection with Sukáditya or Bhartrihari, brother of Vikramáditya, and his retirement to Bhitári, on the Gumti, near which place, Wilford remarks, 'is a stone pillar, with an inscription, containing only a few couplets from the Mahábháratá' (see *ante*, p. 240, vol. i., Bhitári Lat Inscription).]

<sup>2</sup> Vásudeva of Wilford, Basdeo, Ferishtah. A.D. 390, father-in-law of Bahram (see Kanauj).

<sup>3</sup> [See Felhewa or Thaneshwar Inscription, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' vol. xxii. p. 673, dated 279 Samvat, but of doubtful attribution. Names recorded: 1, Mahendrapála; 2, Jatula; 3, Vijrta; 4, Yajnika; 5, Sagga; 6, Purna; 7, Devarája; 8, Ramchandra; 9, Bhoja.]

<sup>4</sup> The other two Rájás Bhoja, Tod fixes in 665 (from Jain MSS.) and 1035, the father of Udayati.

- A.D. 801 Dharmadeva.  
 815 Bhaldeva.  
 825 Nanakdeva.  
 834 Keyratdeva.  
 845 Pithoura.  
 866 Maldeva, conquered by Sheikh Shah, father of 'Alá-ud-din.  
 1037 Sheikh Shah, from Ghazni.  
 1037 Dharma Rája Soud, Vizir during minority of 'Alá-ud-din, who put him to death.  
 1057 Kemal-ud-din, murdered by Jitpál Chohán (Jaya Sinh of Dihli and Lahore? 977) a descendant of Manikya Rai?  
 1069 Harachandra.  
 1109 Keyratchand.  
 1111 Oogersein.  
 1124 Surajnanda.  
 1136 Tippersein, or Beersén, dispossessed by Jelal-ud-din, an Afghán.  
 1146 Alam Sháh, killed in battle by Kerakson, son of Beersen, emigrated to Kámrup, married the king's daughter, succeeded to the kingdom, and regained Málwá.

Ujjain Inscription, S. 1036--  
A.D. 980.

Krishna Rája.  
 Vaira Sinha.  
 Siyaka.  
 Amoghavasra, or Vakpati, otherwise Valabhanareudra.

	Ujjain Inscription.	[The Asfgarh Inscription furnishes the following names. <sup>1</sup> ]
	Bhoja deva.	Hari-varman.
	Udayáditya.	Aditya-varman.
	Naravarma.	Isvara-varman.
	Yašovarma, A.D. 1137.	(born of Ari-kári, eldest daughter of the Gupta race.)
1200 Narbahen <sup>2</sup>	Ajayavarma, A.D. 1143.	Sinha-varman.
	Vindhayavarma.	Kherva-varman.
	Amushyáyana.	
	Subhatavarma.	
	Arjuna, A.D. 1210.	
	Udayáditya deva.	
	Naravarma deva.	
	Yašovarma deva, A.D. 1137.	
	Jayavarma deva, 1143.	
	Lakhan, or Lakshmi-varma deva, a second son of Yašo, A.D. 1144?	

<sup>1</sup> Undated. See 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' vol. v. p. 482.

<sup>2</sup> Piplianagar, in Bhopál (Shujálpur) copper plates, dated Samvat 1267, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' vol. v., p. 380:—'An inscription on a Tamba Patra found in the village of Piplianagar, in the Shujálpur Perganah, by L. Wilkinson, Esq., Political Agent, who says, in a letter to the Editor, 'I owe you many apologies for the delay which has transpired in forwarding to you copies and translations of the three remaining Tamba patras found at Piplianagar in 1836. I have now the pleasure to forward a copy and translation of the oldest dated in Samvat 1235. It seems to throw some doubt on the course of succession that appeared to you to have been rendered plain and clear, for eight generations, by the inscription dated Samvat 1267 before submitted to you. That inscription states that Jayavarma was succeeded on the gaddi of Mandap (or Mandu) by his son Vindhayavarma, and he by his son Amushyáyana, and he again by Subhasavarma, and this last Rája by his son Arjuna; whilst this states that Harischandra succeeded Rája Jayavarma, and adds, moreover, in the last verse, that he was the son of Lakshmi-varma. This discrepancy may be reconciled by supposing that Rája Harischandra was only a prince of the royal family, and as such became possessed of an appanage and not of the whole kingdom; and the fact that Nilagiri, and not Mandap, was his capital, seems to confirm this supposition, supported as it also is by the title of Mahá Kumára, or prince, given to him. I was about to add translations also of the other two inscriptions; but finding that they both correspond, word for word, with that formerly sent to you in all respects but the dates, which are later—the one only by three and the other only by five years—than that of the former inscription, and that they both record grants by the same Rája Arjuna, translations of them would be but an idle repetition. I enclose, however, copies of both, which

- A.D. 1220 Birsal.  
 1236 Purenmall.  
 1268 Harnand.  
 1330 Sakat Sinh, killed by Bahádur Sháh, King of Dakhan.  
 (On the division of the Dihlí monarchy on Ghíásuddín Tughlak Sháh II's death.)  
 1390 Diláwar Khán Ghorí, viceroy of Málwá, assumed sovereignty.  
 (See Mussalman Dynasties.)—'Ayin-i-Akbari,' vol. ii. p. 57.

[The inscription on a temple at Oudayapúr, taken by Captain Burt in 1838, claims notice in this place, on account of its supplying us with evidence of the existence, and continued currency for more than four centuries, of an era designated by the name of Udayáditya. The nominal roll of the princes associated with this monumental record does not satisfactorily fall in with the traditionary list of the Mahá-rájas of Málwá; but this need not affect the authenticity of the one or the other, as the provincial dignities, of which the inscription is an exponent, were usually treated *en seigneur*, whatever title to real power or supremacy the local ruler might chance to possess.

- 1 Suravira (of the Pávára line).
- 2 Gondala.
- 3 Arevalamathana (went to Malava and recovered his former kingdom of Madhya desa, and 'caused this sacred and divine temple to be erected' . . . in the year of the Vikramáditya *Samvat* 1116, corresponding with the Sáká year 981, in the Kaliyuga 4160, and in the same of Udayáditya 446.)
- 4 Sáliváhana.—'Jour. As. Soc., Beng.', vol. ix. p. 548.]

TABLE XXVI.—*Sauráshtra (Surát and Gujardt). Capital, Balabhipura. The Balabhi, Balhara, or Bala-rai's Dynasty.*

The Jain chronicles of Jai-sinha, consulted by Colonel Tod, trace the ancestry of Keneksen, the founder of the Méwar family, up to Sumitra, the fifty-sixth descendant from Ráma (*vide* the Surya-vansa list). Solar worship prevailed, afterwards the Jain.—[Tod, vol. i. pp. 231, etc.]

A.D. 0? Maharitu, follows Sumitra, Tod.	Names according to grants dug up in Gujardt.—Wathen. <sup>1</sup>
Antarita.	
Achilsena,	Senapati, { Bhatárka. A.D. 144–190.
	{ Dharasena.
144 Kanaksena, emigrates to Sauráshtra (vol. i. p. 216).	Maharája, { Dronasinha.
Mahá Madan Sen,	{ Dhruvasena I.
	{ Diarapatta.

you may place on record, if you can afford to spare a space for them in your journal.—*Schore, 27th August, 1838.* See also 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vii., p. 736.—[Another Nagpúr inscription, translated and collated with kindred documents by Ball Gungadhar Shashtri supplies the following list:—1. Vairi Sinha; 2. Bhimaka (his son); 3. Rája Rája, or Bhoja Rája (his son); 4. Bhadra Rája; 5. Bhoja deva; 6. Udayáditya; 7. Lakshmi dhara; 8. Nara Varma deva (A.D. 1105); 9. Yaśo Varma deva (A.D. 1137); 10. Jaya Varma deva; 11. Lakshmi Varma deva; 12. Vindhya Varma (son of Ajaya Varma); 13. Harischandra (A.D. 1179); 14. Anushayana; 15. Subhása Varma; 16. Arjuna (his son, A.D. 1211).] 'Jour. Bomb. B. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. i. p. 263.

<sup>1</sup> [See *ante*, vol. i. p. 256. See also 'Jour. Bomb. B. Roy. As. Soc.' vol. iii. p. 215.—The Rev. P. Anderson has examined the nominal series obtained from previously published grants of this family, and tested them by the aid of new inscriptions. His

A.D.		Names according to grants dug up in Gujarat.—Wathen.
	Sudentu,	Grihasena.
318	Vijya, or Ajyasena, founded the } Balabhi era, Tod. <sup>1</sup> }	Sri-dhara Sena, 319.
	Padmáditya,	Siláditya I.
	Siváditya (466 Gardha-bhela? of )	Charagriha, I.
	Jain MSS.) }	Sridharasena, II.
	Haráditya,	Dhruvaséna, II.
	Suryáditya,	Sridharaséna, III.
	Somáditya.	Siláditya, II.
		(three names obliterated).
		Charagriha, II.
523	Siláditya, killed, and Balabhi de- } stroyed by the Parthians, 524. }	523 Siláditya, III.
		569 Siláditya Musalli, IV.

ORIGIN OF GEHLOTE, GRAHALOTE, OR SESODIA TRIBE OF SURYA-VANSIS.<sup>2</sup>

	Kaiswa, Goha, or Graháditya, posthumous son of Siládityu, born in Bhandar forest.	Names inscribed on Aspur marble, Tod.
	Nagáditya, of Bhandar.	
	Bhagáditya.	
	Deváditya.	
	Assaditya, founded Aspur in Mewár.	
	Khalbhaja.	
	Graháditya (others make Nagáditya), father of	
713	Buph, or Bappa, seized Chitor, from Mori tribe, A.D. 727, and founded the Gohila or Gehlote, dynasty of Mewár.	

(Continued in Table XXVIII.)

[I extract the following summary of dates, forming the *résumé* of Dr. Stevenson's remarks upon his translations of the Western Cave Inscriptions, published in the 'Jour. Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. v., without in any way pledging myself for its accuracy; indeed, it will have been seen that Dr. Stevenson and myself differ notably in our ideas of the correct epochs of two of the leading dynasties of India; but for this very reason I am the more anxious to allow him to speak for himself in as much of detail as my space will permit me to concede to reasoning that I so far deny myself the opportunity of contesting.—E.T.]

"I shall now conclude this paper with a short summary of the chief events mentioned in the Sahyádri inscriptions, in chronological order. . . The dates which have

observations, to the following effect, are merely important in the correction of the orthography of names and titles:—'In the Bengal Society's list, the 7th, 10th, and 12th of these kings are called Sri Dhara sena, but in both the plates now before me the names are precisely the same as the second, *i.e.*, Dhara sena, with the addition of Sri, which is common to all the kings. Moreover Siláditya is said in the 'Bengal Journal' to be surnamed Kramáditya. . . The surname is clearly written on plate ii. Dharmáditya. Three of the other kings are not Dharuva, but Dhruva sena.'—'Bomb. Jour.' vol. iii. p. 216.]

<sup>1</sup> This and the Sri-dharasena of the adjoining list, fixed upon as the founders of the Balabhi era or samvat, may probably be the Suraka of the Puránas, mentioned as a Vikramáditya to mount the throne An. Kal. Yug. 3290, or A.D. 191 or 291 ('As. Res.' vol. ix. pp. 135, 203), Wilford. Many legends related by him of the Aditya, belonging to this dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> The Persian historians make Noshizád, son of Noshirván, or Maha Banú, daughter of Yazdijird, the origin of the Sesodia race of Mewár, 531.

not been ascertained from inscriptions, but merely made out by calculation, are marked with an interrogation.

<sup>B.C.</sup>  
200.(?)—A cave was excavated, and an alms-house established in it, on the top of the Náná Ghát, by an Emperor of India, probably Ásoka, the first Buddhist Emperor.

70.(?)—The Great Cave Temple at Kárlen was formed by the Emperor Devabhúti, under the superintendence of Xenocrates, (धनुकाकटा or धीनुकाकटि) a Greek.

65.(?)—A small cave was excavated at Kánheri by the same Xenocrates, in which a supposed tooth of Buddha was deposited, till it was removed to an adjoining tope, as mentioned below.

23.(?)—The expedition of the constructors of the cave mentioned below into Malabar, to quell an insurrection there, took place.

22.(?)—The central or Satrap cave at Násik was excavated by Ushavadatta, son-in-law of the Satrap Nahapána, of the Parthian monarch Kshaharáta (Phrahates ?).

20.(?)—Lands were given to the monks at Junir, who dwelt in the third series of southern caves, by several individuals, and especially by S'isuka, called there S'risuka, the first Andhrabhritya sovereign, while he was yet only prime minister.

15.(?)—The Great Temple Cave at Kánheri was probably excavated by the same monarch, after he ascended the throne. The name given him above is that of the Matsya Purán; here he receives the name of Balin, that given in the Bhágavat.

<sup>A.D.</sup>  
189.—A tope or mound was constructed at Kánheri to contain the tooth of Buddha, mentioned above, and also in honour of a celebrated Buddhist devotee, by Pushyavarman, who was connected with the Andhra royal family.

N.B.—This is the tope opened by Dr. Bird in 1839, and which contained a plate with the date on it.

326.—The village of Karanja, on the Gháts, was made over to the monks at Kárlen by the two great military commanders, who, in the struggles between the regal Satraps and Magadh Emperors, had most likely wrested the adjacent territory from the former and afterwards resigned it to the latter. About the same time, also, the image of Buddha, on the left of the entrance, where these inscriptions are found, was probably executed.

337.—The large cave most to the left of those that contain inscriptions at Násik was excavated at the command of the queen of Gautami-putra, described as lord paramount of India and Ceylon, and who had established in his capital a college for Brahmínical and another for Buddhist science, an institution for teaching archery, and a hospital.

N.B.—Reasons have been adduced to show that the era mentioned in this inscription is the Balabhi, and that it was established in commemoration of the overthrow of the Græco-Parthian empire in Western India, by the united forces of the Magadh Emperor and the Balabhi Commander-in-Chief, who rebelled against his sovereign, the reigning royal Satrap, and rendered himself independent. These Satraps had, in all probability, reigned for a long time in their own right, and had prefixed the title regal to their former appellation to point this out. The latest date on any of their coins is Samvat 390, or A.D. 333; for I think, from the form of the letters, that the era must be the common Samvat. We have, then, only to suppose that on the Indus their government subsisted fourteen years after it was overthrown in Gujarát, as the Balabhi era commences with A.D. 319. In accordance with this supposition, none of the 400 regal Satrap coins that were found at Junir in 1846 belong to the two last Satraps. The vaunting, too, of Rudra Dáma, the last of them but one, on the Gírnár inscription,



A.D.

over the Sátkarni ruler of the Dakhan, our Ándhra monarch, could refer only to some partial success preceding the final catastrophe, as we usually find people boast most when hardest pressed. From our inscriptions it is evident that the hills in which the caves are excavated were sometimes in possession of the one and sometimes of the other party.

342.—The monastery cave at Kárlen was excavated by a mendicant devotee.

410.(?)—Buddaghosha, the author of the Páli work called in Ceylon the 'Atthakatha,' and the Buddhist apostle of the Burman peninsula, set up a middle-sized image of Buddha on the right porch of the Great Temple Cave at Kánheri.

428.(?)—During the reign of the Ándhra monarch Yadnya S'ri Sát Karni, who is mentioned in the annals of China as having sent ambassadors there, a nephew and other relations of his set up the two colossal images on each side of the porch of the same great cave, and at the same time a village was given to the monks.

430.(?)—Other relations of the same Emperor established an alms-house in connection with a cave at Kánheri.

431.(?)—Others of the royal family established a refectory in connection with another cave there.

433.(?)—A monastery cave was excavated at Násik by command of the wife of the commander-in-chief of the same Emperor.

460.(?)—A temple cave at Kuden (Korah), in the Concan, was excavated by the Secretary of the Chief of Salsette, who seems to have exercised authority over a considerable adjoining district of country.

N.B.—The above-mentioned works are all that appear to me to derive from the inscriptions probable indications of the period about which they were executed, whether by means of the dates or the names they contain. The time when the others were engraved can only be guessed at from the style of the letters; but none seem to me to have been inscribed on the Sahyádrí rocks at a later period than that last mentioned, and certainly none earlier than the first date here given, bringing them all within the two centuries preceding and the five succeeding the Christian era, during which time Buddhism flourished in Western India, while the modern Hindú system was silently moulding itself into its present form and preparing to take the place, at a somewhat later period, of the religion of Buddha, and to exhibit that compound of Vedic pantheism, Buddhistical tenderness for animal life, and indigenous superstition that is now current in India. During, however, the whole period of Buddhist ascendancy, Brahmáns existed, studied their literature, had their holy places, and performed those of their rites that could be performed in private. The common people also worshipped Krishna, Bhaváni, and S'iva, as local gods, in particular districts. The travels of the Chinese Fa Hian show that, at the beginning of the fifth century, Buddhism prevailed throughout India; and those of Whang Tshang show that this was still the case in the beginning of the seventh century. An inscription, of date A.D. 657, originally affixed to a Buddhist temple near Nagpore, shows that it still prevailed in the East at that period ('Jour. Bom. Roy. As. Soc.,' vol. i., p. 150.) It is to be noticed here, also, that there is a discrepancy of 42 years between the date A.D. 342 and A.D. 428."

TABLE XXVII.—*Gujarát. Capital Patan. The Anhulwára Dynasty, a restoration of the dynasty of the Bahkáras.*

'Ayn Akbari' list collated with that of the 'Agní Purána,' of Wilford.

- |     |      |  |
|-----|------|--|
| S.  | A.D. |  |
|     |      | 696 Saila-deva, living in retirement at Ujjain, found and educated.  |
| 802 | 745  | Bunarāja, son of Samanta Sinh (Chohán), who founded Anhulpur (Nerwaleh or Patan), called after Anala Chohán, A. A. |

			A.D.	Chowra Dynasty of Auhilpoor.
			746	1. Wun Ráj, son of Jye Sheker.
806	Jogarája .....	} Bhunda-deva, Wd.	806	2. Yog Ráj.
841	Bhíma Rája...		841	3. Kshem Ráj.
866	Bheur .....		866	4. Bhooyud.
895	Behirsinh .....		895	5. Vair Sing.
920	Reshadat .....		920	6. Rutnáditya.
935	Samanta .....	} From the 'Ayín Akbari. Rája Aditya, W. Daughter, married son of Dihlí Rája: Bhunda, W.	935	7. Sámunt Singh.
			942	Mool Ráj Solunkhee.— 'Rás Málá.'—London, 1856.

## RÁJAS OF THE SOLANKHI TRIBE.

- 910 W. Mula Rája, usurped the throne.<sup>1</sup>  
 1025 Chamund, invaded by Sultán Mahmúd (Samanta, W.)  
 1038 Vallabba (Beyser, or Bisela, 'Ay. Ak'), ancient line restored.  
 1039 Durlabba (Dabisalima, F.), usurped the throne.  
 1050 Bhíma rája.  
     Káladeva (Karan, 'A. A. '), Carna-rajendra, or Visala-deva, Wd., who became Paramount Sovereign of Dihlí (see p. 247).  
 1094 Siddha, or Jayasinh, anusurper (Tod, vol. i. p. 98).  
     Kumárapála, poisoned.  
     Ajayapala, son of Jayasinha.

## SOLUNKHEE DYNASTY.

List of the successors of Mool Ráj, from a copper-plate inscription, dated Samvat 1266 (A.D. 1210), found at Ahmadábád.

- 1 Mool Ráj dev.
  - 2 Chámoond Ráj dev.
  - 3 Doorlubbh Ráj dev.
  - 4 Bheem dev.
  - 5 Kurun dev.
  - 6 Jye Singh dev.
  - 7 Koomár Pál dev.
  - 8 Ujye Pál dev.
  - 9 Mool Ráj dev.
  - 10 Bheem dev.
- 'Rás Málá.'

## THE BHÁGELA TRIBE.

- Múla (Lakhmul, 'A. A. '), Lakhana-rya, W. without issue.  
 Birdmula, } Baluca-mula, Wd.  
 Beildeva, } of Bhágela tribe.  
 1209 W. Bhíma Deva, or Bhala Bhíma Deva, same as the last, Wd.  
 1250 Arjun deva, }  
 1260 Saranga deva, } 'Ay. Ak.'  
 1281 Karan, } Carna the Gohilá, fled to the Dakhan, when in the year  
 1309 Gujarát was annexed to Dihlí by 'Alá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh.

TABLE XXVIII.—*Rájas of Mewár. Capitals Chitór, Udayapur.*

(Continued from Table XXVI.)

After the destruction of the Balhára monarchy of Sauráshtra, and two centuries' sojourn of the family in the Bhandar desert, Baph or Bappa conquered Chitor, and founded a new dynasty in A.D. 727. The hereditary title was changed from Gehlote to Aditya.

Wilson's list.	Tod, from Aitpur inscription (dated Samvat 1034, vol. i. p. 802).
750 Guhila .....	1. Srí Gohadit, founder of Gohila (Gehlote) tribe.
Bhoja .....	2. Bhoja (Bhagaditya?)
	3. Mahendra.
	4. Naga (Nágaditya).
	5. Syela.
	6. Aprajit (compare with Table XXVI.)
	7. Mahendra.

<sup>1</sup> See also 'Ayín-i-Akbari,' vol. ii. p. 74, *et seq.*; Elliot, 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. iv. p. 1.

- Wilson's list. Tod, from Aitpur inscription (dated Samvat 1031, vol. i. p. 802).
- Kalabhoja ... 8. Kalabhoja.  
 Bhartribhata... 9. Khoman, invasion of Chitor from Kābul 812 A.D.  
 Samahāyika... Mangal, expelled by chiefs.  
 Khuman ..... 10. Bhirthripad, founded thirteen principalities for his sons in Mālwa and Gujarāt.  
 Allāta ..... 11. Singhji, whose Rāni, Lakshmi, bore  
 Naravahana... 12. Sri Allat, whose daughter Haria devī was grandmother of  
 13. Nirvahana.  
 14. Salvahana.  
 967 Saktivarma ... 15. Saktikumar, resided at Aitpur, 967, or 1068? Tod, vol. i. pp. 243, 803.  
 Suchivarma ... Umba Passa.  
 977 Naravarma ... Narvarma, cotemporary with Subuktigin.  
 1027 Kirttivarma... Yasovarma, do. with Mahmūd. Aitpur destroyed.  
 Vairi Sinh, (Vira Sinha deva of Kanauj? See Bengal.)  
 Vijaya Sinh.  
 Ari Sinh.  
 Vikrama Sinh.  
 Sāmanta Sinh, 1209, W.  
 Kumara Sinh.  
 Mathana Sinh.  
 Padma Sinh.  
 Jaitra Sinh.  
 Tej Sinh.  
 1165? Samara Sinh, (Samarsi, T.) born 1149; marries Prithī Rāi's daughter.  
 1192 Kerna, or Karan, his son—  
 1200 Rahup,—attacked by Shams ud dīn, 1200.  
 Nine princes, occupying fifty years, engaged in crusades, to recover Gayā from the infidels (Buddhists), T.  
 Bhonsi, recovers Chitor.  
 1274 Lakshman Sinh (Lakumsi, T.), married Ceylon princess.  
 1289 " " (Ramdeo of Ferishta.) Chitor sacked by 'Alā-ud-dīn, (1305, F.)  
 Ajaya Sinh (Ajaysi, T.), resided at Kailwarra.  
 1300 Hamīra, son of Ursi, recovered Chitor.  
 1364 Khait Sinh (Khaitsi, T.), captured Ajmir.  
 1372 Laksha Rana (Lakha Rāna, T.), rebuilds temples. Expedition to Gayā.  
 1397 Mokulji, suppliants rightful heir Chonda.  
 1418 Khumbo (Kumbho, T. Gownho, 'A. A.'), defeats Mahmūd of Mālwa; pillar raised in commemoration at Chitor, Tod, 1439, vol. i. p. 286; vol. ii. p. 761.  
 1468 Oda, murders his father, and is killed by lightning.  
 1473 Raemal, repels invasion of Dihli monarch Lodi.  
 1508 Sanga, Singram, or Sinka, the *Kalas* or pinnacle of Mewār glory, successfully resists Bābar at Biāna, 1526.  
 1529 Ratna, fell in duel with Bundi Rāja.  
 1532 Bikramajit, his brother. Second sack of Chitor by Bahādur of Gujarāt; recovered by Hamāyūn.  
 Banbir, the bastard, raised to throne by Rājputs.  
 1540 Udaya Sinh (Oody Sing), third sack of Chitor, 1580, by Akbar.  
 1583 Pertāp (Rāna), reverses at Udipur and Kumalnir.  
 1596 Amera (Umra), succeeds, recovers the ruined capital; defeats Abdullah Jan. 1610; makes peace with Jahāngir.  
 1620 Kerna (Kurn), last independent Rāja; embellished Udipur.  
 1627 Jagat Sinh, tributary to Shāh Jahan; peaceful reign.  
 1663 Rāj Sinh, embanked Lake Rājsamundra.  
 1680 Jay Sinh, forms the Lake Jay-samund.  
 1699 Anera, II. triple alliance with Mārwar and Amber, S. 1756.  
 1715 Sangrām Sinh; the *jizyah* tax abolished.  
 1733 Jagat Sinh II. pays chouth to Mahrattas.  
 1751 Pertāp, II.  
 1754 Rāj Sinh II., country desolated by Mahrattas.

- 1761 Arsi, his uncle, Zálím Sinh's rise.  
 1771 Hamíra, a minor.  
 1777 Bhím Sinh, his brother. Holkar and Sindia overrun Mewár. Marriage feud of Jajpur and Jodhpur. Kishna Kumár poisoned, and the race of Bappa Ráwal extinguished, all but  
 1828 Jewan (Javan) Sinh, the only surviving son.

TABLE XXIX.—*Rahtor Dynasty of Kanauj, afterwards continued in Mārwar, or Jodhpur.*

From Tod's genealogical rolls of the Rahtors, preserved by the Jains, vol. ii. pp. 5-7.

A.D. (After the usual Theogony.)

300? Yavanasya, prince of Parlipur? supposed of Indo-Scythic origin.

390 Basdeo (Vasudeva<sup>1</sup>), revives Kanauj dynasty; his daughter marries } Ferishtah.  
 Bahram Sassan, of Persia.

450 Ramdeo, fixed in Mārwar—tributary to Feroz Sassan.

469 Nayana Pála, conquers Ajipála of Kanauj—hence called Káma dhvaja.  
 Padárat or Bharata, king of Kanauj.

Punja, his son.

570? Dherma Bhumbo, his descendants called Dhánesra Camdhaj (for twenty-one generations bore the name of Rao, afterwards Rája.)

Aji Chandra.

	From inscriptions. <sup>2</sup>	Fyzábád Copper Plate, "J. A. S. B." vol. x. p. 95, dated S. 1320 = A.D. 1187.	From coins, old series. <sup>4</sup>
Udaya-chandra. Nirpati.			Aparajitadhajapa- rakrama.
Kenekséna (see Málwá 400? Sehesra-sála. Mégháséna. Virabhadra.	Gupta. Ghatotkacha. Chandragupta. Samudragupta. .....a son.		Apatirurha. Kragiptapara- shuja? Sri Vikrama. Chandragupta. Samudragupta. Kumáragupta. Vikrama Náren- dragupta.
Deosen. Vimalasena.			Sasigupta? Asvamedhapará- krama.
			New series.
Dánasen. Mokunda.	700? Yasovigraha or Sripála.	1 Yasovigraha.	
Bhadu	Mahichandra.	2 Mahi Chandra.	
1016 Kora or Chand- pál, F.	1072 Chandra deva, cong. Kanauj.	3 Chandra deva. <sup>3</sup>	
Rájsen.	1096 Madana Pála.	4 Madana pála.	Mahípála deva.
Tripála.	1120 Govinda Chan- dra.	5 Govinda Chan- dra.	Kumárapála deva.
(Vira Síaha), see Bengal.	1144 Vijaya Chandra.	6 Vijaya Chandra.	Govinda Chandra.
712 (Yass varman), see tab. xxii.	1163 Jaya Chandra, died, 1193.	7 Jaya Chandra.	Jadjeya deva.
900 (Sáhasanka), see 'Vis. Prak.'			Ajaya deva.
Vijayachandra.			
1169 Jaya Chandra, (Dal. Pangla).			

<sup>1</sup> Wilford names this prince Sadápála, or Sadasvapala, 'As. Res.', vol. ix. p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> See Essays, vol. i. pp.

<sup>3</sup> 'Who was also very learned, king of kings, etc., and who gained the kingdom of Kanaya Kubja by the power of his arms.'

<sup>4</sup> [See vol. i. pp. 288, etc.; 'Ayin-i-Akbari,' vol. i. p. 80.]

TABLE XXX.—*Mārṣṭr or Jodhpur. Continuation of ditto.*

- 1210 Sivaji, grandson of Jayachandra, settled in the desert, Kher.  
 Ashtama (Asothama T.)  
 Doohar, T. Dula Rai, W. made an attempt on Kanauj and Mandor.  
 Raipál.  
 Kanhul.  
 Jalhun.  
 Chado.  
 Theedo.  
 Siluk or Silko (origin of the Silkáwats or Bhomeàs).  
 Biramdeva.  
 1381 Chonda, assaulted Mandor, and made it his capital.  
 1408 Rinmal, of Gohila mother, made pilgrimage to Gaya.  
 1427 Rao Joda and twenty-three brothers had separate fiefs.  
 1458 " " founded Jodhpur, and removed from Mandor.  
 1488 Rao Sujoh, or Surajmal; rape of Rahtor virgins by Patháns.  
 1515 Rao Ganga  
 1531 Rao Maldeo becomes chief Rája of Rájputs; fortifies capital.  
 1568 " " sends his son as hostage to Akbar; marriage alliance.  
 1583 Udaya Sinh; Chandra Sinh, upheld by clans, installed by Akbar.  
 1594 Soor Sinh; named Siwai Rája, a general in Moghul armies.  
 1619 Rája Gaj Sinh slain in Gujarát.  
 1637 Jesvant Sinh, died in Kábul.  
 1680 Ajit Sinh, posthumous. Rahtor conflict at Delhi, 4th July, 1679 (7th Sraavan, S. 1716); thirty years' war against empire. Murdered by his son  
 1724 Abhay Sinh; entitled Mahárája Rájeswar, 1728.  
 1749 Rám Sinh, son, defeated by his uncle,  
 1749 Bakht Sinh, who was poisoned in 1752.  
 1752 Vijaya Sinh (Beejy Sinh) disputed possession with Rám Sinh.  
 1793 Bhim Sinh usurps throne on his grandfather's death, by defeat of Zálím Sinh.  
 1803 Mán Sinh. Feud for Kishna Kumári, the Udápur princess.

TABLE XXXI.—*The Bikaner Ráj, a scion of Jodhpur.*

- 1458 Bika, son of Joda, settled in the Jit country.  
 1494 Nunkarna.  
 1512 Jaet.  
 1546 Kalián Sinh.  
 1573 Ráy Sinh.  
 1631 Karna Sinh.  
 1673 Anop Sinh.  
 1708 Sarup Sinh.  
 Suján Sinh.  
 1736 Zuráwar Sinh.  
 1745 Gaj Sinh.  
 1786 Ráj Sinh, poisoned in thirteen days by  
 1788 Surat Sinh, regent, who usurped the throne.  
 1799 " vanquished Surtan Sinh and Ajib Sinh.  
 1804 " annexed Bhatner to his dominions.

TABLE XXXII.—*Ránas of Amber or Dhund'hár. Capital Jaypur.*

- The Cuchwáha race of Rájputs claims descent from Cush, second son of Ráma, king of Ayodhya, who migrated and built the fort of Rotás, on the Sone.  
 294 Rája Nala, founded Narwar or Nishida.  
 Thirty-two princes—having the affix, Pála.  
 965 Sura Sinh.  
 966 Dhola (Dula) Rai, expelled from Narwar, founded Dhund'hár dynasty.  
 Kankul.

- Maidul Rao, took Amber from the Meenas.  
 Hundeo.  
 Kuntal.  
 1185 Pujandeva (Pajun), married daughter of Prithí Rája.  
 Malesi  
 Bijal.  
 Rájdeo (Sahirdeva? of Narwar, defeated by Mahmúd II. 1251, F.)  
 Kílan.  
 Kantal.  
 Junsi.  
 Udayakarna—his son, Baloji, obtained Amritsir, called Shekhávát, from his  
 grandson, Shekhjí.  
 Nara Sinh.  
 Banbir.  
 Udhárao.  
 Chandrasen.  
 Prithí Ráj, pilgrimage to Dewal on the Indus : murdered by  
 Bhíma, his son.  
 Aiskarn.  
 1550? Baharmal (Puranmal, W.), paid homage to Bábar.  
 1586? Bhagwán Dás, Akbar's general, wedded his daughter to Jehángír.  
 1592 Mán Sinh, ditto, governor of Bengal, Dakhan, Kábul.  
 1615 Bhao Sinh, died of drinking.  
 1621 Mahá Sinh, ditto.  
 1625? Jaya Sinh, Mirza Rája, poisoned by his son Kerat.  
 Rám Sinh, reduced to mansab of 4000.  
 Bishen Sinh, ditto 3000.  
 1698 Siwai Jay Sinh, founded Jaypur, published 'Zij Muhamadsháh.'  
 1742 Iswari Sinh.  
 1760 Madhu Sinh.  
 1778 Prithi Sinh, II. minor.  
 1778 Pertáp Sinh.  
 1803 Jagat Sinh, an effeminate prince, died without issue.  
 1818 Jay Sinh, III. posthumous, believed supposititious.

[It is somewhat difficult to decide where each series of inscription princes, often of most circumscribed local power, may most fitly be inserted in the general list; under the claims of caste, the subjoined sovereigns should be classed with the Choháns of Ajmír; and, under the geographical aspect again, their position might be determined by any one of the contiguous principalities by which the modern clump of Shekávátí states is bounded. I have made them follow Jaypur, as to that kingdom they now belong.

*Inscription on the Temple of Sri Harsha Shekávati. Samvat 1030.*

- |                            |                                    |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Gávaka, <i>Chohan</i> . | 5. Vákpati.                        |
| 2. Chandra rája.           | 6. Sinha rája, 961 A.D.            |
| 3. Gávaka.                 | 7. Vighraha rája, of another race, |
| 4. Chandana,               | A.D. 973.                          |
- 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. iv., p. 367.]

#### TABLE XXXIII.—*Raos of Jesalmer.*

Dynasty of the Bhattis, a branch of the Yadu race of the Chandra Vansa, Tod.

- Naba, fled from Dwarica to Marusthalí—(Bhágavat).  
 Prithibáhu—Khíra—Jud-bhán (from Bhatti chroniclers).  
 Báhu-bal, espoused daughter of Vijaya Sinh, Málwá.  
 Báhu, killed by a fall from his horse.

- Súbáhu, poisoned by his wife, daughter of the Ajmír Rája, Mund.  
 Ríjh married daughter of Ber Sinh of Málwá; invasion of Farid Sháh.  
 B.C. 94? Rája Gaja, invaded Kandrupkél, in Kashmir.  
 A.D. 15? Sulbahan, fifteen sons, all Rájas, conquered Panjáb, expelled from Kábul.  
 Bakund, invaded by Turks—his grandson, Chakító, source of Chakit tribe.  
 Kullur, eight sons, all became Mussalmans.  
 Jinj, seven ditto.  
 Bhatti, court at Lahor, gave name to family.  
 Mangal Rao, expelled by king of Ghazni—settled in Mér.  
 Majam Rao, his son—  
 730 Kehur, invaded by the Barahas, 787, A.D. 731.  
 733 Tanno, erected Bijnót.  
 813 Biji Rae, continual feuds with the Langas, till 1474. Title Rao exchanged  
 for Rawul.  
 Deoraj, excavated several lakes, one at Tunnot.  
 Munda.  
 1008 Bachera, tributary to Anandapál of Delhi; invaded by Mahmúd.  
 1043 Dusej.  
 Bhojdeo conspired against and killed by his uncle.  
 1155 Jesal, slain in defending Lodorva. Removed capital to Jesalmér.  
 1167 Salivahan II., throne usurped by his son, Bijnl.  
 1200 Kailun, elder brother, repelled the Khán of Baloch.  
 1218 Chachik Deo, extirpated Chunna Rájputs.  
 1250 Karan, repelled Muzaffer Khán.  
 1270 Lakhán Sinh, an idiot, replaced by his son.  
 1275 Pánpál, dethroned by nobles.  
 1275 Jacsi, recalled from Gujarát—defended fort for eight years.  
 1293 Muhráj III., great sack of Jesalmér by Mabúl Khán, 1294,  
 Dúddú, elected Ráwul, second sack and immolation.  
 1306 Gursi re-establishes Jesalmér.  
 Kéhar, adopted; feuds.  
 Rao Kailan, or Kerore, conquered to the Indus—lived to 80.  
 Chachik Deo, fixed capital at Marote; continued feuds.  
 1473 Bersi, conquest of Multán by Bábar.  
 Sabal Sinh, Jesalmér becomes a fief of empire, under Ráwuls Jait, Nunkarn,  
 Bhím, Manohar Das; conversion of Bhattis.  
 Umra Sinh, predatory incursions.  
 1701 Jeswant, alliance with Mewár—end of Bhatti chronicle.  
 1622 Akhi Sinh, Sarúp Sinh minister potential.  
 1761 Muhrája, ditto.  
 1820 Gaj Sinh, ditto, under British protection.

[Although the dynasty of the Gurha Mundala Rájas can scarcely claim much prominence amid the sovereignties of the larger Indian states, yet the central position of their seat of government, and the fullness of the detail of names, render it possible that their annals may tend to throw a light upon the still obscure contemporaneous history of proximate lands.]

*History of the Gurha Mundala Rájas. By the late Col. Sir W. H. Steeman, formerly Commissioner for the suppression of Thuggee in the Nerbudda Provinces.*

The dominions of the Gurha Mundala sovereigns extended before the death of Sungrám Sá, in the year A.D. 1530, over fifty-two districts, containing each from three hundred and fifty to seven hundred and fifty villages, and, collectively, no less than thirty-two thousand two hundred and eighty. But the greater part of these districts were added to their dominions by the conquests of that prince.

These princes trace back their origin in the person of Jadoo Rae to the year Samvat, 415, or A.D. 358, when, by the death of his father-in-law, the Gond Rāja Nagdeo, he succeeded to the throne of Gurha. Mundala was added to their dominion by Gopāl Sā, the tenth in descent from that prince, about the year A.D. 634, in the conquest of the district of Marroogurh from the Gond chiefs, who had succeeded to the ancient Haihaibunsi sovereigns of Rutunpore and Lahnjee. That this ancient family of Rājputs, who still reign at these places, reigned over Mundala up to the year A.D. 144 or Samvat, 201, was ascertained from an inscription in copper dug up during the reign of Nizām Sā (A.D. 1749) in the village of Dearee in the vicinity of that place. This inscription was in Sanskrit upon a copper plate of about two feet square, and purported to convey, as a free religious gift from a sovereign of the Haihaibunsi family, the village of Dearee in which it was found, to Deodatt, a Brāhman, and his heirs for ever. The plate was preserved in the palace with the greatest care up to the year 1780, when it was lost in the pillage of the place, and all search for it has since proved fruitless. There are, however, several highly respectable men still living who often saw it, and have a perfectly distinct recollection of its contents. How and when the Gonds succeeded this family in the sovereignty of Mundala we are never likely to learn; nor would it be very useful to inquire.

This family of Haihaibunsi reigned over Lahnjee, formerly called Chumpanuttu; Rutunpore, formerly called Monepore; Mundala, formerly called Muhikmuttee (Mahikmatī); and Sumbulpore (Sambhalpur).

The Gurha Mundala dynasty boast a Rajpoot origin, though they are not recognized to be genuine. Tradition says a soldier of fortune from Kandiesh, Jadoo Rae, entered the service of one of the Haihaibunsi sovereigns of Lahnjee, and accompanied him on a pilgrimage to the source of the Nerbudda at Amurkuntuk, and eventually, in S. 415 = A.D. 358, succeeded the Gond Rāja of Gurha.

When Jadoo Rae succeeded his father-in-law on the throne he appointed Surbhee Partuk as his prime minister, and we have some good grounds to believe, what is altogether singular in the history of mankind, that the descendants of the one reigned as sovereigns of the country for a period of fourteen hundred years up to the Sangor conquest in Samvat 1838, or A.D. 1781; and that the descendants of the other held the office and discharged the duties of chief ministers for the same period. Among the sovereigns during this time, there are said to have been fifty generations and sixty-two successions to the throne; and among the ministers only forty generations. This would give to each reign something less than twenty-three years. In 1260 years France had only sixty-three kings, or one every twenty years.<sup>1</sup>

I shall here give a list of the sovereigns, with the number of years each is said to have reigned.<sup>2</sup> This list, as far as the reign of Prem Narrain, the 53rd of this line, is found engraven in Sanskrit upon a stone in a temple built by the son and successor of that prince at Ramnugur, near Mundala. It is said to have been extracted from records to which the compiler, Jyogobind Bajpac, had access; and good grounds to rely on the authenticity of this record for above a thousand years may be found in the inscriptions on the different temples built by the several princes of this house, bearing dates which correspond with it; and in the collateral history

<sup>1</sup> In one hundred and sixty years Rome had no less than seventy Cæsars. In two hundred and fifty years the Mamelukes had in Egypt forty-seven sovereigns; and a reign terminated only with a life. The Goths had in Spain, in three hundred years, thirty-two kings.

<sup>2</sup> We have not altered the system of orthography followed by the author, although at variance with Sir W. Jones' scheme, because there are some names for which we should be at a loss to find the classical equivalents.—J. P.



of the Muhammadans and others who invaded these territories during their reign. The inscription on the stone runs thus: 'Friday, the 29th of Jet, in the year Samvat, 1724 (A.D. 1667), the prince Hirdee Sá reigning, the following is written by Suda Seo, at the dictation of Jygodind Bajpae, and engraved by Singh Sá, Dya Ram, and Bhagi Rutee.'

As an instance which collateral history furnishes in proof of the authenticity of this record, it may be stated that Ferishta places the invasion of Gurha by Asuf in the year Hijra 972, or A.D. 1564; and states that the young prince, Beer Narain, had then attained his eighteenth year. The inscription on the stone would place the death of Dulput Sá, his father, in Samvat 1605, or A.D. 1548, as it gives 1190 years to the forty-nine reigns, and the first reign commenced in 415. The young prince is stated to have reigned fifteen years, and tradition represents him as three years of age at his father's death. This would make him eighteen precisely, and, added to 1548, would place the invasion 1563 A.D.

	Years.		Years.
1 Jadoo Rae, An. Sam. 415, reigned	5	35 Okur Seyn, his son, reigned	36
2 Madhoo Singh, his son	33	36 Ram Subee, ditto	24
3 Jugurnáth, ditto	25	37 Tarachund, ditto	34
4 Ragonáth, ditto	64	38 Odee Singh, ditto	15
5 Roder Deo, ditto	28	39 Bhun Mitter, ditto	16
6 Beharee Singh, ditto	31	40 Bhowany Das, ditto	12
7 Nursing Deo, ditto	33	41 Seo Singh, ditto	26
8 Sooruj Bhan, ditto	29	42 Hurnaraen, ditto	6
9 Bās Deo, ditto	18	43 Subul Singh, ditto	29
10 Gopál Sá, ditto	21	44 Raj Singh, ditto	31
11 Bhopál Sá, ditto	10	45 Dadee Rae, ditto	37
12 Gopeenáth, ditto	37	46 Goruk Das, ditto	26
13 Rámchund, ditto	13	47 Arjun Singh, ditto	32
14 Soortan Singh, ditto	29	48 Sungram Sá, ditto	50
15 Hureehur Deo, ditto	17	49 Dulput Sá, ditto	18
16 Kishun Deo, ditto	14	50 Beernaraen, ditto	15
17 Jugut Sing, ditto	9	51 Chunder Sá, his paternal uncle	12
18 Muha Sing, ditto	23	52 Mudkur Sá, his son	20
19 Doorjun Mul, ditto	19	53 Prem Naraen, ditto	11
20 Jeskurn, ditto	36	54 Hirdee Sá, ditto	71
21 Pertapadit, ditto	24	55 Chutter Sá, ditto	7
22 Juschund, ditto	14	56 Kesuree Sá, ditto	3
23 Munohur Singh, ditto	29	57 Nurind Sá, ditto ( <i>ob.</i> A.D. 1731) 44 or 54	
24 Gobind Singh, ditto	25	58 Mohraj Sá, ditto	11
25 Ramchund, ditto	21	59 Seoraj Sá, ditto ( <i>ob.</i> A.D. 1749) ... 27	
26 Kurun, ditto	16	60 Doorjun Sá, ditto	2
27 Rutun Seyn, ditto	21	61 Nizam Sá, his paternal uncle ( <i>ob.</i> 1776 A.D.)	27
28 Kamul Nyne, ditto	30	62 Nurbur Sá, his nephew, son of Dhun Singh, brother of Ni- zam Sá, but of a different mother ( <i>ob.</i> 1789)	3
29 Beer Singh, ditto	7	63 Somere Sá, ditto, 9 months ( <i>ob.</i> 1804)	
30 Nurbur Deo, ditto	26		
31 Troo Bobun Rae, ditto	28		
32 Prethee Rae, ditto	21		
33 Bhartea Chund, his son	22		
34 Mudun Singh, ditto	20		

At the close of the reign of Sungram Sá the dominion of the Gurha Mundala rájas extended over fifty-two districts, but it is believed that he received from his father only three or four of these districts.

<sup>1</sup> [Invasion by Asuf Khán, the imperial viceroy at Kurha Mánikpúr, in 1564 A.D.]

<sup>2</sup> [Invasion by Balajee Bajee Rao, A.D. 1742. See also Captain Fells' Inscription, 'As. Res.', vol. xv. p. 43.7]

[The two inscriptions which follow refer more or less to localities proximate to the site of the country whose history forms the subject of the preceding remarks.]

*Inscription from Khajrao, near Chhatarpur, dated 1019 Samvat=962 A.D.*

1 Nannuka.	5 Sri harsa.
2 Vag Yati.	6 Yaso-dharma deva.
3 Vijaya.	7 Banga.
4 Vihala.	8 Jaya-varma deva.

This inscription possesses an adventitious interest in the fact, recorded in its text, relative to its having been engraved, 1st, in irregular letters; 2nd, in clear character; and 3rd, 54 years afterwards (S. 1173), re-engraved in *Kakuda* characters.—‘*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*’, vol. viii. p. 160.

*Kumbhi (35 miles N.E. of Jabalpur) Saugor territory: Inscription, S. 932=A.D. 876. Dynasty entitled Kula-Churi.*

1 Yuvá-Rája-deva, a descendant of	4 Karna-deva.
Kartta Viryya, of the race of	5 Yasas Karna-deva.
Bharat.	6 Gaya Karna.
2 Kokalla.	7 Nara Singha.
3 Gangeya-deva.	8 Vijaya Singha.

—‘*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*’, vol. viii. p. 481.

[Mr. Ommanney, in forwarding the Multáye plates, of which the translation is subjoined, prefaces them with a few remarks:—]

There are no such names as Datta Rája,<sup>1</sup> Govinda Rája, Mâswamika Rája,<sup>2</sup> or Nanda Rája, in the catalogue of Garha Mandala Râjas. They may be descendants of Bakht Buland of Deogarh Bâlaghât, but it is not probable. It appears that they were Rahtors (Rashtra kûtas), but still they were called Ghorowa or Gond,<sup>3</sup> which induces me still to think they must have reigned somewhere in these parts. The villages mentioned have not the slightest resemblance in name to any in this district, nor can I discover any at all like them at Hoshangâbâd or Jubalpûr.

[In commenting on Mr. Ommanney’s communication, Prinsep adds:—]

One of the most obvious corrections is that of the name on the seal, and in the second line of the third page, where the plate is much worn, viz., Yudhâsura in lieu of Yudhâstara, which the Sadr Amîn apparently supposed a corruption of Yudhish-thira. The first name also read as Datta Rája should be Durgga Rája.

But the most material correction applies to the date, which Mr. Ommanney interprets as Samvat 1630, or A.D. 1573. The alphabetical type at once proves that this supposition is many centuries too modern, nor do I clearly see how the pandit could so far have misled his master in the translation, seeing that the text is read by Mr. Ommanney himself and the pandit *s’ateshu shatkena trins’ottareshu*. The

<sup>1</sup> I read this name Durgga Rája.—J. P.

<sup>2</sup> The Sadr Amîn reads Mâswmaika Rája; but it is probable that the text should be understood as Srimat-Swâmika Rája.—J. P.

<sup>3</sup> The word supposed to be Ghorowa is precisely the same as that on the seal, the surname of the Rája, Yudhâsura, the ‘hero in battle,’ so that the connection with the Gond tribes cannot be thence deduced.—J. P.

obvious meaning of this is six hundred and thirty besides,—just about the period we should have assigned to the writing on comparison with the Gupta and Gujaráti styles. But it is not at all certain that this is the correct reading, or that the era can be assumed to be that of Vikramáditya. The precise letters in modern character are,

शक काले संवत्सरे शतेषु \*\* चिंशोत्तरेषु

*Saka kalē samvatsarē s'ateshu ? ? trīṣ'ottarēshu.*

Now, in the first place, the era is here that of Saka or Saliváhana; in the next, after the word *s'ateshu*, hundreds, in the plural number, two unknown characters follow which may be very probably numerals. The second has much resemblance to the modern ८ or eight, but the first is unknown and of a complex form; its central part reminds us of the equally enigmatical numeral in one of the Bhilsa inscriptions. It may, perhaps, designate in a cipher the word *ankē* अङ्के, 'in numerals,' thus purporting 'in the year of Saka, hundreds, numerically eight, and thirty over.' A fertile imagination might again convert the cipher into the word अष्टके, eight, afterwards expressed in figures; but I must leave this curious point for future elucidation, wavering between 630 and 830 for the date of the document, which in either case is of considerable antiquity, and indeed one of the most ancient of such records yet brought to light containing a date.

#### TRANSLATION OF THE MULTÁYE PLATES.

(On the Seal) Śrī Yuddhásura (the adopted name of the prince).

Swasti! Sprung of the pleasing lineage of the Rashtrakūṭa (Rahtor), like the moon from the ocean of milk, was the Prince Śrī Durga Rāja through whose conciliatory conduct to the meritorious, and his vigorous energy, extending his rule to the ocean, secured him the good-will of both parties (his friends and enemies). His son was Govinda Rāja, whose fame was earned in many a battle; from him was born the self-controlling and fortunate Prince Māswamika Rāja, the unrivalled, whose valour is everywhere the theme of song, who never turned his back in battle, and was always victorious. His son is Śrī Nanda Rāja, much respected by the pious; handsome, accomplished, humane, faultless, a dreadful avenger (*kāla*) on his enemies; foremost of the aspirants for military renown, chief of the dignified, and prominent among the active and intelligent, the very tree of desire (*kalpa druma*) to the necessitous.

All natural and acquired qualities seek refuge in his virtuous breast, a firm Brāhmaṇa—a firm Bhāgavata<sup>1</sup>—his surname is Śrī Yuddhasura<sup>2</sup> (the hero of battle). He hereby proclaims to all his officers, nobles, and the holders of villages, 'Be it known to all of you that we, for the promotion of our father and mother's virtues, consecrating with water, present to Śrī Prabha Chaturveda, of the Kautsa tribe, the grandson of Mitra Chaturdeva, and son of Rana Prabha Chaturdeva, the village named Jalau Kuha, bounded on the west by Kīnihi-vajārá, on the north by Pipparikā, on the east by Jalukā, and by Ujānagrāma on the south,—on the full moon of the month of Kartika.

Let this gift be held unobjectionable and inviolate by our own posterity, and by princes of other lines. Should any whose mind is blinded with ignorance take it away, or be accessory to its resumption by others, he will be guilty of the five great sins.

It is declared by the divine Vyāsa, the compiler of the Vedas, 'Many kings have

<sup>1</sup> That is, a rigid disciple of Vishṇu.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Ommanney reads 'Ghorowa Sur' (Ghorowa the Sanscrit for Gond), but the word is evidently the same as that on the seal.

in turn ruled over this earth, yet he who reigneth for the time is then sole enjoyer of the fruits thereof. 'The bestower of lands will live sixty thousand years in heaven, but he who resumes it, or takes pleasure in its resumption, is doomed to hell for an equal period.'

In the Shakakál, six<sup>1</sup> hundred and thirty years over, was written this edict (Sásanam) : Kula, the well-skilled in peace and war, wrote it.

TABLE XXXIV.—*Orissa, Or-Desa, or Athala-Desa, hod. Cuttack.*

From the Vansavali, and Rája Charitra, in the Uria language, preserved in the temple of Jagannáth, a record supposed to have been commenced in the 12th century. —Stirling's 'Account of Cuttack.' 'As. Res.,' vol. xv., p. 257.

After the usual detail of the Mythology, and early kings of India, down to Vikramáditya.

A.D.

142 Bato Kesari.<sup>2</sup>

103 Tirbhoban deo.

236 Nirmal deo.

281 Bhíma deva.

318 Subhan deva. Rakta bahu invades Jagannáth by sea, destroyed by an inundation of the sea, that also formed the Chilka lake.

Indra deva was captured and displaced by the Yavanas, who reigned for 146 years.

KESARI-VANSA RESTORED.

473 Jajati (Yayáti) Kesari, capital Jajepur.

Suraj Kesari.

<sup>1</sup> I have kept here Shatkena as read by Mr. Ommanney.—J. P.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Stirling says<sup>a</sup> that 'no information whatever is afforded by the Orissa chronicles of the origin of the princes called the Kesari vamsa; the founder of the new dynasty in A.D. 473 was Jajati (Yayáti) Kesari, a warlike and energetic prince, but who he was or whence he came we are not apprised. He soon cleared his dominions of the Yavanas, who then retired to their own country.' Perhaps the present inscription may in some measure remove this obscurity. It commences with the conquest of Udhra or Orissa by Janamajeya, the king of Telinga. It is possible that this alludes to the prince of that name in the Puranic lists, but the locality of his dominion and the names of his immediate successors are wholly different from those of the Magadha line, and their history is circumstantially told as of events transpired not long antecedent to the Kesari dynasty of Orissa. His son was Dirgharava, and from the latter was born Apavára, who died without issue. The kingdom was then overrun by invaders from foreign countries (perhaps the same designated as Yavanas in Stirling's 'Chronicles'), when Vichitravira, another descendant of Janamejaya reigning in a neighbouring kingdom, possessed himself of Orissa. His son was named Abhimanyú; his again Chandihara; and from the latter descended Udyotaka Kesari, whose mother, Kolávati, created the temple to Siva as Brahmeswara. The date of the inscription is expressed only in terms of the reign, but, from the style of the Devanágari, it may be confidently affirmed to be later than the epoch fixed for *Lalit Indra kesari* (617 A.D.). Udyotaka Kesari must, then, be one of the thirty-two unrecorded princes who succeeded him in the Kesari line previous to the establishment of the Gangavamsa family on the Cuttack throne. The figure 3, it may be remarked, closely resembles the ancient form of this numeral; the 8 is nearly of the modern shape.

[The following is the list of names supplied by this inscription:—]

1. Janamejaya.—2. Dirgharava.—3. Apavára.—4. Vichitravira.—5. Abhimanyu.—6. Chandihara.—7. Udyotaka Kesari.—On the 3rd of the light half of Phalguna of the Samvat 18, of the victorious reign of rája Udyotaka Kesari Deva, who was most rich, king of kings, a rája of the lunar line and lord of Kalinga. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' October, 1837.

<sup>a</sup> 'As. Res.,' vol. xv., p. 265.

Ananta Kesari.

- 617 Lalat Indra Kesari, built the Bhuvaneswar temple, 657.  
Thirty-two reigns, extending 455 years. Cuttack built, 989.

## GANGA-VANSA.

- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| 1131 | Churang, Saranga deva, or Chor Ganga, invaded Orissa.  | { Tribhuvana. <sup>1</sup><br>{ Mala Deva.<br>{ Proli.<br>{ Rudradeva. |
| 1151 | Gangeswara deva, extended dominions.   |  |
| 1174 | Ananga Bhīm deo, ascended Gajapati throne; endowed Jagannāth; struck coin; title Rāwat Rāi. <sup>2</sup> |  |
| 1201 | Rājeswara deo.   |  |
| 1236 | Rāja Narsinh deo, built Kanārak (black pagoda) 1277.   |  |

## FIVE NARA SINHAS AND SIX BHĀNUS, CALLED THE SURAJ-VANSA RĀJAS.

- 1451 Kapil Indra deo, adopted by the last Bhānu, assisted Telinga Rāja against Musalmans, 1457.  
1471 (Himber? Rai of Uria, according to Ferishta.)  
1478 Pursottem deo, conquers Conjeveram.  
1503 Pertāb Rudra deo, left thirty-two sons, all murdered by  
1524 Govind deo, his minister.  
1531 Pertāb Chakra deo, the last of the dynasty.  
1539 Narsinha Jenna, deposed by  
1550 Telinga Mukund deo, (Harichandan) invaded, and sovereignty of Orissa overthrown, by King of Bengal, 1558.

<sup>1</sup> This inscription is stated to be engraved on a slab about six or seven feet high, which is to be found close to the temple of Rudradeva at Warangal, the modern name for the ancient capital of the Telingana rājas, called in this inscription *Arunakundapura* or *patana*. The inscription,—that is, its commencement and close, excluding the Sanskrit slokas,—is in an old dialect of mixed Telugu and Oorya. It is valuable as containing the genealogy of rāja Rudradeva, and as showing that the previous dynasty established at Warangal was overcome and displaced by his father, called Proli rāja. The inscription gives an authentic date also for the reign of Rudradeva in Telingana, viz., 1054 Saka, corresponding with 1132 A.D., and shows this to be the rāja, called in the temple annals of Jagannath, Churang or Chorgunga, who is said to have overrun Katak coming from the Karnatik, and to have founded or established the Gunga-vansa dynasty in the very year of this inscription, viz., 1054 Saka. Rāja Rudradeva is mentioned as a benefactor of Jagannath, and Katak is included in the boundaries which are assigned to his dominions at that period. These are described in the inscription as extending as far as the sea to the east; the Sree Saila? mountains to the south; as far in another direction, which must be west, as Bākataka; while to the north his rule extended as far as the Malyavanta, now perhaps the Malyagiri, mountain, west of Baleswar.—1. Tribhuvana, a great warrior, of the Kākalya race.—2. Mala Deva, 'chief of the Kākalya rājas.'—3. Proli rāja, the son of Mala Deva, reduces Govind rāja, king of Tailapa? gives back his kingdom to the king of Erha; a conquers and brands the founder of Nādha? in Mantra-kutnagar, and because the Erha rāja declines to join in the expedition, expels him afterwards from his rāj.—4. Rudradeva. Ascendancy gained by Bhūma rāja (half-brother of Rudradeva), consequent upon the death of the Gokurna rāja, the Chorchādaya rāja, and the king of Tailapa; inflated with these successes, he ventures to defy Rudradeva. Bhūma flies in terror.

<sup>2</sup> [Bhubaneswa (in Orissa) Inscription. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 278. 'Aniyanka Bhūma, the brother of "an excellent man," who had come to the throne through marriage with Suramā, the daughter of Ahirama.' Prinsep adds, 'the date of Ananga Bhūma also agrees closely with what was assumed from the style of the alphabet and the Samvat 32 of the Basu-deva slab (inscription in As. Soc. Museum, vol. vi., p. 88, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.'). It will hence become a question whether

<sup>3</sup> The pundits say this is not Orissa, which always in the old dialects is written Oordha Des.

## KHURDA RÁJAS; BHÚÍ-VANSA, OR ZEMINDÁRÍ RACE.

- 1580 Ramchandra deo, titular Rája under Akbar.  
 1609 Pursottem deo. Afghan incursions.  
 1630 Narsinh deo.  
 1655 Gangadhar deo.  
 1656 Balbhadder deo.  
 1664 Mukund deo.  
 1692 Dirb Sinh deo.  
 1715 Harikishen deo.  
 1720 Gopináth deo.  
 1727 Ramchandra deo. Boundary much reduced.  
 1743 Birkishore deo. Mahratta depredations.  
 1786 Dirb Sinh deo, attached to Nágpur, 1755-6.  
 1798 Mukund Deo, deposed by the English, 1804.

TABLE XXXV.—*Rájas of Nepál.*

The mythology of Nepál commences, like that of Kashmir, with the desiccation of the valley, for ages full of water, by a Muni called Naimuni) whence the name of the country Naipála), whose descendants swayed the sceptre for near 500 years.—Kirkpatrick's 'Nipal.'

b.c. 3803	Bhurimahágah (adjusted back at 18 years per reign, b.c. 844?)	b.c. 3423	Jayagupta II., overcome by Rájputs of the Terai, near Janakpur, b.c. 700?
3795	Jayagupta.	3211	Bal Síinha, descendant of Mahípa Gopála.
3722	Permagupta,	3302	Jaya Síinha.
3631	Sri Harkh.	3281	Bhuwáni Síinha, overcome by the
3564	Bhimagupta.		
3526	Munigupta.		
3489	Bishengupta.		

## KERRÁT TRIBE OF EASTERN MOUNTAINEERS.

3240	Yellang, adjusted date, b.c. 646?	2949	Srupast.
3150	Daskham.	2910	Parb.
3113	Baláncha.	2854	Jety dastri.
3081	Kingli.	2794	Panchem.
3040	Henanter.	2723	King-king-king.
2990	Tuskah.	2667	Sánand.
		2627	Thúmdí.

these figures are, in all cases, to be referred to a Cuttack era, or whether the same Devanágari alphabet was in use from Shekawáti to Benares, Dinajpur, and Orissa, in the 12th century, while each prince had then an era of his own.' 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. vi., p. 280.]

[The fellow inscription alluded to is to the following effect:—]

This inscription is without date; but the form of the letters and the names of persons mentioned will probably render the fixing of its age an easy matter to those conversant with such subjects. It was composed by a pandit named Sri Váchaspati, in praise of a bráhmaṇ of rank and learning, styled Bhatta Sri Bhava-deva, and his family; and it would appear that the slab on which it is engraved must have been affixed to some temple of which Bhava-deva was the founder. The individuals of this family, whose names are given, are—1. Sávarna Muni, the root of the gotru or line.—2. Bhava-deva 1st, a descendant of the above, whose elder and younger brothers were Mahá-deva and Attahása.—3. Rathánga, son of the above, who had seven younger brothers.—4. Atyanga, son of the above.—5. Budha, son of the above, surnamed Sphurita.—6. Adi-deva, son of the above.—7. Govardhana, son of the above, whose mother's name was Devakí.—8. Bhava-deva 2nd, son of the above, surnamed Bala-valabhi-bhujanga, whose mother's name was Sāngoká, and who was minister to Rája Harivarma-deva and his son.

2558	Jaigri.	2065	Teshú.
2498	Jenneo.	2019	Sungmía.
2425	Suenkeh.	1950	Jnsba.
2365	Thúr.	1887	Gontho.
2294	Thamu.	1813	Kimbhúm.
2211	Barmah.	1739	Galijang, displaced by Khetris
2138	Gunjah.		of the
—	Kashkún.		

SURYA-VANSA RACE.

1658	Nevesit (adjusted date of conquest, B.C. 178).	724	Vasu datta verma.
1608	Matta Rátio.	691	Sripatri.
1517	Kaikvarma.	688	Siva vridi.
1441	Pasupush deva (founded Paspatnâth).	611	Vasanta deva.
1385	Bhoskar varma, a great conqueror.	550	Deva.
1311	Bhumi varma	493	Brikh (Vriksha) deva.
1270	Chandra varma.	486	Sankara deva.
1249	Jaya varma.	386	Brahma deva.
1187	Vrisha varma.	335	Mán deva, erected Sambhurnâth mundil.
1130	Sarva varma.	297	Mahe deva.
1081	Pathi (Prithi) varma.	247	Vasanta deva.
1025	Jist (Jayertha) varma.	190	Udaya deva.
977	Kuber (Kuvera) varma.	143	Mán deva, II., three years' drought.
901	Hari varma.	98	Sukam.
824	Siddhi varma.	48	Siva deva.
763	Haridatta varma (founded Sapae Narayan temple),	6	Narendra deva.
		A.D. 27	Bhima deva, varma, displaced by the

AHIRS, OR ORIGINAL SOVEREIGNS.

43	Bishen gupta.	178	Bhúmi gupta, expelled by
117	Krishna gupta.		

THE NEVERIT DYNASTY, RESTORED.

218	Siva deva varma (adjusted date, A.D. 470).	773	Soho deva.
259	Anghú varma.	807	Vikrama deva.
301	Kirtu varma.	808	Narendra deva.
319	Bhima Arjuna deva.	810	Ganakâma deva.*
358	Nanda deva.	895	Udaya deva.
371	Siva deva.	901	Narbhay deva.
387	Narendra deva.	908	Bhoj deva bhadra.
424	Bala deva.	917	Lakshmi kâm deva datta.
441	Sankara deva.	938	Jaya deva, reduced Patan.
453	Bhima Arjuna deva, II.	958	Udaya deva.
469	Jaya deva.	966	Bala deva.
488	Sri bala deva.	977	Padiem deva.
504	Kondara deva.	984	Nag Arjuna.
531	Jaya deva, II.	987	Sankar deva.
574	Bala deva, III.	1004	Bam deva.
585	Balanjun deva.	1006	Sri Harak deva.
622	Raghava deva (adjusted date, A.D. 880 <sup>1</sup> ).	1022	Siva deva.
985	Sikar deva.*	1050	Indra deva.
		1062	Mán deva.
		1067	Narendra deva.

<sup>1</sup> This is exactly the first year of the Newâr era. He, it is said, introduced the Samvat into Nepál, which may apply to this, and not to the era of Vikramâditya. (With one or two exceptions, marked \*, these reigns are of natural lengths, and require no adjustment.)



1073	Rudra deva.*	1195	Anyā mall—a famine.
1153	Amrita deva (a great dearth).	1244	Obhaya mall, ditto, and earth- quakes.
1157	Súmesar deva.	1246	Jaya deva.
1164	Baz kām deva.		
1280	Anwanta mall deva. Kásias and Tirhut families settled in Nepál, Samvat 1344, A.D. 1287.		
	Jayananda deva.		
	Jaya sinha mall.		
	Jaya Raera mall, daughter married Hari Chandra, Rája of Benares—his daughter, Ráj Lachmi, succeeded, but was deposed by		
1323	Jaya deva, who was dispossessed of the throne by		
1323	Hara sinha deva, Rája of Simroun, who was expelled from his own dominions by the Patan sovereign of Dihlí. (See below.)		
	Belal Sinha, capital Bhatgaon.		
	Srí deva mall.		
	Nāya mall.		
	Aśoka mall.		
	Jestili mall.		
	Jait mall.		
Newár year.			
1731	1600? Jaya Ekshá Mall (or Jye Kush Mull), divided Patan, Khatmandu, Banepa, and Bhatgaon between his daughter and three sons.		

## BHATGAON.

		Raya Malla.
		Bhu Bhin malla.
		Besson malla.
790-800	1669-79	Jaya Chakra mall.
		Tríhoka malla?
		Jagat Johi malla.
		Jay Jeta mitra malla.
816	1695	Bhupati Indra malla.
842	1721	Ranjit malla, formed alliance with Gurk- has, which ended in his subversion, and finally that of all Nepál.

## BANEPÁ.

Newár year.		Ran Malla.
		KHATMANDU.
		Ratna malla.
753	1632	Jaya Prakás malla.
777	1656	Pratáp malla.
783	1662	Jaya Yoga Prakás malla.
816	1695	Jaya Prakás malla.
822	1701	Bhaskara malla.
836	1715	Mahendra malla.
843	1722	Jaya Jagat Jaya malla.
845	1724	Jaya Yoga Prakás mall,
874	1753	from Patan.

## PATAN.

Newár year.		A daughter.	Newár year.		
775	1654	Siddhi Nara Sinha.	837	1716	Rishi nirmal deva.
806	1685	Nirman Indra malla.	843	1722	Jaya Zughir Yoga malla deva.
810	1689	Yoga Narendra malla.	840-42	1729-31	Jaya Vishnu malla.
816	1695	Mahipat Indra mall.	863	1742	Jaya Yoga Prakás malla deva.
817	1696	Jaya vira mahendra.	870	1749-5	Jaya Vishnu malla Agani.
827	1706	Jaya Indra malla deva.			
836	1715	Hridiah Narasinha.			

GURKHALI DYNASTY, DESCENDED FROM THE UDAYAPUR RÁJPÚTS, OCCUPIED KEMAON  
AND NOAKO'T, FOR SIX OR EIGHT GENERATIONS, PRIOR TO CONQUEST OF NEPÁL.

A.S.

1690	1768	Príthinarayan Sáh.
1693	1771	Pertáb Sinha Sáh deva.
1697	1775	Ran Behádur (Behádur Sáh regent), deposed by nobles, 1800.
1722	1800	Girwan Yudh Vikrama Sáh deva.

<sup>1</sup> [The dates in the Nowár cycle inserted in this table were written in by Jas. Prinsep, on the printed page of his own copy of the 'Useful Tables.']



A.S.		
1726	1804	Ran Behádur, returns from Benares, deposed and assassinated.
1727	1805	Girvan Yudh Vikrama Sáh deva, again.
1738	1816	Rajendra Vikrama Sáh deva.

The Khatmandu and Patan names, and all the dates from 1632 downwards, are confirmed by Nepálese coins in my possession, collected by Dr. Bramley.—J.P.

TABLE XXXVI.—*Rájas of Samangarha, or Simroun, in the Tardé, south of Nepál.*

FROM KIRKPATRICK.		FROM HODGSON'S LIST, 'JOUR. AS. SOC.'	
			vol. iv. p. 123.
A.D.	844	Nána deva.	Nányupa deva, founded Simroun,
		Kanak deva.	A.D. 1097.
		Narsinha deva.	Ganga deva.
		Râma Sinha deva.	Nara Sinha deva.
		Bhad Sinha deva.	Râma Sinha deva.
		Karm Sinha deva.	Sakti Sinha deva.
	1323	Hara Sinha deva.	Hara Sinha deva, compelled to abandon his capital and take refuge in the hills, when Simroun was destroyed by Tughlak Sháh, in 1323 A.D. See above for his connection with the Ráj of Nepál.

TABLE XXXVII.—*Rájas of Bengal, capitals, Kanauj?—Gaur.*

Abu'l Fazl enumerates three Dynasties anterior to the family of Bhupála, which last is identified by inscriptions found at Benares, Monghir, Dinajpur, etc., viz. :—

The family of Bhugrut (Bhagiratha), Kshatriya—24 princes, reigned 2418 years.

The family of Bhojgorya, Kaith—9 princes, reigned 250 years.

The family of Udsoor (Adisur), Kaith—11 princes, reigned 714 years.

Then follows the family of Bhupál, to whose 10 reigns 689 years are allotted, which is evidently too much; the succession of names differs also somewhat from those of the inscriptions.

FROM ABU'L FAZL.	MONGHIR PLATE. <sup>1</sup>	DINÁJPUR COPPER-PLATE.
'Ayin-i-Akbari,' vol. ii. p. 21.	Gopála.	Lokapála.
Bhopála.	Dhermapála.	Dhermapála.
1027 Dhirpála.	Devapála.	Jayapála.
1050 Deopála.	BUDAL PLATE.	Devapála.
Bhupatipála.	Rájapála.	Naráyanpála?
Dhanpatpála.	Súrappála.	(Two names illegible.)
Bijjepála.	Naráyanpála.	Rájapála.
Jayapála.	SARNÁTH INSCRIPTION.	Vigrahapála.
Rájapála.	Mahipála.	Mahipála, at Benares.
Bhogpála.	Sthirapála.	Nayapála.
Jagadpála.	Vasantapála.	1027 Vigrahapála.
	1017 Kumarapála (Fer.)	

<sup>1</sup> The Monghir plate, dated 23 or 123 Samvat, evidently refers to the Bhupála dynasty, and not to the Vikramáditya era, as was supposed by Wilkins.—J.P.

## VAIDYA RÁJAS OF BENGAL.

- 1063 Sukh Sen.  
 1066 Belal Sen, built the town of Gaur.  
 1116 Lakshman Sen.  
 1123 Mádhava Sen.  
 1133 Kesava Sen.  
 1151 Sura Sen.  
 1154 Náráyana—Noujeb, last rája of  
     Abu'l Fazl's list.  
     Lakshmana.  
 1200 Lakshmaniya.  
 (See Muḥammadan dynasties).

BÁKERGANJ INSCRIPTION,<sup>1</sup> 1136 A.D.

Vijaya Sena.  
 Ballála Sena.  
 Lakshmana Sena.  
 Keṣava Sena.

<sup>1</sup> [ 'The purport of the whole inscription is, a grant in perpetuity to a bráhman named Iswara deva sarma, of the Vátša tribe, of the villages of Bágúlé, Bettogáta, and Udyamúna, situated between four equally unknown places in Banga, or Bengal : unless Garhaghataka be Ghoragháta in the Dinájpur, or Vikramapur, the place of that name in the Decca district. The mention of tanks of fresh water, with houses built on the raised banks for protection against inundation,—of the neighbouring jangal in the west, and of the saline soils, is in favour of the locality being in the Bákerganj district itself, on the edge of the Sundarbans, where sea salt is still manufactured. Probably the Chanda Bhandā tribe, made over as property along with the soil, may have been the poor class named from this tract (quasi Sandabanda, as, indeed, it is generally pronounced) employed in the salt works, and, like the modern Molangis, only a step or two removed from slavery. Regarding the Vaidya dynasty of Bengal (so called from its founder being of the medical caste), there is the same uncertainty as in almost all other portions of Indian history. Some make Adisur the progenitor : he who is stated to have applied to the reigning king of Kanaúj, Kanyakubja, for a supply of bráhmans for the Bengal provinces ; but the catalogues recorded, on good authority, in the 'Ayn-i Akbari,' place the whole of the Bhupála dynasty, extending to 698 years, between Adisur and Sukh Sena, the father of Ballála Sena, who built the fort of Gaur. No mention of either of these parties is made in the present inscription, but on the contrary, the father of Ballála Sena is distinctly stated to be Vijaya Sena ; and as this is, I believe, the first copper-plate record of a grant by the family, we should give it the preference to books or traditions, on a point of history so near its own time : for Keṣava Sena is but the fourth in descent from Vijaya on the plate ; or the fifth, if we take Abu'l Fazl's list. It is curious that wherever the name of Keṣava Sena occurs on the plate there are marks of an erasure ; as if the grant had been prepared during the reign of Mádhava Sena, and, on his dying before it was completed (for such a plate must have taken a long time to engrave), the name of his successor, Keṣava, fortunately happening to be of the same prosodial quantity, was ingeniously substituted, and *mutato nomine*, the endowment was completed and promulgated. Keṣava must have been in this case the brother of Mádhava. Little of the historical occurrences of Keṣava's reign are to be gathered from the inflated eulogistic style common to this species of composition. It is said, in general terms, that he kept his enemies in awe, that he was religious and bountiful to the priesthood. The title of Sankara Gaureswara, applied to all the members of the family, may mean either the auspicious family of the city of Gaur, or it may convey a sly hint, by the substitution of शङ्कर for सङ्कर (mixed race) of the inferior caste of the Sena dynasty. Nothing is said of the miraculous descent of Ballála Sena, as before remarked ; but he is said to have worshipped Ś'iva for many hundred years (in former generations) to obtain so famous a son as Lakshmana Sena,—who seems to have been the hero of the family,—erecting pillars of victory and altars at Benares, Allahabad, and Jagannátha. It may, however, be reasonably doubted whether these monuments of his greatness ever existed elsewhere than in the poet's imagination. The date of the grant is very clearly written in the lowermost line सं ३ ज्यैष्ठदिने *samvat 3 jyaistha dinē* ... but the rest is not legible. The third year doubtless refers to the reign of Keṣava Sena, which brings the age of the plate to the year 1136 of our era. ]

TABLE XXXVIII.—*Rajās of Assam—anciently Kamrup.*

The best authority is a Native History ('Assam Buranji') by Huliram Dhaikiyal Phukan, of Gohāti. Bengal, era 1236. 'As Jour.' 1830, p. 297; also Mr. Scott's MS. Notes, arranged by Dr. McCosh.—Buchanan is not to be trusted prior to Rudra Sinha. [Tezpur inscription, 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.' vol. ix., p. 766.]

After bringing down the genealogies to the Kshatriya dynasty of Dravir (Dharmapāla, etc., who invited brāhmins from Gaur to his court, north of the Brāhmaputra!)

BRĀHMAPUTRA DYNASTY, 240 YEARS.

Shusānku, or Arimatu, built fort of Vidyagarh.  
Phainguya, an usurper of the race of Kumuteshwar.  
Gujanke, former line restored.  
Shukaranku.

Mriganku, without issue; died A.D. 1478.

Assam divided into 12 petty states.

1498 ——— invaded by Dulal Ghāzi, son of Hosain Shāh.

Musundār Ghāzi.

Sultān Ghiāsuddīn; after whom 12 states restored, of which Nara, east of Saumar, had been gradually rising into power since the middle of the 13th century.

INDRATANSA (INDU) DYNASTY.

- 1230? Chu-kapha, became independent, and spread conquests, surnamed Asama (unequaled), whence Assam.  
1268 Chu-toupha, son, defeated the Rāja of Cachār.  
1281 Chu-benpha.  
1293 Chu-kangpha.  
1332 Chu-khampha; valley invaded by Muhammad Shāh, 1337.  
1364-9 Interregnum of five years; when the ministers installed  
1369 Chu-taopha, a relation, conquered Chhutiya.  
1372 Chu-khāmethepa, a tyrant, killed by his ministers.  
1405-14 Interregnum of nine years.  
1414 Chu-dangpha, conquered as far as the river Kurutoya.  
1425 Chu-jāngpha, his son.  
1440 Chu-phākpha, ditto.  
1458 Chu-singpha, ditto.  
1485 Chu-hangpha, ditto.  
1491 Chu-simpha, a tyrant, put to death.  
1497 Interregnum, and Hosain Shāh's invasion, 1498.  
1506 Chu-humpha, a brother, various conquests.  
1549 Chu-klunpha, his son, built Gurgram.  
1563 Chu-khrunpha.  
1615 Chu-chainpha; introduced reforms; protected Dharmanārāin.  
1640 Chu-rūmpha, a tyrant, dethroned.  
1643 Chu-chinpha.<sup>1</sup>  
1647 Kuku-raikhoya Gohani, dethroned for his brother.  
1665? Chukum, or Jayadhwaja Sinha, adopted Hindu faith; defeated Aurangzib's general?  
1621\* Chakradhwaja (or Brija) Sinha, built fort of Gohāti; (Sāmagrya deva, Mc. C); repulsed Aurangzib's general? called Chukum?  
1665 Kodayaditya Sinha, attempted to convert the people.  
1677 Parbattia Kunria.  
1681 Lorarāja, for some reigns confusion prevailed until  
1683\* Gadādhara Sinha; his son Kana set aside.

<sup>1</sup> A.S. 1570, A.D. 1648—*Suerganardyan*, also called Pratāpa Sinh, the Hindu name of *Chusingpha*—(Jenkins); he was of the Dehingia family, who took the name of Narain; the other branch, Toughonent, took the title of Sinha.—J. P.

- 1689-1713\* Rudra Sinha, built Rangpur and Jorhát; his coins first bear Bengálí inscriptions.
- 1715-21\* Siva Sinha, established Hindu festivals.
- 1723-26\* Phulésvari, his wife, acquires sovereign rule.
- 1729-30\* Pramathésvari deví, ditto.
- 1732-36\* Ambiká deví, ditto.
- 1738-43\* Sarvvésvari deví, ditto.
- 1744\* Pramatha Sinha, made equitable land settlement.
- 1751\* Rájeswara Sinha, embellished Rangpur, allied with Manipur.
- 1771\* Lakshmi Sinha Narendra, younger son, raised and deposed by minister.
- 1779\* Gaurinátha Sinha, his son.
- 1792\* Bharata Sinha Mahámári, conquers Rangpur, and
- 1793\* Sarvánanda Sinha, usurps power at Baingmara.
- 1796\* Bharata Sinha again attempts, but is killed.
- Gourinátha Sinha, restored by British; died at Jorhát.
- 1808\* Kamaleswara Sinha, or Kinnarám, not crowned.
- Rája Chandrakanta Sinha Narendra, fled to Ava.
- Purandhar Sinha, great grandson of Rájeswara Sinha, expelled by Burmese, and
- Chandrakanta, restored, but deposed again, and
- Yogeswar Sinha, raised by Assamese wife of an Ava monarch, under
- Menghi Maha Theluah, the Burmese general and real governor.
- 1824 Burmese expelled by English.
- 1712\* Date of Manipurí square coins.
- 1763\* Persian coins of Rája Mír Sinh of Rangpur.
- 1780\* Bengálí coins of Jayantea Rája.

TABLE XXXIX.—*Rájas of Manipur, Mièthiè, or Mogh. From the Miehoubá or royal genealogical roll, Capt. Pemberton's MS.*

A.D.		Years.	A.D.		Years.
35	Pakhungba, reigned.....	140	1200	Thawáthába .....	36
174	Khoi .....	90	1236	Chingtanglalthaba .....	11
264	Tanuthingmang .....	100	1247	Thing baisel homba.....	5
364	Koenig gualba .....	15	1252	Puralthaba .....	16
379	Pensiba .....	15	1268	Khumomba .....	15
394	Kanu khangba .....	15	1283	Moeramba .....	24
411	Nanu khamba .....	47	1307	Thangbilalthaba .....	22
428	Nanu phamba .....	90	1329	Kongyamba .....	31
518	Samuerang .....	50	1360	Telhueba .....	19
568	Kol Thuoba .....	90	1399	Laizelba .....	5
663	Nanuthinghong .....	100	1409	Pálsoba.....	24
763	Khongtekcha .....	10	1437	Ninthoukhombo, reigned.....	35
784	Kaerelcha .....	15	1472	Keyamba .....	40
799	Yaraba .....	22	1512	Koeremba .....	5
821	Ayangba .....	89	1517	Lamchaigmanba .....	3
910	Ningloucheng .....	39	1520	Nongyilphauba .....	9
949	Eipál lai Thaba .....	24	1529	Kapomba .....	17
973	Yanglao kai phamba .....	8	1546	Tangchomba.....	4
981	Eerengba .....	89	1550	Chullamba .....	17
1070	Laiyamba .....	56	1567	Mungyamba .....	35
1126	Loitongba.....	30	1602	Khakemba .....	55
1156	Monyorelba.....	14	1657	Khulchouba .....	14
1170	Eiwalthaba .....	30	1671	Paikhomba .....	31

\* These dates are confirmed by coins in Marsden's Num. Or. and others in Captain Jenkins' collection.

A.D.		Years.	A.D.		Years.
1702	Charáirongba .....	12	1766	Gouree Shám .....	1
1714	Pamhaiba—Gharibnawáz, or Garmúni Rája, or Myang- gumba .....	39	1767	Jaya Sinha .....	31
1753	Khakhilalthába, or Oogat Sháh .....	3	1793	Robin chandra .....	3
1756	Mingthoëkhomba — Bharat Sháh .....	2	1801	Modu chandra .....	5
1758	Gouri Shám—Maramba .....	6	1806	Charjit Sinha .....	6
1764	Chingthangkhomba, or Jaya Sinha, Nongnangkhomba..	2	1812	Márjit Sinha, expelled by Barmas, 1819.	
			1824	Gambhir Sinha, brother, re- gained possession.	
			1834	Kirti Sinha, a minor, son of ditto.	

TABLE XL.—*The Narapati, or Sholan Dynasty of Karnáta, Dravira, and the southern portion of the Peninsula. Twenty-seven Rájas, reigned 534 years.*

(Contemporary with the Gajapati and Asvapati Dynasties; from a MS. translated by Buchanan.)

A.D.		Years.			Years.
266 ?	Utinga Sholan, reigned .....	32	Arleana Cadamai Canda Sho-		
	Culatunga Sholan .....	18	lan, reigned .....		62
	Rájendra Sholan .....	11	Jayam Canda Sholan .....		12
	Tiramadi Canda Sholan .....	13	Kirimi Canda Sholan .....		20
	Carical Sholan .....	21	Tondaman Sholan .....		12
	Arundavan Sholan .....	13	Buddam Cattam Sholan .....		45
	Vomyara Sholan .....	17	Shomuman Sholan .....		11
	Shayangana Sholan .....	15	Ghingui Canda Sholan .....		11
	Munalinda Sholan .....	12	Sundra Pandia Sholan .....		40
	Mavanedi Canda Sholan .....	15	Pottápa Sholan .....		24
	Vakula Sholan .....	14	Shingu Vullanda Sholan .....		14
	Alaperinda Sholan .....	8	Deva Sholan .....		10
	Tiraveratu Sholan .....	15	Shayanahatti Sholan .....		15
			Vira Sholan .....		30

800 ? Shayangara Sholan, 24 years; the MS. makes the final date A.D. 288.

After the overthrow of the Narapati dynasty, Karnata and Dravira seem to have been separated from the southern districts, in which the Chera, Chola, and Pandava lines were at first united under one sovereignty.

THIRTEEN MAHÁ RÁJAS OF MÁDURA, TANJORE, AND COIMBETORE, REIGNED  
239 YEARS.

	Years.	A.D.		Years
Udiamara, reigned .....	18		Sri Devanátha, reigned .....	38
Jeya deva .....	19		Malik Arjana .....	7
Lohita <sup>1</sup> .....	10		Adi Raer .....	13
Ganga dira .....	11		Mahá sustra .....	16
Vama deva .....	13		Visuvesvara .....	8
Terupulinda .....	34	950 ?	Chindrabuti .....	9
Pattáviran .....	43			

After which follow the Belál Rájas of the Karnáta, and the petty Polygér dynasties of Máadura, etc.

<sup>1</sup> During this dynasty the palace of Máadura is supposed to have been erected.

TABLE XLI.—*Belál Rájás of the Karnáta. Capital, Dwárasamudra.*

'Nine Princes governed above the Gháts 98 years, and afterwards below the Gháts 111 years.'—(Buchanan, 'Mysore,' vol. iii. p. 112.)

MACKENZIE'S MS.		BUCHANAN, VOL. III. P. 474.	
A.D.		A.D.	Years.
984	Hayasala Belála ráya.		Rája Belála Ráya, reigned... 18
1043	Vináditya Belála.		Vira B. R. .... 11
1073	Yareyánga Belála.		Chinna B. R. .... 22
1114	Vishṇu Verddhana Belála.		Deva B. R. .... 14
1145	Vijaya Narasinha Belála.	1016	Vishṇu verti B. R. .... 23
1188	Vira Belála.		Hari B. R. .... 19
1233	Vira Narasinha deva.		Imadi B. R. .... 17
1249	Vira Someswara.		Visia B. R. .... 16
1268	Vira Narasinha, taken by the Muhammadaus, and his capital destroyed in 1310-11.		Buca B. R. .... 22
			China Buca B. R. .... 8

## TABLE A.

[Mr. Walter Elliot, of the Madras Civil Service, some years ago (1836) contributed to the 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.' an elaborate *résumé* of a series of no less than 595 Hindú inscriptions, collected chiefly in the Southern Mahratta country, or the district of Dharwa; in the western part of the Nizam's territories; in Mysore, the Mangalore collectorate, etc. In due preface to his table of results derived from these especially authentic documents, I prefix an outline of his supplementary remarks which more properly form an introduction to the inscribed genealogies of the leading race :—]

'This [the Chalukya] is the oldest race of which we find satisfactory mention made in the records of the Dekkan; they seem to have belonged to the great tribe that, under the general name of Rajpúts, exercised dominion over the whole of the Northern and Central India. . . . The names anterior to Teilapa deva (Saka 895) are given on the faith of two inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> which profess to be taken from older inscriptions on copper-plates then extant,' supported by confirmatory evidence of a like nature. 'From these authorities we learn that Jaya Sinha claims to be descended from ancestors previously enjoying royal power, of whom 59 reigned in Ayodyapura and other places in the North, or in Hindustan. . . . 16 are then described as reigning after him in the Dekkan. . . . but previous to them, two other families or races had possessed it, the Kartas and the Rattas, the latter of whom were overthrown by Jaya Sinha, who defeated and destroyed Krishna, the Ratta Rája.'

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Jaya Sinha.   | 7. Amara.   |
| 2. Rája Sinha, <i>Rana Ragaha</i> .                                    | 8. Aditya varma.                                    |
| 3. Pulakesi (Sáka 411). <sup>2</sup>                                   | 9. Vikramáditya (accession Sáka 515).               |
| 4. Kirthivarma.  | 10. Vinayáditya, <i>Pudha Malla</i> .               |
| 5. Mangalisa.  | 11. Vijayáditya (accession Sáka 617).               |
| 6. Satya Sri (eventually a family designation) son of No. 4, Sáka 488. | 12. Vikramáditya (accession Sáka 655). <sup>3</sup> |

<sup>1</sup> (1) At Ye-ur, in the Nizam's Territory, No. 4 of Vikram. II. (2) At Handarki in Tondur, No. 141 of Vikram II.

<sup>2</sup> See also 'Bombay Jour.' ii. 6; Pulakesi's father is also entitled Kirti Varma.

<sup>3</sup> See also Major Le-Grand Jacob's grant of this monarch, dated S. 627 (A.D. 705).

"No records have been obtained of any of the succeeding names in the list, till the time of Teila."

[Reverting to the original text, Mr. Elliot is found introducing his more especial series of documents in the following words:—]

'The inscriptions so arranged are found to relate to four dynasties of princes, reigning over the greater portion of that part of India now denominated the Dakshana, or Dekkan, but at that time Kuntala-desa. The capital was first Kalyán (in the Muhammadan province of Kalbarga), and subsequently Devagiri, now the modern city of Dowlutábád. The limits of this kingdom appear to have been the Narmada on the N.; the ocean on the W.; the line formed by the Kanarese language on the S.E.; and on the S.W. they would include the provinces of Nuggar or Bidnúr, and of Sunda. . . . The eastern boundary I have not been able to ascertain, but it is probable that it did not extend beyond the Gháts, under which lay the kingdoms of Kalinga and Andhra.

## I.—CHALUKYA DYNASTY.

Name.	Title.	Accession Saka.
1. Teilapa deva .....	.....	895
2. Satya Sri, <sup>1</sup> or Irivi Bhujanga deva .....	.....	919
3. Vikramáditya I. or Vibhu Vikram .....	.....	930 ?
4. Jaya Sinha deva .....	Jagadeka Malla .....	940 ?
5. Someswara deva I. ....	{ Treilokya Malla .....	962 ?
	{ Ahawa Malla .....	
6. Someswara deva II. or Soyi or Sovi-deva...	Bhuneka Malla .....	991 ?
7. Vikramáditya II. or Kali Vikram or Permadi raya .....	Tribhuvana Malla .....	998
8. Someswara deva III. ....	Bhuloka Malla .....	1049
9. ....	Jagadeka Malla .....	1060
10. Teilapa deva II. or Nurmadi Teilap .....	Treilokya Malla .....	1072
11. Someswara deva IV. ....	Tribhuvana Malla .....	1104

## II.—KALABHURJA OR KALACHUNA DYNASTY.

12. Vijala deva or Bijala .....	Tribhuvana Malla .....	1078
13. Morari Sovi deva, or Vira Vijala or Somes- wara deva .....	Bhuneka Malla .....	1087
14. Sankama deva .....	Ahawa Malla .....	1098

## III.—YADAVA DYNASTY OF DWARA SAMUDRA.

15. Vira Bellala .....	.....	1113
16. Nara simha .....	.....	?

## IV.—YADAVA DYNASTY OF DEVAGIRI.

17. 1. Ballam deva .....	.....	1110
18. 2. Jayatuga deva .....	Jytpál dev .....	1115
19. 3. Simhana deva .....	.....	1132
20. 4. Kandarae deva or Kanera deva .....	.....	1170
21. 5. Mahá deva .....	.....	1182
22. 6. Ramachandra .....	.....	1193
23. 7. Shankar deva .....	.....	1232

—'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. iv. p. 4.

'Bombay Jour.' iii. 203. The genealogy of the family is here somewhat differently stated: 3. Pulakesi; 4. Kirthivarma; 5. Satyasraya; 5. Chandraditya; 9. Vikramáditya (brother of 5); 10. Vinayaditya; 11. Vijayaditya; 12. Vikramáditya.

<sup>1</sup> The Khárepátan inscription ('Bombay Jour.' i. 209) describes Satya Sri as reigning in the Saka year 930 (A.D. 1008). See also Major G. Le-Grand Jacob's Copper-plate Charters ('Bombay Jour.' iv. 97) dated S. 855 (A.D. 933).

## TABLE B.

[I also annex Mr. Wathen's summary of the Chalukya dynasty of the South, the materials for which have also been derived from the authentic sources of inscribed copper-plate grants of land, etc. :—]

## THE CHÁLUKYA DYNASTY OF THE SOUTH (CAPITAL, DHÁTAPIPURA).

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Jayasinha Vallabha i. <i>Jagadekmalha</i>, (Sáka 371 ? A.D. 450) 're-establishes' the Chálukya kingdom.</li> <li>2. Rana-rága (Sáka 391 ? A.D. 470).</li> <li>3. Pulakesi, <i>Satyásraya</i> (Inscription 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.' vol. v. p. 434) (Sáka 411, A.D. 490).</li> <li>4. Kúti-varma (conquered Naldroog or Beder) 'conquest over the Maurya and Kadamba princes.'</li> <li>5. Mangalísa, <i>Satyásraya</i>.</li> <li>6. Neramarí.</li> <li>7. Aditya varma.</li> <li>8. Vikramáditya I.</li> <li>9. Yúdha-malla.</li> <li>10. Vijayáditya.</li> <li>11. Vikramáditya II.</li> <li>12. Kúti-varma II.</li> <li>13. Taila-bhúpatí (Revolutions, etc.).<sup>1</sup></li> <li>14. Bhíma.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>15. Kúti-varma III.</li> <li>16. Apánáya (restores Chálukya power).</li> <li>17. Vikramáditya III. <i>Satyásraya</i>.</li> <li>18. Taila-bhúpa II. (conquers 'Ráshtra-kúta Rájās of Ranástambha (Chandail, in Berar) and Karkara').</li> <li>19. Satyásraya.</li> <li>20. Jayasinha II. (?)</li> <li>21. Dasa-varma.</li> <li>22. Jagadeka Malla. (?)</li> <li>23. Jayasinha III. entitled <i>Sri-Prithivi, Vallabha Maharájádhirája, Paramesvara, Parama-bhatáraka, Satyásraya</i>, etc., conquers Panchadrúmila-nagara, the capital of the Chola king, and seizes the dominions of the seven Rájās of the Konkana.—Inscription dated Sáka 946, A.D. 1025 ('Jour. Roy. As. Soc.' vol ii. 380).<sup>2</sup></li> </ol> |
|--|---|

[Mr. Wathen's other grants may be briefly recapitulated as follows :]

1. Sáka 894, A.D. 973. Kakka or Kakkala rája entitled Amogha-varsha; capital Mankhera in the Hyderabad country. See also 'Bombay Jour.' vol. i. p. 211, grant dated Sáka 930.
3. and 4. Sáka 948 and 980.<sup>3</sup> Silára, Silyára, or Siláhára family present a series of eight or nine princes commencing with Kapard (*circa* 900) who claim to rule over the Konkana.
6. Sáka 1102. Sri Mata-Aparáditya-Rája. Konkana.
7. Sáka 1127. Five local Silára rajas enumerated.
8. Sáka 1182. Grant by a minister of a king of the Chálukya race.
9. 10. Sáka 1212 and 1194. Yádava family, under Ráma Chandra Deva of Deváravati.

TABLE XLII.—*Adeva Rájās of Tuluva, Andhra, or Telingána. Capital Woragalli or Warangal.*

Nineteen Adeva Rájās reigned 370 years (211 years ?) supposed to be the eighteen princes of Andhra descent, prior to Pratápa Rudra.<sup>4</sup>

Tribhuvana Malla Rája, of Warangolla.

A.S. A.D. Poli Rája his son.

1084. 1162 Pratápa rudra built a temple.

East boundary the seashore; Sri Saila hills (South of Hydrabad); West, Vakataka country; North, Mountains N. of Godavery.—J.P.

<sup>1</sup> [See grant of Govinda Rája Ráshtra-kúta, dated Sáka 730, A.D. 808. 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.' vol. v. p. 350, and the still earlier document of Danti Durga, Sáka 675, A.D. 753.]

<sup>2</sup> [See also Mackenzie collection, introduction, cxv.]

<sup>3</sup> [Also Sáka 930. 'As. Res.' vol. i; and Sáka 1113: 'Trans. Lit. Soc. Bombay,' vol. iii.]

<sup>4</sup> Sásanam from a temple at Warangoll.



A.D.	Years.		Years.
800?	25	Sri Ranga A.R. reigned.....	8
	23	Vira Nārāyana A. R.....	12
	21	Wobala, A. R. ....	9
	22	Siruvayanagada A. R. ....	12
	15	Pirungei Endia A. R. ....	15
	32	Canda Gopāla A. R. ....	14
	13	Narasinha A. R.....	12
	15	Cambuli A. R. ....	10
	22	Bacan A. R. ....	87
	12	Vira Narasinha A. R. ....	
1167		Uricandi Pratāpa Rudra, 58 or 54, ended 1221.	
		Anna Pemma ..... 77 supposed subsequent to Mahratta subjection.	

The Mlechhas (Muhammadans) followed, and Pratāpa Rudra; whose officers, Hucca and Bucca, raised the Vijayanagar dynasty; the list of which, in Buchanan, vol. iii, p. 476, differs essentially from that given by inscriptions.

TABLE XLIII.—*Rájas of Chola (Chola-mandeloar, Coromandel).*

(Including the country now called the Karnatic below the Gháts, hod Tanjore. Capitals, in Ptolemy's time, Arcot; then Wariur, near Trichinopoly; next, Kumbhahona, and lastly, Tanjore.)—Wilson's Mackenzie MSS.<sup>1</sup>

A.D.		A.D.	
700-1000	Kulottungá—others say 3000 B.C. or 500 A.D., or 1200 A.D.; built temple at Tangapur, or Tanjore.		Kanaka.
	Deva Chola.		Sundara, killed a Brahman.
	Sasisekhara.		Kalakala.
	Siva linga.		Kalyāna.
918?	Vira chola.		Bhadra.
1100?	Keri kala, persecutor of Rámanuja.	1407?	Patira Chola? last according to some accounts.
	Bhima.		Kulottunga Chola—last according to others, married his daughter to 48th Pandyan prince, who succeeded
886?	Rájarājendra, subdued various countries.		An illegitimate son (Nanda?) founded the Tonda Mandalam (Conjeveram)—also annexed to Pandya kingdom.
	Vira mártanda.		
	Kirttivardhana.		
	Vijaya.		

TABLE XLIV.—*Rájas of Chera or Konga (comprehending Salem and Coimbatore.)*

'The Kongadesa Rája kal enumerates twenty-six princes.'—Mackenzie's MSS.

Vira ráya.	Madhava varmá.
Govinda ráya.	Hari varmá.
Krishna ráya.	Vishnugopa.
Kalivallabha.	Krishna varmá.
Govinda II.	Dindikara.
Chaturbhujá.	Durvaniti.
Kumára deva.	Pushkara.
Trivikrama deva.	Trivikrama.
Kongani varmá.	Bhāvīkrama.

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc.', vol. iii. p. 119; Dowson, *ibid.*, vol. viii. p. 1.

Kongani Mahádhirája.	Malla deva.
Govinda III.	Ganda deva.
Sivaga.	A.D. Satya vrákya deva.
Prithiví Kongani Mahádhirája.	894 Gauttama deva, subdued by the
Rája deva.	

Chola Rája, from whose descendants it passed to the Belál Rájás of Maisur, and thence to the Vijayanagar dominion.

## [BARODA TAMBA-PATRA.

Dated Saka 734=812 A.D. 'Jour. As. Soc. Beng.,' vol. viii., p. 292.  
(Láteṣwara<sup>1</sup> kingdom; capital, Elapur.)

1 Govinda Rája.	5 Govinda II.
2 Karka.	6 Indra.
3 Krishṇa.	7 Karka.]
4 Dhruva.	

TABLE XLV.—*Pandyan Dynasty of Mádura.*

Tradition ascribes seventy-four princes, of whom thirty-nine names are extant.

Kulottunga, 2000 B.C. ?	Udanta.
Anantaguna.	Rája Charámani.
Kálabhúshana.	Rája Sárdula.
Rájendra Pándya.	Kulottunga.
Rájeswara.	Yodhana pravira.
Gambhira.	Rája Kunjara.
Vansapradipaka.	Rája Bhayankara.
Puruhutajit.	Ugrasena.
Pandya Vamsapátáká.	Mahásena.
Sundareswara.	Satrunjaya.
Padasekhara.	Bhimaratha.
Varaguna, united Chola and	Bhimaparákrama.
Tonda to Mádura.	Pratápa Mártanda.
Rájendra.	Vikrama Kunjaka.
Suguna.	Yuddha Koláhalá.
Chitraratha.	Atula Vikrama.
Chitrabhushana.	Atula Kirtti.
Chitra dhvaja.	Kirttivilbhúshana.
Chitra verma.	Vamsasekhara, founded the Ma-
Chitrasena.	dura College.
Chitravikrama.	Vamsachurámani.

Náyak Dynasty—founded by Nágama Nayak, an officer of Krishṇa Rája of Vijayanagar, fourteen princes.

1530 Viswanáth.	Chokanáth; died 1687.
Krishṇapa.	1687 Krishṇa muttu Virapa.
Virapa.	1695 Vijaya ranga, under regency
Visvapa.	of Mangamál.
Kumara Krishṇapa.	1731 Vijaya Kumára, do. of Minakshi
Kasturi Ranjapa.	ráni. Port seized by Mu-
Mutu Krishṇapa.	hamedans, and Mádura be-
Virapa; died 1623.	came tributary to Nuwáb of
1623 Terumala, or Trimal, 1663.	Carnatic, and afterwards to
1663 Muta virapa.	the British.

<sup>1</sup> Supposed to be Kongades by Mr. H. T. Prinsep. See also Wilson's Mackenzie MS., p. 198.

TABLE XLVI.—*Rájas of Vijayanagar.*

From history, inscriptions, and family genealogy, (see 'As. Res.', vol. xx.) The latter authority, in the usual manner, deduces a direct line from Pandu, of the lunar dynasty, imperfectly following the Pauranic lists to Chandrabija, the last of the Mágadha rájas; to whom succeeds,

A.D.		A.D.	
	Marru.	1490	Vira nararasinha rája.
	Nanda.		Achyuta rao.
	Bhutanandi.	1524	Krishna deva; extended his sway to Gujerát, etc.
	Nandili, who has two sons, Ses-		Ráma Rája, killed in invasion of
	hunandi and		Nizám Sháh, and I'mád ul
	Yeshanandi, whose fourteen sons,		mulk.
	ruling over Bylemdesh, are dis-	1565	Sri Ranga Rája.
	persed by two invaders, Amitra		Trimala Rája.
	and Durmitra; and seven fled		Vira yangat pati.
	to Andhradesa, or Telingana,		Sri Ranga II.
	where		Rámadeva rao.
1034	Nanda, maharája, erected a king-		Venkatapati rao.
	dom, and founded Nandapur		Trimala rao.
	and Warangol.		Rámadeva rao.
1076	Chalik Rája.		Sri Ranga rao.
1118	Vijaya Rája; founded Vijayana-		Venkatapati; invaded by the
	gar.		Moghuls and fled to Chandra-
1158	Vimala rao.		giri.
1182	Narasinha deva.		Ráma rao; recovered a portion
1249	Ráma deva.		of territory.
1274	Bhúpa raya, died without issue.	1693	Hari Dás.
1334	Bukka, son of a neighbouring	1704	Chak Dás, his brother.
	Rája, raised to the throne of	1721	Chima Dás.
	the Dakhan by Vidyaranya,	1734	Ráma raya.
	his gúrú.		Gopála rao, son of Chak Dás.
1367	Havihara rao.	1741	Yankatapáti.
1391	Deva rao.	1756	Trimala rao.
1414	Vijaya rao.		Sultán Khán took the country
1424	Pundara deva rao, deposed by		in the name of Tipu; and
	Sri Ranga Rája of Kaliandrúg.		with Vira Venkatapati Ráma
1450	Ráma chandra rao, son of Sri		raya, the dynasty became ex-
	Ranga.		tinct, A.D. 1829.
1473	Narasinha rao.		

TABLE XLVII.—*Rájas of Maisur (Maheshwar or Mysore.)*

Their genealogy is traced from the Yadu line of Chandravansa.—Mackenzie MSS.

A.D.	
	Betta Vadiyar.
	Chamaraja Vadiyar, son of Yadu.
1530	Timmaraja Vadiyar, son of Betta.
	Hiriya Chamarasa Vadiyar, his son.
	Bettatha Chamarasa Vadiyar, do., who had three sons,
	1 Timmarája Vadiyar.
	2 Krishnarája Vadiyar.
	3 Bola Chamarasa Vadiyar; had two wives, Viryammá and Demayammá.
1600	Rája Vadiya, son of the former, took Seringapatam, 1610.
	Bettada Chamarasa Vadiyar.
	Devappa rája Vadiyar, } sons of Demayamma.
	Chama rája Vadiyar, }

- Narasa rája Vadiyar, son of first wife of Rája Vadiyar.  
 Chamaraja Vadiyar, his son.  
 Imadi Rája Vadiyar, son of Rája Vadiyar's second wife.  
 1638 Kanthirao Narsa rája Vadiyar, son of Bettadu, acquired great power.  
 [Chinrayapatan inscrip. Buch. Mysore.  
 1659 Doda Deva rája Vadiyar, son of Devappa, extended dominion N.W.  
 Chikka Deva rája Vadiyar, his son, collected family history.  
 1704 Kanthirao Narsa rája Vadiyar, his son.  
 1713 Krishna rája Vadiyar, do.  
 Chamaraja Vadiyar.  
 Imadi Krishna rája, son of Krishna.  
 Nanja rája Vadiyar, his son.  
 Chamaraja Vadiyar, dethroned by Hyder Ali; Mysore destroyed.  
 1796 Krishna rája Vadiyar, restored by the British.

TABLE XLVIII.—*Paligar Dynasty of Trichinapali.*

Terumala Raya, of Achita tribe, in Tenni- velly, founded dynasty.	Kinkinipati.
Panchákhyā.	Tondaka Nripati.
Tondaka.	Tirumala Bhūpa.
Navana Choládhīpa.	Padmapta.
Terumala Nripálachandra.	Raghunátha, an officer of Vijaya Rághava, of Tanjore.
Navasauri.	Terumala ráya.
Páchanara pála.	Sri Vijaya Raghunáth, conquered Chon- da Khán.
Námana.	
Pachamahisu.	

TABLE XLIX.—*Valuguti Rájas of Venkatagiri, or Kálimálé.*

From the Mackenzie MSS.

Pátalmári vetál.	Nirván ray appa.
Damanaidu; aided in giving Pratápa Rudra the throne of Warangol.	Kumara timma naidu.
Vanamnaidu.	Padakonda naidu.
Yaradakshanaidu.	Padakonda naidu II.
Sinha manaidu.	Chennapa naidu.
Madan.	Venkatádrī naidu; whence name of place.
Vedagiri naidu.	Ráyápá.
Kumar madan.	Pennakondapa naidu.
Sinham naidu.	Yachama.
Pada sinham.	A. D. Kasturi.
Chenna sinham.	1600 Yacham naidu, conquered as far as the Mádura province.
Anupota; extended sway to Krishna river.	Padayachem.
Sarva sinh.	Kumár yachem.
Dharmannaidu.	Bengar yachem; murdered A. D. 1696, by Zulfikárhán.
Timmannaidu.	Kumár yachem; died 1747.
Chiti daksha.	Bengar yachem, and Padayachem, 1776.
Anupota.	1804 Kumar yachem, adopted.
Madan.	Bengar yachem; ditto.
Sura.	
Yachamanaid; founded Valáguti branch.	
Chenna Sinh, under Vijayanagar.	

TABLE L.—*Indian Dynasties, according to Ferishtah, stated to be taken from Persian and Sanserit authorities.*

[The subjoined list seems to have been compiled by Prinsep from Dow's translation of Ferishtah ('History of Hindústán,' London, 1812), whose work, often most meritoriously exact in its rendering of the original, is at times quaintly interpolated with observations, which, though appearing by the context as Ferishtah's, are in effect not to be found in his proper Persian version: under this category may be classed the dates pertaining to the ante-Muhammadan section of the Table under review. Dow's translation of this portion of the entire history labours under the additional disadvantage of having been based upon manifestly imperfect MSS., which are now susceptible of correction and amplification from the excellent lithographed copy of the Persian text published at Bombay. I have introduced a few emendations and additions from that source; but in the process of the examination necessary to this end, I have been led to form a somewhat unfavourable impression of Ferishtah's knowledge, and his power or will to sift and elucidate the traditions he inserts regarding the early dynasties of India. I am fully prepared, however, to admit that there is much curious matter to be found in his introductory chapter, which, if we could but rely upon our authority or trace up his sources of knowledge, would be well worth the deliberate scrutiny of orientalists. I intentionally abstain from entering more fully into this subject, as I am aware that the late Sir H. M. Elliot has devoted much time and attention to the illustration of this fragmentary preface; and I trust that his observations on its merits may shortly see the light in the forthcoming posthumous edition of his works now under preparation by Mr. W. H. Morley.]

(This list is useful for comparison with those already inserted.)

Maharáj; descended from Krishna (not the fabulous Brahmanical hero, but an ordinary mundane king of Hindústán, reigning in Oudh).

B.C. Faridún; first invasion of India, Málchand reigned in Málwa.

1429 Kesvarája, son of Maharáj, invades Ceylon and reduces the Dakhan with the aid of Munuchehr, king of Persia.

Manérrája, built Manér.

1209 Feroz-rai, son of Kesvarája, recovers the provinces on the Indus previously ceded to Persia.

1072 Rustam of Persia establishes Seorája dynasty at Kanaui, where worship of sun is introduced. (Dynasty survives 286 years?)

786 Baraja (36 years).

Keidar, a Brahman; tributary to Persia (19 years).

731 (died) Shunkal; built Laknauti (Gaur) in Bengal. Persian invasion under Peiranweisa, and subsequently by Afrasiáb.

Rohata, son of Shunkal (dynasty reigns for 81 years after the death of Shunkal).

586 Maharáj, Kachawa Rajputs of Amber established (reigns 40 years, contemporary with Gustasp).

- 540 Keda rāja. Rustam Dista, the Persian Governor of the ceded Indian provinces being dead, Keda rāja reduces the countries on the Indus, and fixes his residence in the city of Bera; driven back by the Kábul mountaineers.
- 497 Jaya chand, his general—a famine.
- 437 Dahlú, built Dihlí.
- 397 Porus, of Kemaon, usurped throne of Kanauj.
- 350 Porus II.; resisted Alexander's invasion.
- 330 Sinsar-chand (Sandracottus).
- 260 Jona, and his line, reigned tranquilly 90 years.
- 170 Kalián chand, a tyrant; kingdom of Kanauj dismembered.
- 56 Vikramajit (died), reigned in Málwá and Gujarát; era established; anarchy and confusion succeeded.
- A.D. Rája Boga (Bhoja), of the Tdar tribe.
- 330 Basdeo (Vasudeva), revived Kanauj dynasty;<sup>2</sup> cotemporary of Bahramgor, who married his daughter.
- 410 Rámdeo, of Rhatore race, fixed in Márwár; tributary to Feroz Sassan. Civil wars, took Kanauj and Bengal, married daughter of Sivaray of Vijayanagar.
- 500 Pratab Chand, his general, of Sesodia tribe, refused tribute to Noshirvan.
- Anand deva; reigned in Málva, built Mandô and Ramgir (stated to be cotemporary of Khusrú Parviz.)
- 550? Maldeo; assumed throne of Dihlí, and Kanauj empire divided.<sup>3</sup>
- Hispál, father of
- 977 Jaipál, Rája of Láhore, invaded by Subuktigin and by Mahmúd.
- Anandpál succeeds, defeated by Mahmúd.
- 1009 Bachera (Vijaya ray) of Bhattis, invaded by Mahmúd, A.H. 393.
- 1012 Prithirájpal (Jaipál II.?) of Dihlí and Láhore, fled to Ajmír.
- 1016 Korra (Kunwer ray—Kumárapál) king of Kanauj, surrendered to Mahmúd, in whose time the country was divided into principalities.
- Hardat, rája of Merat.
- Chándpál or Calchandra, rája of Mathura.
- Jundray?—Nanda ray of Kalinjar.
- 1022 Jasuverma? rája of Ajmír.
- 1024 Byramdeo (Brahma deva), of Gujarát deposed; and Sumnáth temple plundered.
- 1026 Dabisalímo (Saila deva) enthroned in his stead.
- 1035 Daipál, governor of Sonpat, forty miles from Dihlí on road to Láhore; in Sewálík, Rám ray, another chief.
- 1043 Daipál, king of Dihlí, with other rajas, retake Hansi, Tanesvar, etc., from Modood Ghiznavi.
- 1118 Balin, of Láhore; built Nágore in Sewálík; upset by Bairam Sháh.
- 1192 Pitter Rai of Ajmír, } defeated Muhammad Ghori.
- Candi (Cháwand) Rai of Dihlí }
- 1193 Hindú confederacy of 150 rajas defeated by ditto.
- Jay Chand, of Kanauj, defeated.
- Hemraj, of Ajmír, expelled Pithiray's son.
- Bhimdeva, of Gujarát; Goorkhas noticed, under Muhammed.
- 1215 Sahir deva of Narvar (Patán) defeated by Mahmud II.
- Uday-sa, tributary rája of Jálwár.
- 1231 Rája Dewbal, of Gwalior, reduced.
- 1246 Dilleki and Milleki rajas, of Kalinjar.
- 1253 Diepal, rája of Sitnur; raised rebellion in Sind.

<sup>1</sup> [Dow's English text says, 'The Hindoos retain such a respect for the memory of Biker-Majit, that most of them to this day reckon their time from his death, which happened in the 89th year of the Christian era,' vol. i. p. 11. Ferishtah himself, in the Persian original, indicates this date as corresponding (at the time he was writing, A.H. 1015,) with the Hindú reckoning of 1663.]

<sup>2</sup> Wilford names this king Sadápála, or Sadasvápála. 'As. Res.', vol. ix. p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> [See extracts from Albiráni, vol. i., p. 314.]

- 1291 Rája of Rintinpur besieged by Feroz.  
 1294 Rámdeo, rája of Deogir (Daulatábád).  
 — Shankaldeo, his son, married Dewal devi, daughter of Ray Karan, of Nehrwala, Gujarát; his wife, Kamlá devi. Bhima deo, rája of Rintimbhore.  
 1299 Hambar deo (Hamira), his son, besieged by A'la.  
 1304 Koka, rája of Málwá, overcome by Ein ul mulk.  
 1308 Nehr Deo, of Jálwar, surrendered to ditto.  
 Ray Ratan Sen, of Chitor, escaped from A'la's camp.  
 — his nephew confirmed in that principality.  
 Sital deo, rája of Sewana.  
 1309 Laddar deo, rája of Warangol, made tributary.  
 Bilal deo, of Karnáta, resists Tughlak 1338, founds Vijayanagar.  
 1318 Harpál deo, son-in-law of Rám deo, flayed.  
 1340 Nag nak, Koly chief of Kondhana.—Prem Ray, of Gujarát.  
 1347 Man deo, rája of Buglana.—Krishna ray of Vijayanagar.  
 1389 Ray Sarvar, rayrayan, of Behar.—Vinaek ray of Telingana.  
 1391 Narsinh Bhan of Gwalior, Rahtor chief.—Narsinh of Kehrla.  
 1402 Brahma deo, son of ditto, repelled Timúr at Gwalior.  
 1405 Ray Davood, and Hubboo of Toolumba.  
 1425 Ray Bheem of Jummo.—Deva ray, of Vijayanagar.  
 1446 Pertáb Sinh of Patíála and Kampila, 1452 Narsinh, his son.  
 1452 Prithivy ráy and Karan ráy.—Bhim ráj of Condapilly.  
 1471 Amber ray and Mangal ray of Orissa, 1470.  
 1478 — Gwalior rája resisted Lodi.  
 — Sangat Sinh, expelled from Etáwa.—Siva ray of Vijayanagar.  
 1490 Mán Sinh, of Gwalior, receives dress of honor.  
 1518 Vikramajit, his son, killed by Bábar, 1526, and Gwalior reduced after 100 years' independence.  
 1491 Saha deo, rája of Katra.  
 1493 Balbhadra ráy, of Kootumba, near Chunar. Narsinh ray, his son.  
 Saliváhana, rája of Panná.  
 1501 Vinaik deo, of Dholpoor.  
 1528 Mán Sinh, rája of Gwalior.  
 1533 Rana Sanka, of Chitor (Sangráma Sinh)—finally reduced by Akbar, 1570.  
 Rawel deo of Bagur. Medny rája of Chandery.  
 Manik chand and others killed.  
 1540 Maldeo, of Nágore and Ajmír, most powerful rája.  
 1542 Harkrishna ráy, of Rotás—killed by Shir Sháh.  
 1554 Ramchandra, rája of Panná and Kalinjar.  
 1556 Hemoo usurps the throne of Dihlí—battle of Pánipat.  
 — Ram-Sa, a descendant of Mán Sinh.  
 — Jugmul and Deví Dás, rájas of Márwár, yield to Akbar.  
 1567 Ujaya Sinha, of Udipur—Surjan ráy of Rintimbhore.  
 1570 Chandra Sén, son of Maldeo of Ajmír.  
 1572 Ráy Sinh, appointed to Jodhpur by Akbar.  
 1586 — his daughter married to Selim Mirza.

TABLE II.—*Máhratta Governments.*<sup>1</sup>

## I.—FAMILY OF SIVAJÍ, RÁJAS OF SATTARA.

- 1644 Shahjí, a Subáhdár of the Karnatic under Aurangzib, bestows jágirs on his sons—Tanjore on Ekojí—dies 1664.  
 1647 Sivájí, his son, commences predatory expeditions.  
 1664 — plunders Surát, and assumes title of rája.

<sup>1</sup> The origin of Sivají is traced in the chronicles of Mewár to Ajaya Sinh rana of Chitor, 1300 (T. I. 269), thus: Ajayasi, Sujunsi, Duleepji, Seoji, Bhoraji, Deoraj, Oogursén, Maholji, Kharlooji, Junkoji, Suttooji, Sambaji, Sivaji, Sambaji, Rámrája, usurpation of the Peshwás.

- 1669 Siváji establishes a military government—dies 1680, April.  
 1680 Rája Rám, set up by minister—imprisoned at Raigarh.  
 — Sambhaji, assumed the sovereignty—executed at Tulapur, August, 1689.  
 Santa, usurped power—murdered 1698.  
 1689 Rája Rám, again proclaimed at Sattara, died 1700.  
 1700 Tará Bai, his wife, assumed regency—incursions into Behár.  
 1707 Siváji II., son of Sambha, nicknamed Shao-ji, released on Aurangzib's death,  
 and crowned at Sattara, March 1708—goes mad.  
 1749 Rám Rája, nominal successor—power resting with minister or Peshwa.  
 1818 Pertáb Síva, or Sinh, re-instated at Sattara by British, April 11.

## II.—HEREDITARY PESHWÁS OF PÚNÁ.

- 1740 Bálaji Baji Rao, succeeds his father—dies after battle of Pánipat.  
 1761 Mádhaji Rao Belál, second son, invested as nominal Peshwá, uncle Raghu-  
 náth, regent. Nána Farnavis, his kárkun—dies November 1771.  
 1772 Naráyan Rao, youngest son of Bálaji, murdered.  
 — Raghunáth Rao (Ragoba), usurped.  
 1774 Mádhoroa Naráyan, posthumous son of Naráyan (Nána F. in power), com-  
 mitted suicide 1795.  
 1796 Baji Rao, proclaims himself; is taken by Sindia.  
 — Chinnáji, furtively invested at Puna, 26th May.  
 — Baji Rao, publicly proclaimed, 4th December.  
 1818 — surrenders to and pensioned by the English, 3rd June.

## III.—BHÚNSLA RÁJAS OF NÁGFUR.

- 1734 Raghúji Bhúnsla, nominated 'Séna Sáhib Subá,' or general in Márhatta  
 confederacy.  
 1750 — received sunud of Berár from Peshwá, dies 1753.  
 1753 Januji, eldest son, adopted his nephew.  
 1772 Raghují, eldest son of Madhoji, removed by Madhorao in favour of  
 1774 Sabaji (his uncle), killed in action soon after by Mudaji.  
 1816 Parsáji, succeeded his father, Raghují; an idiot; strangled by  
 — Mádáji (Appa Sáhib), acknowledged by English; deposed 1817–18.  
 1818 May. Goozur, grandson of Raghují, seated on musnud by ditto.

## IV.—THE SINDIA FAMILY, FROM A VILLAGE NEAR SATARA, NOW GWALIOR RÁJAS.

- 1724 Ranuji Sindia, an officer in the Peshwá's army.  
 1750 Jyapa, succeeded to his father's jágir of half of Málwá, murdered 1759.  
 Dáttaji, second son of Ranuji, engaged in the Panjáb wars.  
 1769 Mahádaji, third, illegitimate, confirmed in jágir by Madhorao, died 1794.  
 1794 Doulut rao, his grand-nephew, adopted; fixed his camp at Gwalior, 1817.  
 1825 Baiza Báí, his widow, adopted Jankuji, and acted as regent.  
 1833 Jankuji, assumed the reins of government.

## V.—THE HOLKAR FAMILY.

- 1724 Mulhár Rao Holkar, a Sudra, an officer of note in the Peshwá's army.  
 1750 — obtained jágir in Málwá, died 1767.  
 1767 Málí Rao, grandson, succeeded under regency of  
 Ahilya Báí, his mother, but died soon after.  
 — Tukaji Holkar (no relation), appointed to command of troops.  
 1797 Jeswant Rao Holkar, illegitimate son, maintained predatory rule.  
 1805 — confirmed in jágir of Indore, etc., died insane.  
 1811 Tulsi Báí, widow, adopted his illegitimate child,  
 — Mulhár Rao Holkar; battle of Mehadpur, December, 1818  
 1834 Martand Rao, adopted son, dispossessed by  
 — Hari Holkar, present chief.

## VI.—GAIKWAR FAMILY—NOW REIGNING AT BARODA, GUJARÁT.

- 1720 Dammaji Gaikwár (Shamsher Behádúr), officer under Khandi Rao Holkar.  
 1731 Pilaji Gaikwar, nominated Séna Khas Khèl; murdered.



- 1732 Dammaji, son, occupied east of Gujarât, died 1768.  
 1768 Govind Rao, second son, succeeded; but eldest, Syaji, an idiot, supported by  
 1771 Fatih Sinh, youngest, who held real power at Baroda.  
 1790 Mannaji Rao, assumed charge of Syaji, as regent; died 1793.  
 1793 Govind Rao, made regent 19th December, died September, 1800.  
 1800 Ananda Rao, eldest son; disputes with Mulhâr and Kanhaji.  
 1805 ——— Treaty with the British Government.  
 ——— Fatih Sinh.

TABLE LII.—*Sikh Government of Lâhore.*

- A.D.  
 1419 Nanak, founder of the Sikh sect, born.  
 ——— Guru Angad, wrote some of the sacred books.  
 1552 Amara dâs, Khetri.  
 1574 Râm dâs, beautified Amritsir.  
 1581 Arjun Mal, compiled the 'Âdi Granth.'  
 1606 Har Govind, first warlike leader.  
 1644 Har Ray, his grandson.  
 1661 Har Krishna, died at Dihli.  
 1664 Tegh Behâdur, put to death by Moslems.  
 1675 Guru Govind, remodelled the Sikh Government.  
 1708 Bandu, last of the succession of Gurus; put to death by Aurangzib.  
 ——— Predatory bands; internal feuds.  
 ——— Twelve misals or tribes of Sikhs captured Lâhore and occupied Panjâb.  
 ——— Charat Sinh, of Sukâlpaka misal, died 1774.  
 1774 Maha Sinh, his son, extended his rule; died 1792.  
 1792 ——— his wife, regent, with Lakpat Sinh minister.  
 1805 Ranjit Sinh (born 1780), established Lâhore independency.

BUDDHIST GENEALOGIES.

TABLE LIII.—*Chinese and Japanese Chronology.*

(From M. Klaproth's translation, Paris, 1833).

The Japanese names are distinguished by the letter J.

- |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| <p>Ta chen seng wang.<br/>                 I szu ma wang.<br/>                 Yeon lo tho wang.<br/>                 Kto lo wang.<br/>                 Ni feon lo wang.<br/>                 Szu tsu kie wang (Sans. Sinbahâna-kabâna).<br/>                 Tsing fan wang, Suddodana (and three brothers, Sans., Suklodana Amiti-dana, and Dhotodana).</p> | } | <p>Genealogy of Sâkya, according to the Bauddha works of the Chinese.</p> |
|---|---|---|
- B.C. 1027 Si tho to, nan tho, Chykie (Sâkya muni), born.  
 999 Sâkya becomes eminent in eighth year of Ajatasvara of Magadha.  
 949 Sâkya or Buddha (Fo), attains nirvâna (dies).  
 868 Anan (Ananda), second patriarch, dies.  
 833 A yu wang (J., A ik ô) (Sans., Asoka), dies.  
 806 Changna ho sieou, third patriarch, dies.  
 741 Yeou po kiu to (J., Ou fa kik ta), fourth patriarch, dies.  
 692 Thi to kia (J., Dei ta ka), fifth patriarch, dies at Mathurâ.  
 687 Weng chu, disciple of Sâriputra.  
 660 Commencement of Japanese monarchy.  
 637 Mi chu kia (J., Mi sia ka), sixth patriarch of Magadha, dies.  
 604 Lao tan (J., Rô tan), founder of Tao tsu sect in China, dies.  
 590 Pho siu mi (J., Fâ siu mi), seventh patriarch, dies in N. India.  
 551 Confucius, born in the kingdom of Lore.  
 550 500 arhans of Kashmîr (ka sits mi ra) preach the law.  
 535 Foe tho nan ti (J., Boudz da nan dai) eighth patriarch (Sans., Boudhâ-nandi) of Canara, dies.

- 487 Fou tho mi to (Sans., Boudhāmīta), ninth patriarch, dies.  
 442 Hie, tenth patriarch of Central India, dies.  
 383 Fo na ye che, eleventh patriarch of Palibothra, dies.  
 327 Ma ming ta su, twelfth patriarch (Sans., Asvagocha) of Benares, dies.  
 264 Kia pi mo lo, thirteenth patriarch of West India, dies.

## COMMENCEMENT OF THE TSIN DYNASTY OF CHINA.

- 212 Loung chou, fourteenth patriarch of Central India, dies.  
 161 Kia na chi pho, fifteenth patriarch of West India.  
 130 Ko li nan tho, makes an image of Mi le in India.  
 113 Lo hoei lo to, sixteenth patriarch of Kapila, dies.  
 74 Sang kia nan thi, seventeenth patriarch, born at Chi lo fa, dies.  
 13 Kia ye che to, of Ma ti, eighteenth patriarch, dies.  
 2 King hian fetches Buddhist scriptures from the kingdom of Yue ti.  
 A.D. 221 Kieu mo lo to, of Ferghāna, nineteenth patriarch, dies.  
 24-57 Hindús carry Buddhist religion into Java.  
 65 Buddhism introduced at the Court of Ming ti, Emperor of China.  
 74 Tu ye to, twentieth patriarch of India, dies.  
 117 Pho sieou phan theou, twenty-first patriarch, dies.  
 165 Mo nou lo, of Nati, twenty-second patriarch, dies.  
 209 Ho le na, of Ferghāna, twenty-third patriarch, dies.  
 259 Suu tsu pi khieu, of Magadha, twenty-fourth patriarch, dies.  
 266-313 The 'Prajña Paramita' translated into Chinese.  
 300 Won lo tehhu, of Khotan, translates the Fang kouang king.  
 325 Pho che su to, of Ki pin or Cabul, twenty-fifth patriarch, dies.  
 372 Introduction of Buddhism into Kaoli (Corea).  
 382 Kieon mo lo chy, settles in China and translates 'Mahā Prajñā.'  
 384 Introduction of Buddhism into Pe tsi (in Corea).  
 388 Pou jou my to, twenty-sixth patriarch of India, dies.  
 399 Chy fa hian visits India to study.  
 407 Introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, under Hlato tori.  
 414 Chy fa hian returns to Chang ngan.  
 429 Death of Foe fou pha tho lo, of Kapila vāstu, who translated the Houyan king in China.  
 457 Pan jo to lo (Prajñā dhara) of S. E. India, twenty-seventh patriarch, dies.  
 499 Pou thi ta ma (Bodhi dharmā), twenty-eighth patriarch of N. India, settles in China as first patriarch of that country, dies in 508.  
 506 Sang kia pho lo, of Fou nan, made chief of Chinese Buddhist temples by the Emperor Siuan ven ti; dies in 525.  
 528 Introduction of Buddhism into Sin lo or Sinra (in Corea).  
 552 Ditto into Japan.  
 592 Death of Hoci kho ta su, second patriarch of China.  
 606 Seng lin ta su, third patriarch, dies.  
 629-645 Yuan houang, samanean of the Chhin family, travels in India and translates many books.  
 632 General introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, under Srong dbzang gampo.  
 651 Death of Tao tin ta su, fourth patriarch of China.  
 675 Death of Houng jin ta su, fifth patriarch of China.  
 676 Ti pho ho lo, priest of Magadha, visits China and translates books.  
 699 Chy ehha nan tho, of Cabul, ditto, dies in 710.  
 713 Hoci neng ta su, last patriarch of China, dies.  
 732 Pou koung, a brahman sramana, visits China and translates the questions of Manju Sri (Kin kang ting king).  
 814 (about) Phan jo, priest of Cabul, settles in China and translates the 'Houa yan king.'  
 854 Phan jo, made Fa pao ta su, grand master of the treasure of religion.

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese MS. of the 'Bibliothèque du Roi' ends here.—M. Klaproth derives the continuation from other Chinese and Japanese authors.

TABLE LIV.—*Buddhist Chronology of Tibet.*

From the 'Vaidúrya Karpo,' written at Illassa in the year A.D. 1686. Translated in Csoma's 'Tibetan Grammar,' p. 181.

B.C.	902	Birth of Shakya (Chomdándás).
	882	The Kála Chakra system taught by him; his death.
	881	The 'Mula Tantra' compiled at Shambhala.
	879	Death of Zla bzang, king and author of ditto.
	878	Padma Sambhava born.
	838	Manju Ghosha born in China.
	432	Nágarjuna born.
	278	Rigs-dan-grags-pa, ascended the throne of Shambhala.
A.D.	252	Nyan-tsan, king of Tibet (Thothori), died 371.
	618	Doctrine of 'endeavouring perfection' upheld.
	622	Nam-gyal, king of Shambhala; epoch of 403 years, called Mekha gya-tso, commenced.
	627	Srong-tsan gam-bo born.
	639	Kong-cho, a Chinese princess, arrived in Tibet.
	661	Phrul-snang college, or Vihar, built at Lhassa.
	728	Khri strong, king of Tibet.
	747	Padma Sambhava arrived in Tibet; returned to India, 802.
	804	A new astronomical period commenced.
	861	Langtarma born; abolished Buddhism, 899.
	965	Kála Chakra system introduced into India.
	971	Restoration of Buddhism.
	980	Atisha born.
	1002	Brom-ton, the teacher, born.
	1015	Sol-nag thang monastery founded.
	1024	Mekha gya-tsho era terminated.
	1025	Kála Chakra, or Jovian cycle, established in Tibet.
	1038	Milaraspa born.
	1052	Lang rithang pa born.
	1055	Ragreng college founded.
	1057	Lo-dang shesrab, the translator.
	1071	Monasteries of Sangphu and Sákya founded.
	1077	Tagpo-lha-je born.
	1079	Grathang monastery founded.
	1082	Ras-ehhung pa born.
	1090	Kun-gah-nying-po, the great Sákya Lama born; died 1156.
	1108	Phag-mo-grub-pa born.
	1118	Period of 'deep meditation' commenced.
	1121	Yubrag pa born.
	1125	Shákya Sri born.
	1134	Nyang, the prince, born.
	1156	The Thet monastery founded.
	1173	The Tshal monastery founded.
	1177	The Bri-gung monastery founded.
	1178	The Stag-lung ditto.
	1180	The great Sákya pandit born.
	1185	Gung-tang monastery founded.
	1202	Shákya Sri, of Kashmir, arrived in Tibet.
	1210	Ter-ton Lama born.
	1211	The Lang-tang monastery founded.
	1223	The Byang and Dor ditto.
	1233	Gro gon phagspa born, mastered Tibet 1251
	1253	The Chhos-lung monastery founded.
	1288	Bu-ton born.
	1300	Ta-si-byang chhub-gyal tshan born.
	1347	Theg-chen chhos gyal born; became Tari (king) 1347.
	1347	Thes-thang monastery founded.

- A.D. 1355 Incarnation of Tsong-khapa; died 1417.  
 1383 Thang-tong-gyal-po born.  
 1389 Ge-dun-grub-pa born.  
 1403 Shes-rab, the great interpreter, born.  
 1407 Yearly confession at Lhasa established by ditto.  
 1414 Karma pa born; Bras-pungs Vihâr founded.  
 1417 The Sera monastery founded.  
 1419 The Sang-nags-khar ditto.  
 1421 Dus-zhabs-nor-zang-gya-tsho born.  
 1427 The Nor monastery founded by the Sa-skyas.  
 1429 Ge-legs pal-dan succeeded to the Gal-dan chair.  
 1433 The Nalenda monastery was founded.  
 1435 The Chhab-do-byams-gling ditto.  
 1436 Zna-lu-legs-pa succeeded at Gal-dan.  
 1437 The Pal-khor chaitya built.  
 1439 Lotsava chhos-kyong-zang-pa born.  
 1445 The 'Pod-kar hal lung,' work on Lunations, etc., written.  
 1447 The Bras-yul monastery founded.  
 1448 Logros succeeded at Gal-dan.  
 1461 Baso ditto.  
 1462 The Gong-kar Vihâr founded.  
 1467 The Ser-dog-ghan ditto.  
 1470 The Byams-gling ditto.  
 1471 Logros-tan-pa succeeded at Gah-dan; died 1473.  
 1474 Incarnation of Gé-dun gya-tsho; died 1540.  
 1476 The Ta-nag thub stan-nam gyal monastery founded.  
 1478 Mon-lam-pal succeeded at Gah-dan.  
 1500 Tshar chhen born.  
 1507 The Chhos-khor monastery founded.  
 1535 Khas grub pal gyi sengé born.  
 1541 Snod-nams gya-tsho born; died 1586.  
 1575 ————— invited by Althun khân, a Mongol prince.  
 1576 ————— built the Chhos-khor-ling monastery.  
 1587 Yon-tan gya-tsho born; died 1614.  
 1615 Nag-vang lo zang gya-tsho born.  
 1618 Period of 'morality' commences.  
 1625 Rigs-dan sengé, succeeds at Gah-dan.  
 1639 Stan dsin chhos gyal, king of Tibet.  
 1640 Nag vang lo zang conquered whole of Tibet.  
 1643 ————— founded the Potala (residence).  
 1650 ————— visited China.  
 1686 This Chronology compiled at Lhasa.

TABLE LV.—*Kings of Tibet, to the subdivision of the country in the tenth century.*

(From the *Depter non po*, or ancient Records of Zhonnu Pâl, in Tsang, or middle Tibet; extracted and translated by M. A. Csoma Körösi.)

<i>g</i> Nyah khri tsanpo—(about two hundred and fifty years B.C.)	Grigum tsanpo.
Khri tsanpo } These two names may de-	Spudé gung rgyel.
hod'dé, } sign the same person,	Esho legs.
Mukhri tsan- } according to different	Désho legs.
po. } authorities.	Thiso legs.
Dingkhri tsanpo.	Guru legs.
So khri tsanpo.	hGrong zhi legs.
Mér khri tsanpo.	Isho legs.
<i>g</i> Dags khri tsanpo.	Za nam za dé.
Sribs khri tsanpo.	Idé h'dul-nas gzhung tsan.
	Sé rñol nam dé.

Sé rñolpo ldé.  
 ldé rñol nam.  
 ldé rñolpo.  
 ldé rgyelpo.  
 ldé Srin tsan.  
 rGyel tori long tsan.  
 Khri tsan, or Khri dGah.  
 dPungs tsan.  
 Khri thohi rjes grogs tsan.  
 Lha Thothori gNyan tsan—(five hundred  
 years after the first king), A.D. 407, see  
 Chinese list.  
 Khri gNyan gzugs tsan.  
 hGro gNyan ldem-bu.  
 Stagri gNyan gzigs.  
 gNam ri srong tsan.  
 Srong tsan sgampo—born A.D. 627.  
 Gung srong gung tsan—(died before his  
 father).  
 Mang srong mang tsan—(son of Srong  
 tsan, etc.)

hDus sang mangpo rjé.  
 hLang nam tsrunggi rgyelpo.  
 Khri ldé gtsug brtan mäs ats'hogs.  
 Khri srong ldé tsan—(born A.D. 726.)  
 Muné tsanpo.  
 Khri ldé srong tsan (or Mutig tsanpo.)  
 Ralpa chen.  
 Khri hum tsan dpal. (or hLangdar ma?)  
 A.D. 900.  
 gNam ldé hod srungs—(in the 10th cen-  
 tury; anarchy.)  
 dPal hKhor tsan—(division of Tibet  
 into several small principalities.)  
 hKra shis brtségs dpal.  
 Skyid ldé Nyima ngon.  
 dPalgyi ngon—(occupied Maryul or La-  
 dags.)  
 hKra shis ldé ngon—(took possession of  
 Spurang.)  
 ldé gtsug ngon.

Then follow the names of some kings or princes who reigned in Gugé and Spurang (or, in general, in Nári), above Garhwal and Kamaon, commencing with the tenth century. At Lé in Ladags may be found the names of the kings that successively reigned in that principality; but I could not procure them. There is great confusion in the series of the princes that reigned in Nári, and their enumeration would be of little interest. There are in Tibet several works containing lists of the descendants of Nyá khri tsanpo, the first king, whom they derive from the Litsabyi race, in India; but in different authors the orthography sometimes varies, and even the whole name is differently stated. This, which I now communicate, has been taken from the Dep-ter hon-po, 'Ancient records,' written by Zhonnu päl, a learned religious person, who lived some centuries ago, and belonged to the Sa-skya religious sect, in gTsang, in Middle Tibet.—A. C.

TABLE LVI.—*Burmese Chronological Table, translated in Crawford's Embassy.*

B.C.	A.D.	
691		The grand epoch established by An-ja-na, the grandfather of Gautama.
628		Gautama born.
608		Gautama began to reign.
589		Gautama obtained deification (became a Buddha).
551		Ajatasat began to reign.
544		Gautama died and obtained nib-b'han (annihilation).
543	1	The sacred epoch established by king Ajatasat.
520	24	His son, U-da-ya-bad-da, began to reign.
496	48	His son, Muny-da, and after him, his son, Na-ga-da-sa.
485	59	Maha Sam-b'ha-wa.
478	66	His younger brother, Chula Sam-b'ha-wa, began to reign.
472	72	Su-sa-na-ga, in Maj-ji-ma (Central India).
453	91	His son, Ka-la-san-ka, in Maj-ji-ma.
443	101	Twat-ta-paong, the founder of Sa-re-k'het-ta-ra (or Ras-se Myo, vulgarly called Prome).
426	118	His son, Bat-la-se-na, in Maj-ji-ma.
404	140	Nan-da began to reign, and was followed by eight kings of the same name, in Maj-ji-ma.
392	162	Chan-ta-kut-ta, in Maj-ji-ma (Chandragupta).

B.C.	S.E.	
376	168	His son, Bin-tu-sa-ra, in Maj-ji-ma.
373	171	His son, Twat-ta-ram, in Prome.
351	193	His son, Ram-b'haong, in Prome.
330	214	His son, D'ham-ma-sau-ka, in Maj-ji-ma.
326	218	D'ham-ma-sau-ka received the sacred affusion (Ab'hi-se-sa).
320	224	Prince Ma-hin-d'ha became a priest (Rahan), and his sister, Princess San-g'ha-mit-ta, a priestess (Rahan).
307	237	The period of the third rehearsal of the communications of Gautama. The priest Ma-hin-d'ha went on a religious mission to Si-ho (Ceylon).
301	243	Ra-han-man, son of D'ham-ma-sau-ka, began to reign in Prome.
289	255	Death of D'ham-ma-sau-ka (literally, 'his going to heaven'):
251	293	His son or grandson, Kak-k'han, began to reign in Prome.
219	325	His son, Khan-laong, in Prome.
182	362	His son, Lak-k'hong, in Prome.
148	396	His son, Si-k'han, in Prome.
118	426	His son, Si-ri-rak, in Prome.
111	436	Ta-pa-mang, in Prome.
94	450	The communications of Gautama reduced to writing in Ceylon.
60	484	Ta-pa-man's son, Pi-ram, in Prome.
39	505	Ram-mak-k'ha in Prome, and his son.
A.D.		
21	565	Ram-sin-ga, in Prome, and his son.
54	568	His son, Ram-mun-cha-lin-da, in Prome.
39	583	His brother, Be-rin-da, in Prome.
54	598	His son, Mun-ja, in Prome.
56	600	His son, Pu-nyan-nya, in Prome.
59	603	His brother, Sa-k'ha, in Prome.
62	606	Sa-k'hi, in Prome.
65	609	His younger brother, Kan-un, in Prome.
66	610	His elder brother, Kan-tak, in Prome.
69	613	His elder brother, Bin-ja, in Prome.
73	617	His son, Su-mun-dri, in Prome.
P.E.		
76	1	The Prome epoch, established by king Su-mun-dri.
80	2	His son, Ati-tra, in Prome.
83	5	His brother, Su-panya-na-ga-ra-chin-na, in Prome.
94	16	Death of king Su-panya-na-ga-ra-chin-na.
107	29	Sa-mud-da-raj began to reign in Pagan.
152	74	Ras-se-kyaong, in Pagan.
167	89	Phru-chau-ti, in Pagan.
242	164	His son, T'himany-rany, in Pagan.
299	221	His son, Rang-mang-pok, in Pagan.
324	246	His son, Pok-san-lany, in Pagan.
386	308	Bud-d'ha-gau-sa went to Ceylon.
387	309	Pok-sang-lany's son, Kyaong-du-rach, began to reign.
412	334	His son, Sany-t'han.
469	391	Muk-k'ha-man and Su-rai.
494	416	Sany-t'han's great grandson, Ra-mwan-mya.
516	438	Sok-ton.
523	445	His son, Sang-lang-kyaung-ngai.
532	454	His brother, Sang-lang-pok.
547	469	His brother, K'han-laong.
557	579	His brother, K'han-lap.
569	491	His son, T'hwan-t'hok.
582	504	His son, T'hwan-prach.
498	520	His son, T'hwan-khyach.
614	535	Pup-pa-chau-ra-han.
V.N.		
639	1	The present vulgar epoch established by Pup-pa-chau-ra-han.
640	2	His son-in-law, Shwo-bun-si, succeeded.
652	14	His brother, Pis-sun.

A.D.	V.E.	
660	22	His son, Pit-taung.
710	72	His brother, Na-k'hwe.
716	78	Myang-ka-kywe.
726	88	Sing-ga.
734	96	Sing-k'hwan.
744	106	His son, Shwe-laung.
753	115	His son, T'he-wan-twang.
762	124	His son, Shwe-mauk.
766	128	His son, Chau-k'hang-nach.
785	147	His brother, T'hwan-iwat.
829	191	His son, K'hai-lu.
846	208	His brother, Pyany-bya.
864	226	His son, Tan-nak.
889	251	Sin-chwan, and his brother, Cha-le-nga-kwe.
914	276	His son, Sing-g'ho.
930	292	Taung-su-kri (the mountain chief)
945	307	Kwan-chau Kraung-pru.
966	328	His son, Kraung-cho.
972	334	His brother, Chuck-ka-té.
997	359	Kraung-p'haus'son Nau-ra-t'ha-chau.
1030	392	His son, Chau-lu.
1056	418	Kyan-chach-sa.
1081	443	His grandson, Alaun-chany-su.
1151	513	His son, Ku-la-kyá.
1154	516	His son, Mang-rai-na-ra-sung-ga.
1157	519	His brother, Na-ra-pa-ti-chany-su.
1190	552	His son, Je-ya-sing-ga, or Nan-taung-mya-mang.
1212	574	His son, Kya-chwa.
1227	589	His son, Uch-cha-na.
1233	595	His brother, Mang-k'hen-k'hye.
1277	639	His son, Kyany-chwa.
1291	653	His son, Chau-nach.
1300	662	Ta-chi-shang-si-ha-su, in Panya.
1313	675	His son, Chau-mwan-nach, in Panya.
1322	684	His son, Uch-cha-na. This year Asang-k'ha-ra-chau-rwan founded Chit-kaing, and began to reign.
1330	692	His elder brother, Ta-ra-bya-kri, in Chit-kaing Sagaing.
1342	704	His younger brother, Na-chi-shang-kyany-chwa, in Chit-kaing.
1351	713	His son, Kyany-chwa, in Chit-kaing.
1356	718	Chau-mwan-nach died, and Pagan was destroyed.
1362	723	Kyany-chwa's brother, Mau-pa-na-ra-su, in Chit-kaing.
1364	726	His elder brother, Uch-cha-na-praung, in Chit-kaing. This year Sa-to-mang-bya founded Angwa (Ava), and began to reign; Chit-kaing and Panya were destroyed.
1377	739	His father-in-law, Many-kri-chwa, in Ava.
1401	763	His son, Ta-ra-bya-kri, in Ava, succeeded the same year by Mang-kaung the First.
1422	784	His son, Chany-pru-shang-si-ha-su, in Ava.
1425	787	His son, Many-P'ha-gray, in Ava, succeeded the same year by Ka-le-kye-ngo.
1426	788	Mo-n'hany-mang-ta-ra, in Ava.
1439	801	His son, Mang-rai-kyany-chwa, in Ava.
1442	804	His brother, Na-ra-pa-ti-kri, in Ava.
1468	830	His son, Mang-k'haung the Second, in Ava.
1501	863	His son, Shwe-nan-kyany-shang, in Ava (proper name, Na-ra-pa-ti.)
1526	888	Mo-n'hany-so-hau-pwa, in Ava.
1541	903	Un-b'haung-chan-b'hwa, in Ava.
1546	908	His son, Mo-bya-na-ra-pa-ti, in Ava.
1551	913	Cha-kong-chany-su-kyay-taung, or Na-ra-pa-ti-gan, in Ava.
1554	916	Sa-to-mang-chau, in Ava.

A.D.	V.E.	
1565	927	Prany-chun-mang-rai-kyany-chwa, in Ava.
1597	959	Nyaung-ram-man-kri, in Ava.
1605	967	His son, Anauk-pak-lwan-mang-ta-ra-kri, in Ava.
1629	990	Sa-lwan in Ava.
1648	1010	His son, Na-dat-da-ya-ka, in Ava.
1661	1023	His brother, Prung-mang, in Ava.
1672	1034	His son, Na-ra-wara, in Ava; succeeded the same year Mang-rai-kyany-tang, grandson of Sa-lwan.
1698	1060	His son, Man-aung-ra-da-nga-da-ya-ka, in Ava.
1714	1076	His son, Chang-p'hru-shang, in Ava.
1733	1095	His son, K'haung-thit, carried captive to Han-sa-wati.
1752	1114	Alaung-b'hu-ra (Alompra) began to reign at Mut-cho-bo (Monchabo).
1760	1122	His son, U-pa-ra-ja, at Chit-kaing.
1763	1125	His brother, Chany-p'hru-shang (Sembuen), at Ava.
1776	1138	His son, Chany-ku-cha, at Ava.
1781	1143	His cousin, Paung-ka-cha, commonly called Maung-mang, son of U-pa-ra-ja, at Ava; succeeded the same year by his uncle, Pa-dun-mang, or Man-ta-ra-kri, son of A-laung-b'hu-ra, and founder of A-ma-ra-pu-ra.
1819	1181	His present Majesty, grandson of Pa-dun-mang, ascended the throne at A-ma-ra-pu-ra.
1822	1184	Ava rebuilt, and made the capital.

TABLE LVII.—*Chiefs of Labong and Zimmay.*—(Northern Laos of Europeans; Yeun Shan of the Burmese.)

From the Native Records consulted by Dr. D. Richardson, 1834. MS.

A.D.	S.E.	Bud.
576	1118	Wathoo daywa (Vasudeva) and Taka danda, founded Labong.
578	1120	Placed Vamá on the throne (or Zamma devi), daughter of the king of Chandapur, widow of Cambodia rája.
		35 Kings, or 'Lords of the White Elephant.'
		Aditza-woon-tha built the Pagoda.
		19 kings to
	V.E.	Bénaya men yea (in Burmese, Dolana).
1289	651	Benya tso men yea, changed the capital; thrice married into Pegu family.
1294	656	Benya—founded Zimmay.
1331	693	Nga then patchoon, his son.
1333	695	No tchoon ta yung.
1334	696	Na tchoon tareung.
1336	698	Ngathempoo.
1345	707	Tso kanprú.
1347	709	Tso boa you.
1369	731	Gooná.
1377	739	Gnathén numa.
1380	742	Thambi.
1420	782	Tso Benya.
1455	817	Tso neat.
1463	825	Benya yothée.
1503	865	Tso myn ar.
1537	899	Benya tsay.
1542	904	Tso myné.
1544	906	Zalapaba, his daughter, called there tha Dama mahadevi.
1558	920	Len bue mya shee, king of Pegu, took the town.
		His son, Narata 'tso.
1628	990	Ladong family restored.
1630	992	Thadau dama yaza of Pegu regained it.



A.D.	V.R.	
1763	1125	Nso oung recovered his independence.
		Lenbu Sheen, son of Alompra of Ava, took it.
1774	1136	Benya sa Ban rebelled, threw off Burmese yoke, and joined Bankok allegiance.
1778	1146	Chou chee weet, present king.

TABLE LVIII.—*Sovereigns of Ceylon.*

From the 'Ceylon Almanack,' the Honorable George Turnour's Epitome.

B.C.	Names.	Relationship of each succeeding sovereign.
543	Wejaya (Vijaya) .....	The founder of the Wejayan dynasty.
505	Oopatissa I. ....	Minister; regent.
504	Panduwaasa .....	Paternal nephew of Wejaya.
474	Abhaya .....	Son of Panduwaasa; dethroned.
454	Interregnum.	
437	Pandukaabhaya (capital Anuradh- pura).....	Maternal grandson of Panduwaasa.
367	Mootaseewa .....	Paternal grandson.
307	Devenipeatissa.....	Second son.
267	Oottiya .....	Fourth son of Mootaseewa.
257	Maha-seewa .....	Fifth ditto.
247	Suratissa .....	Sixth ditto; put to death.
237	Sena and Goottika .....	Foreign usurpers; put to death.
215	Asela .....	Ninth son of Mootaseewa; deposed.
205	Elaala .....	Foreign usurper; killed in battle.
161	Dootogaimoonoo .....	Son of Kaawantissa.
137	Saidaitissa .....	Brother.
119	Toohl or Thullathanaka .....	Younger son; deposed.
119	Laiminitissa I. or Lajjetissa .....	Elder brother.
109	Kaloonna or Khallaata Naaga .....	Brother; put to death.
104	Walagambahoo I. or Wattagaamini	Brother; deposed.
103	Pulahattha (usurpers) .....	
100	Baayila .....	14. 7—Foreign usurpers; successively deposed and put to death.
98	Panaymaaraa .....	
91	Peliyamaaraa .....	
90	Daathiya .....	
83	Walagambahoo I. ....	Reconquered the kingdom.
76	Mahadailitissa or Mahachoola .....	Son.
62	Choora Naaga .....	Son; put to death.
50	Kooda Tissa.....	Son; poisoned by his wife.
47	Anoola .....	Widow.
41	Makalantissa or Kallakanni Tessa...	Second son of Koodatissa.
19	Baatiyatissa I. or Baatikaabhaya ...	Son.
A.D.		
9	Mahadailiya Maana or Daathika ...	Brother.
21	Addagaimoono or Aamanda Gaamini	Son; put to death.
30	Kinilhirridailla, or Kanijaani Tissa...	Brother.
33	Kooda Abhaa or Choolaabhaya .....	Son.
34	Singhawallee or Seewalli .....	Sister; put to death.
35	Interregnum.	
38	Elloona, or Ila Naaga.....	Maternal nephew of Addagaimoono.
44	Sanda Moohoona, or Chanda Mukha Seewa .....	Son.
52	Yasa Siloo, or Yataalakattissa.....	Brother; put to death.
60	Subha .....	Usurper; put to death.
66	Wahapp, or Wasahba.....	Descendant of Laiminitissa.
110	Waknais, or Wanka Naasika .....	Son.
113	Gajaabahoo I. or Gaamini .....	Son.

A.D.	Names.	Relationship of each succeeding sovereign.
125	Mahaloomaana, or Mallaka Naaga...	Maternal cousin.
131	Baatiya Tissa II. or Bhaatika Tissa	Son.
155	Choola Tissa, or Kanittha Tissa ...	Brother.
173	Koohoonaa, or Choodda Naaga .....	Son; murdered.
183	Koodanaama or Kooda Naaga .....	Nephew; deposed.
184	Kooda Sirinaa, or Siri Naaga I.....	Brother-in-law.
209	Waiwahairatissa, or Wairatissa .....	Son; murdered.
231	Abha Sen, or Abha Tissa .....	Brother.
239	Siri Naaga II.....	Son.
241	Weja Indoo, or Wejaya II.....	Son; put to death.
242	Sangatissa I. ....	Descendant of Laiminitissa; poisoned.
246	Dahama Sirisanga Bo, or Sirisanga Bodhi I.....	Ditto; deposed.
248	Goloo Abhaya, Gotha Abhaya, or Meghawarna Abhaya .....	Ditto.
261	Makalan Detoo Tissa I. ....	Son.
275	Maha Sen.....	Brother.
302	Kitsiri Maiwan I. or Kirtissri, Meghawarna .....	Son.
330	Detoo Tissa II.....	Brother.
339	Bujas or Budha Daasa .....	Son.
368	Oopatissa II.....	Son.
410	Maha Naama .....	Brother.
432	Senghot or Sotthi Sena .....	Son; poisoned.
432	Laimini Tissa II., or Chatagaahaka	Descendant of Laimini Tissa.
433	Mitta Sena, or Karalsora .....	Not specified; put to death.
434	Paandu .....	} 24. 9—Foreign usurpers.
439	Paarinda Kooda .....	
455	Khudda Paarinda .....	
455	Daatthiya .....	
458	Pithiya .....	
459	Daasenkelleya, or Dhaatu Sena.....	Descendant of the original royal family; put to death.
477	Sigiri Kasoomboo, or Kaasypa I. ...	Son; committed suicide.
495	Moogallaana I. ....	Brother.
513	Koomaara Daas, or Koomaarau Dhaat Sena .....	Son; immolated himself.
522	Kirti Sena .....	Son; murdered.
531	Maidi Siwoo, or Siwaka .....	Maternal uncle; murdered.
531	Laimini Oopatissa III.....	Brother-in-law.
534	Ambaherra Salamaiwan, or Silaakaala. ....	Son-in-law.
547	Daapuloo I. or Daatthaapa Bhodoi...	Second son; committed suicide.
547	Dalamagan, or Moogallaana II. ...	Elder brother.
567	Kuda Kitsiri Maiwan I. or Kirtissri Meghawarna .....	Son; put to death.
586	Senewi, or Maha Naaga .....	Descendant of the Okaaka branch.
589	Aggrabodhi I. or Akbo .....	Maternal nephew.
623	Aggrabodhi II. or Soola Akbo .....	Son-in-law.
633	Sanghatissa .....	Brother; decapitated.
633	Boona Moogalan, or Laimini Bo-naaya .....	Usurper; put to death.
639	Abbasaggaheka, or Asiggaheka ...	Maternal grandson.
648	Siri Sangabo II. ....	Son; deposed.
648	Kaloona Detootissa, or Laimina Katooreya.....	[suicide. Descendant of Laimini Tissa; committed
649	Siri Sangabo II. ....	Restored, and again deposed.
665	Dalooopatissa I. or Dhatthopatissa	Laimini branch; killed in battle.
677	Paisooloo Kasombo, or Kaasaypa II.	Brother of Sirisangabo.
686	Dapuloo II. ....	Okaaka branch; deposed.

A.D.	Names.	Relationship of each succeeding sovereign.
693	Daloopeatiss II. or Hattha-Dattho-patissa .....	Son of Daloopeatissa I.
702	Paisooloo Siri Sanga Bo III. or Aggrabodhi .....	Brother.
718	Walpitti Wasidata, or Dantanaama	Okaaka branch.
720	Hoonnonara Riandalaor Hatthadatha .....	Original royal family; decapitated.
720	Mahalaipaanoo, or Maanawamma .....	Ditto.
726	Kaasiyappa III. or Kasoombo .....	Son.
729	Aggrabodhi III. or Akbo .....	Nephew.
769	Aggrabodhi IV. or Kuda Akbo .....	Son (capital Pollonnaroowa).
715	Mihindoo I. or Salamaiwan .....	Original royal family.
795	Dappoola II. ....	Son.
800	Mihindo II. or Dharmika-Seelaam-aiga .....	Son.
804	Aggrabodhi V. or Akbo .....	Brother.
815	Dappoola III. or Kuda Dappoola .....	Son.
831	Aggrabodhi VI. ....	Cousin.
838	Mitwella Sen, or Selaamaiga .....	Son.
858	Kaasiyappa IV. or Maaganyin Sena, or Mihindoo .....	Grandson.
891	Udaya I. ....	Brother.
926	Udaya II. ....	Son.
937	Kaasiyappa V. ....	Nephew and son-in-law.
954	Kaasiyappa VI. ....	Son-in-law.
964	Dappoola IV. ....	Son.
964	Dappoola V. ....	Not specified.
974	Udaya III. ....	Brother.
977	Sena II. ....	Not specified.
986	Udaya IV. ....	Ditto.
994	Sena III. ....	Ditto.
997	Mihindoo III. ....	Ditto.
1013	Sena IV. ....	Son; minor.
1023	Mihindoo IV. ....	Brother; carried captive to India during the Soleean conquest.
1059	Interregnum .....	Soleean vice-royalty.
1071	Wejayabahoo I. or Sirisangabo IV.	Grandson of Mihindoo IV.
1126	Jayabahoo I. ....	Brother.
	Wikramabahoo I. ....	
1127	Gajaabahoo II. ....	A disputed succession.
1153	Prakramabahoo I. ....	Son of Maanaabarana.
1186	Wijayabahoo II. ....	Nephew; murdered.
1187	Mihindoo V. or Kitsen Kisdas .....	Usurper; put to death.
1187	Kirti Nissanga .....	A prince of Kaalinga.
1196	Werabahoo .....	Son; put to death.
1196	Wikramabahoo II. ....	Brother of Kirti Nissanga, put to death.
1196	Chondakanga .....	Nephew; deposed.
1197	Leelawati .....	Widow of Prakramabahoo; deposed.
1200	Saahasamallawa .....	Okaaka branch; deposed.
1202	Kalyaanawati .....	Sister of Kirti Nissanga.
1208	Dharmaasooka .....	Not specified; a minor.
1209	Nayaanga or Nikanga .....	Minister; put to death.
1209	Leelawati .....	Restored, and again deposed.
1210	Lokaiswera I. ....	Usurper; deposed.
1211	Leelawati .....	Again restored, and deposed a third time.
1211	Pandi Prakrama Bahoo II. ....	Usurper; deposed.
1214	Maanga .....	Foreign usurper.
1235	Wejayabahoo III. (cap. Dambadinia)	Descendant of Sirisangabo I.
1266	Kalikaala Sahitya Sargwajaya, or Paandita Prakrama Bahoo III. ....	Son.

A.D.	Names.	Relationship of each succeeding sovereign.
1301	Bosat Wejaya Bahoo IV. ....	Son.
1303	Bhuwaneka Bahoo I. ....	Brother.
1314	Prakrama Bahoo III. ....	Son of Bosat Wejaya Bahoo.
1319	Bhuwaneka Bahoo II. (at Hasti-sailapura) .....	Son of Bhuwaneka Bahoo.
	Pandita Prakrama Bahoo IV. ....	} Not specified.
	Wanny Bhuwaneka Bahoo III. ...	
	Wejaya Bahoo V. ....	
	Bhuwaneka Bahoo IV. (at Gampala) .....	
1347	Prakrama Bahoo V. ....	} Cousin.
1371	Wikram Bahoo III. (at Kandy) ...	
1378	Bhuwaneka Bahoo V. ....	} Not specified.
1398	Wejaya Bahoo V. or Weera Bahoo	
1410	Siri Prakrama Bahoo VI. (at Kotta) .....	} Maternal grandson; put to death.
1462	Jayaa Bahoo II. ....	
1464	Bhuwaneka Bahoo VI. ....	Not specified.
1471	Pandita Prakrama Bahoo VII. ....	Adopted son.
1485	Wira Prakrama Bahoo VIII. ....	Brother of Bhuwaneka Bahoo VI.
1505	Dharma Prakrama Bahoo IX. ....	Son.
1527	Wejaya Bahoo VII. ....	Brother; murdered.
1534	Bhuwaneka Bahoo VII. ....	Son.
1542	Don Juan Dharmapaala .....	Grandson.
	A Malabar, at Yapahoo.	
	Portuguese at Colombo.	
	Weediye Rája, at Pailainda Nowera.	
	Raajasingha, at Aiwissawelle.	
	Idirimaaney Suriya, at Seven Korles.	
	Wikrama Bahoo, at Kandy.	
1581	Raajasingha I. ....	Son of Maayaadunnai.
1592	Wimala Dharma .....	Original royal family.
1604	Senaaratena, or Senerat .....	Brother.
1635	Raajasingha II. ....	Son.
	Koomaara-singa. ....	Brother.
	Wijaya Paala. ....	Brother.
1685	Wimila Dharma Suriya II. ....	Son of Raajasingha.
1707	Sriwira Prakrama Narendra-singha, or Koondasaala .....	Son.
1739	Sriwejaya Raajasingha, or Hangu-ranketta .....	Brother-in-law.
1747	Kirtisri Raajasingha .....	Brother-in-law.
1781	Raajaadhi Raajasingha .....	Brother.
1798	Sree Vikrama Raajasingha .....	Son of the late king's wife's sister, deposed by the English, and died in captivity.

In the native mode of recording the lengths of individual reigns, without referring them to a fixed epoch, anachronisms are unavoidable: Mr. Turnour has judiciously applied the following fixed points to correct the foregoing table.

- B.C. 543 The landing of Vijaya, in the year of Buddha's death.  
 307 The mission from Dharmásoka to establish Buddhism in Ceylon.  
 104 The conquest of Ceylon by the Malabars.  
 90 The founding of Abhayagiri by Wala gaurbahu.  
 A.D. 209 The date of the Vaitūliya heresy, in Vaivahara's reign.  
 252 The revival of ditto, in the reign of Gold Abhaa.  
 301 Death of Makasen, 4 years anachronism.  
 545 Another revival of the Vaitūliya heresy, in Ambakira's reign.  
 838 Origin of the Vijra waadiya heresy, in Mitwella Sên's reign.  
 1153 The accession of Prakrama Báhu, 6 years anachr.

- A.D. 1200 Ditto of Sahasa Mallawa, by Dambulla rock inscription, A.B. 1473.  
 1266 Ditto of Pandita Prākrama Bāhū III., error seven years.  
 1347 Ditto of Bhūwanika Bāhū IV.

In the remaining portion of the history of Ceylon, other materials have not been wanting for the adjustment of its chronology.

TABLE LIX. *Greek dynasties in Asia, founded after the death of Alexander the Great, by his Generals, etc.*

B.C.		SYRIA.	B.C.
334	Alexander the Great; born, 356; died, 323.		137
312	Seleucus I. Nicator.	128	Antiochus VII. Sidetes.
280	Antiochus I. Soter.		Alexander II. Zebina.
261	Antiochus II. Theos.	125	Seleucus V.
246	Seleucus II. Callinicus.	125	Antiochus VIII. Grypus.
226	Seleucus III. Ceraunus.	112	Antiochus IX. Cyzicenus.
223	Antiochus III. Magnus. (Acheus.)	96	Seleucus VI. Epiphanes.
		95	Antiochus X. Eusebes.
187	Seleucus IV. Philopator.		Antiochus XI. Epiphanes Philip, and
175	Antiochus IV. Epiphanes.	94	Demetrius III. Eucærus.
164	Antiochus V. Eupator.	88	Antiochus XII. (Dionysius of Josephus).
162	Demetrius I. Soter.	83	Tigranes, of Armenia.
160	Alexander I. Bala.	69	Antiochus XIII. Asiaticus.
147	Demetrius II. Nicator.	65	Syria became a Roman province.
144	Antiochus VI. Theos.		
142	Tryphon.		

## PARTHIA.

B.C.	255 <sup>1</sup>	Arsaces I.	A.D.	
	253	Tiridates * I.		(Cinnamus.)
	216	Artabanus I.		(Artabanus III.)
	196	Phraapatus.	42	Bardanes.
	181	Phraates I.	45	Gotarzes.
	173	Mithradates I.	50	(Meherdates).
	136	Phraates II.	51	Vonones II.
	126	Artabanus II.	51	Vologeses I.
	123	Mithradates II.	62	(Artabanus IV.)
	87	Mnaskires.	77	Pacorus.
	77	Sinatroces.	108	Chosroes.
	70	Phraates III.	115	(Parthamaspatēs).
	60	Mithradates III.	116	(Chosroes restored).
	54	Orodes I.	121	Vologeses II.
	37	Phraates IV.	148	Vologeses III.
		(Tiridates II.)	192	(Vologeses IV.)
		(Phraates IV.)	209	(Vologeses V.)
A.D.	4	Phraataces.		Artabanus V.
	5	Orodes II.	235	Artaxerxes, King of Persia, 1st
	5	Vonones I.		of the Sassanidæ. (See table
	13	Artabanus III.		LXI).
		(Tiridates III.)		

## KNOWN KINGS OF BACTRIA.

[I have omitted this list of Prinsep's, which was necessarily less complete than the elaborated series already inserted at p. 173, vol ii. of this work]

<sup>1</sup> The dates in this list, as well as the new names inserted in brackets, are taken from Mr. Lindsay's work on Parthian coinages. The titles of the kings appended to Prinsep's note \* are also corrected up from the same authority.]

\* The family name Arsaces is applied to all the princes of Parthia, hence called

TABLE LIXa.—*Arsacidan Kings of Armenia, according to Moses of Chorene.*

	B.C.		Years.	
149	130	Valarsaces .....	22	Vaghurshag.
127	108	Arsaces I. ....	13	
114	95	Artases I. ....	25	
89	70	Tigranes II. ....	33	19th year of Arsaces III.
55-36	34	Artavasdes I. ....		
	20	Arsamus .....	20	20th of Arsaces.
	4	Abgarus .....	38	20th of Arsavirius.
	35	Sanatruces .....	30	
	65	Eruandus II. ....	21	8th of Darius.
	86	Artases II. ....	43	29th ditto.
	129	Artavasdes II. ....		few days.
	129	Tiranus I. ....	21	3rd of Feroz I.
	150	Tigranes III. ....	42	
	192	Valarsaces .....	33	30th of Valarsaces.
	225	Chosroes I. ....	47	2nd of Artabanus.
	272	Interregnum under Artasires and Sapor Sassan.		
	286	Tiridates .....	56	3rd of Diocletian.
		(Intervallum).		
	337	Chosroes II. ....	9	8th of Constantius.
	353	Tiranus II. ....	11	
	364	Arsaces II. ....	30	
	394	Papus .....	7	
	401	Varasdates. ....	4	20th Theodosius. "
	406	Arsaces III. ....	5	
	411	Chosroes III. ....	5	
	416	Veramus Sapoires .....	21	
	437	Chosroes III. restored .....	1	
	438	Sapoires .....	4	
	442	Interregnum.		
	444	Artasires .....	6	
	450	The Armenian kingdom extinguished.—J.P.		

TABLE LX.—*Mythological Period of Persian History.*

## PESHADÁDIAN DYNASTY.

Kaiumars, by some supposed to be Adam, or Noah, reigned at Balkh.  
 Siamek, his son.  
 Hoshang.  
 Thamurath, surnamed Deoband.  
 Jamshíd, reigned at Persepolis.  
 Zohák, surnamed Alvani, an invader.  
 Feridún, restored by Kawa the blacksmith.  
 Iráj.  
 Koshang.  
 Manuchehr.  
 Naudar.  
 Afrasiáb, king of Túrkestán  
 Zab, brother of Naudar.  
 Ghorshasp.

the Arsacidæ, and is almost the only one visible on their coins. [Their coin titles (usually occurring in the genitive case) are—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΑΣ ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑΣ, ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, ΘΕΟΠΑΤΡΟΥ, ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ, ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, ΕΥΕΡΙΤΕΟΥ, ΑΤΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ, ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ, ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ, ΕΥΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΣ, ΤΙΟΣ ΚΕΚΑΛΟΤΜΕΝΟΣ.]

KAIANIAN DYNASTY.

Kai-kobád (*kai* signifies the mighty).  
 Kai-Káús, son or grandson. Rustam his general.  
 Kai-Khusrá, grandson. Cyrus the great.  
 Lohrásp, son of Orond Sháh. (Cambyses omitted?)  
 Gushtásp, his son. Hystaspes of Grecian history.  
 Isfendiár, his son. Apanda or Astyages of ditto.  
 Kai Bahman, or Ardeshir darázdast. Artaxerxes Longimanus.  
 Homái, daughter and wife of ditto.  
 Dáráb, son of ditto.  
 Dára, his son: the Darius overcome by Alexander the Great.  
 (The Mulúk-tawáif, or petty kings, following Alexander, called by the Persians the Ashkanians and Ashghhanians, have been given above as the Arsacidae of the Greeks.—J.P.)

TABLE LXI.—*Kings of Persia, of the Sassanian race.*

[The subject of the dates of the accessions of the Sassanian dynasty is involved in some obscurity, from the practice prevailing of reckoning by the years of each king's reign instead of following the order of a single cycle.<sup>1</sup> I have contented myself for the present with quoting the dates given in Dr. Smith's Dictionary, and appending Dr. Mordtmann's latest determinations *à propos* to his elaborate coin illustration of the history of the race.]

Smith. Mordtmann.

A.D.	A.D.		
226	226	1	Ardeshir-Bábegán bin Sásán, or Artaxerxes. <sup>2</sup>
240	238	2	Shahpúhr, Shapúr, or Sapor, captured Valerian.
273	269	3	Hormuzd or Hormisdas.
274	271	4	Baharám, or Varanes I.
277	274	5	Baharám, or Varanes II.
294	291	6	Baharám, or Varanes III. Segán Sháh.
294	291	7	Narsê or Narses, conquered Armenia and Galerius.
303	300	8	Hormuzd, or Hormisdas II.
310	308	9	Shahpúhr, or Sapor II.
381	380	10	Ardeshir, or Artaxerxes II.
385	383	11	Shahpúhr, or Sapor III.
390	389	12	Baharám, or Varanes IV. Kermán Sháh.
404	399	13	Yezdegird, or Isdegerde I. <sup>3</sup>
420	420	14	Baharám-gaur, or Varanes V. visited India.

<sup>1</sup> ['Hamzah Isfahání,' Latin Preface, p. vi.]

<sup>2</sup> From Moses of Chorene:—

A.D.	Years.	A.D.	Years.
232	Artasires.....reigned 53	421	Artasires II. ....reigned 4
286	Sapores I. .... 31	425	Veramus I. Cermanus ..... 10
	Nerses ..... 9	435	Isdigerdes I. .... 11
344	Hormisdas ..... 3	446	Veramus II. .... 21
	(contemporary of Constantine).	467	Isdigerdes II. ....
	Isdigerdes ..... 3		Feroses II. in whose reign Moses of
	(7th year of Constantine).		Chorene lived.—J.P.
351	Sapores II. .... 70		

<sup>3</sup> [Some authors insert a second king of this name after Yezdegird I.—'Hamzah Isfahání,' p. 14. Mordtmann, p. 64; but there seems to be no sufficient authority for the interpolation.]

Smith, Mordtmann.

A.D.	A.D.	
448	440	15 Yezdegird, or Isdegerde II.
458	457	16 Hormuzd, or Hormisdas III.
458	458	17 Kíróz, or Perose, allied with Khákán of Huns.
484	485	18 Balás, Palash, or Balasces.
488	491	19 Kobád, or Cavades.
498	498	20 Jamasp. (Kobád recovers kingdom 502.)
531	531	21 Khosrú, Kesri (Nushírván), or Chosroes.
579	579	22 Hormuzd, or Hormisdas IV. deposed by his general (Varanes VI. A.D. 590, M. A.D. 591.)
591	591	23 Khosrú-Parvız, Kesri, or Chosroes II. put to death by
628	628	24 Kobád Shírúyich, or Sirocs.
	629	25 Ardeshr III. Anarchy.
	629	26 Shahriár or Sarbazas.
	629	27 Púrán-Dukht.
	631	28 Azermi-Dukht.
	631	29 FeroKh-zád-Bakhtyar.
<sup>1</sup>	632	30 Yezdegird or Isdegerde III. overthrown by Musalmáns 641.

TABLE LXII.—*Khalifs, vicegerents or successors of Mahomed or Muhammad bin Abd-allah, whose death occurred in the 11th of Hijra era, or A.D. 632.<sup>a</sup>*

(This and the following from Marsden's 'Numismata Orientalia,' corrected up from later Numismatic works.)

A.H.	A.D.	
11	632	1 Abúbakr.
13	634	2 U'mar.
23	644	3 U'smán.
35	656	4 A'lí.
40	661	5 Hasan bin A'lí, retired to Medina—Husain killed at Kerbela

RACE OF OMMIAH, REIGNING AT DAMASCUS.

41	661-2	1 Mua'wiah I.
60	679-80	2 Yazíd bin Mua'wiah.
64	683-4	3 Mua'wiah II. bin Yazíd.
64	684	4 A'bdallah bin Zubeir.

<sup>1</sup> [632 A.D. is the date of the commencement of this king's reign, which has given the initial year to the era bearing his name. See p. 142, vol. ii. *ante*, Ockley's 'Hist. Saracens,' pp. 145, 277.]

<sup>2</sup> [I have altered the original transliteration of these names in order to reduce the orthography of the Roman equivalents to as close an adherence to the literal definition of the original Kufic as the nature of our English system of writing will permit. The nine letters of the Arabic alphabet, whose powers have been perverted in the utterance of foreigners, have been made to follow the Persian system of phonetic expression, and are severally represented by the following English pointed or accented equivalents:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ث	ح	ذ	ص	ض	ط	ظ	ع	ق
ṯ	ḥ	ḏ	ṣ	ẓ	ṭ	ẓ	a', u', etc.	k

The Arabic powers of these letters are severally—1. *th* (*thick*); 2. *h*; 3. *th* (*this*); 4. *s*; 5. *d*; 6. *t*; 7. *th* (*father*); 8. *a*; 9. *k* (guttural). I have not concerned myself greatly with the correction of the equivalents of the Arabic short vowels, but it may be noted that, under the old system, the English vowel *e* ordinarily stood for what modern practice represents by the short *a*, though in many cases it was inserted indifferently in the place of the *i*.]



A.H.	A.D.		
64	684	5	Marwán bin Hakím.
65	684-5	6	A'bd-ul-malik bin Marwán.
86	705	7	Walid bin A'bd-ul-malik.
96	714-15	8	Sulaimán bin A'bd-ul-malik.
99	717-18	9	U'mar bin A'bd-ul-a'ziz.
101	719-20	10	Yazid II. bin A'bd-ul-malik.
105	723-4	11	Hishám bin A'bd-ul-malik.
125	742-3	12	Walid II. bin Yazid.
126	743-4	13	Yazid III. bin Walid.
126	744	14	Ibrahim bin Walid.
127	744-5	15	Marwán II. bin Muḥammad, deposed and slain.

## RACE OF AL-A'BBÁS, REIGNING AT BAGHDÁD.

132	749-50	1	Abúl A'bbás al-saffāh.
136	753-4	2	Almansúr.
158	774-5	3	Al-Mahdí bin al-Mansúr.
169	785-6	4	Al-Hádí bin al-Mahdí.
170	786-7	5	Harún al-Rashid bin al-Mahdí.
193	809-10	6	Al-amín bin al-Rashid.
198	213-14	7	Al-Mámún bin al-Rashid.
202-3			Ibráhim bin Al-Mahdí, competitor, 817-18.
218	833-4	8	Al-Ma'tasem billah bin al-Rashid.
227	841-2	9	Al-Wásik-billah bin al-Ma'tasem.
232	846-7	10	Al-Mutawakkil a'l illah bin Ma'tasem.
247	861-2	11	Al-Muntasir billah bin Mutawakkil.
248	862-3	12	Al-Ma'sta'in billah bin Muḥammad bin Ma'tasem.
252	866-7	13	Al-Ma'taz billah bin Mutawakkil.
255	868-9	14	Al-Muhtadi billah bin Wásik.
256	869-70	15	Al-Ma'tamed a'la illah bin Mutawakil; Egypt independent.
			Muwaffik billah, his coadjutor from 871 to 891.
279	892-3	16	Al-Ma'tazed billah bin Muwaffik.
289	901-2	17	Al-Muktafi billah bin Ma'tazed; provinces independent.
295	907-8	18	Al-Muktader billah bin Ma'tazed; murdered by a eunuch.
320	932	19	Al-Káher billah bin M'atazed.
322	933-4	20	Al-Rázi billah bin Muktader; Amír ul umrá powerful.
329	940-1	21	Al-Mutaki billah bin Muktader.
333	944-5	22	Al-Mustakfi billah bin Mutaki.
334	945-6	23	Al-Mut'i'llah bin Muktader.
363	973-4	24	Al-Ta'i'llah bin Mut'i.
381	991-2	25	Al-Kádir billah bin Ishak Muktader.
422	1030-1	26	Al-Káim beamrillah Abú Ja'far A'bd-Allah bin Kádir.
467	1074-75	27	Al-Muktadi billah Abú'l Kasem A'bdallah bin Muḥammad bin Káim beamrillah.
487	1094-5	28	Al-Mustaghir billah bin Muktadi.
512	1118-9	29	Al-Mustarshed billah bin Mustaghir.
529	1134-5	30	Al-Ráshid billah bin Mustarshed.
530	1135-6	31	Al-Muktafi beamrillah bin Mustaghir.
555	1160	32	Al-Mustanjed billah bin Muktafi.
566	1170-1	33	Al-Mustazi beamrillah bin Mustanjed.
575	1179-80	34	Al-Nasir le dín illah bin Mustanjed, professes Shíah doctrines.
622	1225	35	Al-Zahir beamrillah Muḥammad bin Nasir.
623	1226	36	Al-Mustanser billah Abú Jáfár Al-Mansúr bin Záhir.
640	1242-3	37	Al-Musta'sem billah Abú Ahmad A'bd-Allah bin Mustanser.

In the year 656 (1258), Baghdád was besieged and taken by the Moghul Chief Hulágu, grandson of Jenghiz Khán, and the Khalif Musta'sem put to death.

[I have introduced among Prinsep's original extracts the Tables marked **C. D. E.** which have been compiled chiefly from the work of

Hamzah Isfahání,<sup>1</sup> for the purpose of illustrating more fully the annals of the Eastern provinces of the empire of the Khalifs, the successional history of which may chance to throw light upon some of the obscure dynasties of the conterminous kingdoms of India, whose epochs and transitions are so peculiarly identified with the objects of these volumes.

TABLE C.—*Arab Governors of Khorásan: capitals, Merv, Nishápur, Bokhára.*

(A'bdallah bin Tahir adopts the second, Isma'il bin Ahmad the third.)

A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
129	747	Abú Muslim.	173	790	Alhasan bin Kahtabah.
137	755	Abú Dáúd Khálid bin Ibrahím.	175	792	Ghitrif bin A'tá.
140	757	Abú A'sám bin Salím.	177	793	Hamzah bin Málik.
142	759	A'bdul Jabárbín A'bdulrahman.	177	793	Alfázl bin Yahyí bin Khálid.
143	760	Házim bin Hazaimah.	179	795	A'mrú bin Hamal.
144	763	Abú A'un A'bd ul Malik.	179	796	Manşúr bin Yazíd bin Alkhá- lid Al-mahdí.
149	766	Abú Malik Asíd bin A'bdallah.			Ja'far bin Yahyí.
150	768	Házim (again).	180	796	A'li bin A'isí bin Mahán.
151	768	Humíd bin Kahtabah.	192	808	Harşama bin Aa'yan.
159	776	A'bdallah bin Humíd.	193	809	Al Mámún (subsequently Kha- lif).
160	776	Abú A'un.	196	812	Alfázl bin Sahl (nominated)
		Mu'ád bin Muslim.	203	818	Rajá bin Zuhak.
163	780	Zahr bin Almasíb.			Ghasán bin A'bad.
166	782	Alfázl bin Sulaimán.			
170	787	Ja'far bin Muhammad.			

TABLE D.—*Táherides.*

204	819	Táhir bin Al-Husain.	230	844	Táhir bin A'bdallah.
207	822	Talhah bin Táhir.	248	862	Muhammad bin Táhir.
213	829	A'bdallah bin Táhir.			

TABLE E.—*Saffaris.*

259	873	Ya'kúb bin Laís.
265	878	A'mrú bin Laís, defeated by Isma'il bin Ahmad, the Sámání in A.H. 287, A.D. 900.
287	900	Táhir bin Muhammad succeeds in Sistán (Price ii. 233).

TABLE LXIII.—*Sámánian or Sámání Dynasty of Bukhárá, Khorásan and Persia.*

A.H.	A.D.	
261	874-5	1 Naşr bin Ahmad, great grandson of Sámán, a robber chief, ap- pointed governor of Bukhárá by the Khalif Ma'tamad.
279	892	2 Isma'il bin Ahmad.
295	907	3 Ahmad bin Isma'il.
301	914	4 Naşr bin Ahmad.
331	943	5 Núh bin Naşr.
343	954	6 A'bd-ul-malik bin Núh.
350	961	7 Al-Manşúr bin Núh.
366	976	8 Núh ben Al-Manşúr. [By some authorities this accession is placed in Rajab, A.H. 365.]
387	997	9 Al-Manşúr bin Núh, deposed and blinded.
389	999	10 A'bd-ul-malik bin Núh. [Ailek Khán enters Bukhárá on the 10th of Dž'ka'dah, A.H. 389.]
		11 Isma'il bin Núh, killed in the 3rd month of A.H. 395.]

<sup>1</sup> حمزة بن الحسن الاصفهاني (composed in A.H. 330 = A.D. 961-2) edit. of M. Gottwaldt: Lipsie, 1848

TABLE LXIV.—*The Ghazní Dynasty, with the cotemporary Khalífs whose names appear on the local coinage.*

(From the 'Jour. Roy. As. Soc., 1848.)

Khalífs of Bagdad.	Accepted Dates of Accession.			Kings of Ghazní.	Notices of various Dates assigned by different Authorities.
	A.H.	A.H.	A.D.		
Al Mutî' lillah ... Abdicates, Dî'l Ka'dah, 363	334				
		350	961	Alptegín .....	Revolt 350, Rauzat al Şafá.
Al Tâ' lillah..... Deposed by Bahá al dowlah (Sha- bán), 381	363				
		366	976	Ishak .....	Alptegín's death doubtful. (Abû Ishak Ibrahim, "Ibn Haukal.")
		367	977	Subuktigín	
Al Kâdir billah ... Died, Dî'l Hajah, 422	381				
		387	997	Isma'îl .....	Subuktigín's death, 386, Nâsiri, Jenâbi; 387, Abûl Faraj; 387 (Shabân), Rauzat al Şafá, Abûl Fidá, Khalâsat al Akh- bâr.
		388	998	Mahmûd.....	Entitled Saif al dowlah, 384; takes possession of Ghazní, Rabî al Awal, 388; becomes independent, 389.—Various authorities.
		421	1030	Muhammad ..	Mahmûd's death, Rabî al Akhir, 421, Abûl Fidá, Khalâsat al Akhbâr.
		421	1030	Masa'ûd .....	Muhammad's 1st reign, 7 mths., Nâsiri. Masa'ûd's accession, 422, Nâsiri; 421 (3rd Shawâl), Rauzat al Şafá, Khalâsat al Akhbâr.
Al Kâim beamril- lah ..... Died, 13 Shabân, 467	422				
		432	1040-1	Muhammad ..	Rebellion against Masa'ûd, 432 (Rabî al Akhir), Abûl Fedâ; Muhammad's restoration, 432, Nâsiri, Abûl Faraj; 432 (Jumâd al Awal), Akbari; 433, Habîb al Saîr; 433 (Jumâd al Awal), Guzidah.
		432	1041	Môdûd .....	Muhammad's 2nd reign, 4 mths., Nâsiri. Môdûd's accession, 432 (Shabân), Masa'ûdî, 432, Nâsiri, Abûl Faraj. Entry into Ghazní, 432 (23rd Sha- bán), Abûl Fidá. Accession, 434, Guzidah; 433, Khalâsat al Akhbar; Ferishtah.
		440	1048	Masa'ûd II...	Môdûd's death, 441, Nâsiri, Abûl Faraj; 441 (Rajab), Abûl Fidá, Guzidah, Rauzat al Şafá, Khalâsat al Akhbar, Habîb al Saîr.

Khalifs of Baghdád.	Accepted Dates of Accession.			Kings of Ghazni.	Notices of various Dates assigned by different Authorities.
	A.H.	A.H.	A.D.		
		440	1048	Abúl Hasan A'li ..... <i>Bahá al dowlah</i>	Masa'úd II. and Abúl Hasan A'li, length of reign, jointly, 2 months, Násiri. Masa'úd II., 1 month, Guzídah, Habib al Saír; 5 days, Tabakát Akbari; 6 days, Ferishtah. Abúl Hasan A'li, length of reign 2 years, Guzídah, Khalásat al Akhbár; nearly 1 year, Habib al Saír; 1 month, Tabakát Akbari.
		440	1048	A'bdal Rashíd	Accession, 440, fixed from coins; 441, Násiri, Abúl Faraj, Abúl Fidá; 443, Guzídah, Khalásat al Akhbár.
		444	1052	Toghral .....	444, Abúl Fidá.
		444	1052	Fero khzád ...	Length of Toghral's rule, 40 days, Násiri, Khalásat al Akhbár, etc. Fero khzád's accession, 443, D'íl Kadh, Násiri.
		451	1059	Ibrahím .....	Accession, 451, Táríkh Masa'údi, Násiri, Abúl Fidá, Jenábi; 450, Guzídah, etc.
Al Muktaḍi beam-illah ..... Died, 15 Muhar-rim, 487	467				
Al Mustaghar billah Died, 16 Rabí al Akhbir, 512	487				
		492	1099	Masa'úd III..	Ibrahím's death, 492, coins, Násiri, Guzídah, Abúl Mahá-san; 481, Abúl Fidá, Rauzat al Safá.
		508	1114	Shirzád ..... <i>Kamál al dowlah</i>	Guzídah, Jenábi, etc.
		509	1115	Arslán.....	Accession, 509, Násiri, Guzídah, etc.
Al Mustarshid bil-lah ..... Killed, 17 D'íl Ka'dah, 529	512	512	1118	Bahrám Sháh	Capture and sack of Ghazni by A'la al dín Jehánsóz, 547.
Al Ráshid billah...	529				
Al Muktafi leamer-illah ..... Inaug., 12 D'íl Hajah, 530	530				
		547	1152	Khusrú .....	Accession, 552, Násiri; 544, Guzídah; 548 or 550, Abúl Fidá; 547, Akbari.
Al Mustanjid bil-lah .....	555	555	1160	Khusrú Malik	Khusrú Malik finally dispossessed of Ghazni by the Ghoris, 567, Ferishtah; forced to surrender at Lahór, 585, Rauzat al Safá; 583, Akbari; 582, Ferishtah.

(Sec Table LXXII.)

TABLE LXV.—*Sultans of the Seljûk Dynasty.*

[The grandsons of Seljûk, a Turk of the tribe of Khazar or Ghaz on the Caspian, Toghrul-beg and Jáfer-beg Daoud, were in the service of Mahmûd of Ghazni. In A.H. 429 (1036), the former resisted Masa'ûd, and received investiture as Sultân of Khorân from the Khâlif. The three branches of the Seljûk family settled in Hamadân, Kermân, and Rum or Anatolia.—Marsden's 'Or. Num.']

## I.—SELJÚK DYNASTY OF IRÁN OR PERSIA.

A.H.	A.D.	
429	1037	Rukn-ud-din Abuthaleb, Toghrul Beg, Mahmûd.
455	1063	Alp Arslan, Abushajia, Azz ud-din.
465	1072	Malekshâh, Moaz ud-din abul fateh.
485	1092	Barkiarok, rokn ud-din abulmozafer kâsim: in his reign the empire was divided, he retaining Persia; Ghiâs ud-din Muhammad, Syria and Aderbijân; and Moaz ud-din burhân sanjiâr, Khorâsan and Maverulnahr.
498	1104	Malek Shâh, his son, deposed.
498	1105	Muhammad, chosen Sultân.
511	1118	Mahmûd, Moghiâth ud-din Abul Kâsem.
525	1131	Daâûd, his son, deposed.
526	1131	Masa'ûd, Ghiath ud-din, deposed.
527	1132	Toghrul, son of Muhammad.
529	1134	Masa'ûd, re-established.
547	1152	Malek Shâh, son of Mahmûd, deposed.
547	1152	Mahmûd, grandson of Bograkkân, at Merv.
552	1157	Muhammad, his son, at Hamadân.
554	1159	Sulaimân Shâh, killed.
555	1160	Arslân Shâh, son of Toghrul, son of Muhammad.
571	1175	Toghrul Shâh, his son.

## II.—SELJÚK DYNASTY OF KERMÂN.

433	1041	Kadherd, or Karut beg, installed by Toghrul beg.
465	1072	Sultan Shâh, his son.
467	1074	Turân Shah.
489	1096	Iran Shâh.
494	1100	Arslân Shâh.
536	1141	Moghiâth ud-din Muhammad.
551	1156	Toghrul Shâh.
565	1169	Bahrâm, Arslân, and Turân Shâh dispute succession.
—	—	Muhammad Shâh, dispossessed by Malek dinar 583-1187.

## III.—SELJÚK DYNASTY OF RÚM OR ANATOLIA. CAPITAL ICONIUM.

470	1077	Sulaimân bin Kotlunnish.
478	1085	Interregnum of seven years.
485	1092	Dâud Kilij Arslân bin Sulaimân.
501	1107	Saisan bin Kilij Arslân.
510	1116	Masa'ûd bin Kilij Arslân.
551	1156	A'zz-ud-din Kilij Arslân bin Masa'ûd, destroyed first crusade army.
584	1118	Kutb-ud-din Malik Shâh bin Kilij Arslân, deposed.
588	1192	Ghiâs-ud-din Kai Khusrû bin Kilij Arslân, deposed.
596	—	Rukn-ud-din Sulaimân bin Kilij Arslân, deposed.
600	1203	Kilij Arslân bin Rukn-ud-din, deposed.
600	1203	Ghiâs ud-din Kai Khusrû (restored).
607	1210	A'zz-ud-din Kai Kâus bin Kai Khusrû.
616	1219	A'lâ-ud-din Kai Kobâd bin Kai Khusrû.
634	1236	Ghiâs-ud-din Kai Khusrû bin Kai Kobâd, invaded by the Moghul Princes, descendants of Jenghiz Khân (See Table XLIX).
643	1245	A'zz-ud-din Kai Kâus, in nominal conjunction with his brothers, Rukn-ud-din and A'lâ-ud-din, sons of Kai Khusrû.
655	1257	Rukn-ud-din Kilij Arslân.
666	1267	Ghiâs-ud-din Kai Khusrû bin Rukn-ud-din.
682	1283	Masa'ûd bin A'zz-ud-din Kai Kâus, died 708—1308.

TABLE LXVI.—*Atabegs of Irák, ruling Ministers under the later Princes of the Seljukian race.*

## MOSUL BRANCH.

A.H.	A.D.	
521	1127	I'mád-ud-dín Zengi.
540	1145	Saif-ud-dín Ghází bin Zengi.
544	1149	Kutb-ud-dín Maudub bin Zengi.
565	1170	Al-Mu'iz Saif-ud-dín Ghází bin Módúd.
576	1180	A'zz-ud-dín Masa'úd bin Módúd.
589	1193	Núr-ud-dín (Bedr ud-dín) Arslán Sháh bin Masa'úd.
607	1210	Malik al-Káhir A'zz-ud-dín Mas'and bin Núr-ud-dín.
615	1218	Núr-ud-dín Arslán Sháh bin Káhir.
616	1219	Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd bin Káhir.
619	1222	Al-Malik al-Rahím Bedr-ud-dín Lúlú.
657	1259	Al-Malik as-Şalah Isma'il bin Lúlú.

## HALEB (ALEPPO) BRANCH.

521	1127	Imád ud-dín Zengi.
540	1145	Malik al-A'ádel Núr-ud-dín Mahmúd bin Zengi.
569	1174	A'l-Malik as-Şalah Isma'il bin Núr ud-dín Mahmúd.
577	1181	I'mád ud-dín Zengi bin Kutb ud-dín bin Módúd, delivered Haleb to Şalah-ud-dín or Saladin.
594	1197	Kutb-ud-dín Muhammad bin I'mád-ud-dín, at Singára.

TABLE LXVII.—*Turcoman Ortokite Princes, reigning in Mardin and Mafarkin, Syria.*

		Il Ghází bin Ortok, seized Jerusalem and Mardin.
516	1122	Husám-ud-dín Timurtash bin Il Ghází.
547	1152	Najm-ud-dín Abu'l Muzaffar Albí bin Timurtash.
572	1176	Kutb-ud-dín Il Ghází bin Albí (or Alpí).
580	1184	Husám-ud-dín Yúluğ Arslán bin Kutb-ud-dín.
597 ?		Malik-ul-Mansúr Násir-ud-dín Ortok Arslán bin Kutb-ud-dín.
637	1239	Malik us-Sa'id Najm-ud-dín Ghází bin Násir-ud-dín Ortok.
653	1255	Malik ul-Muzaffar Kará Arslán bin Najm-ud-dín.
691	1291	Shams-ud-dín Dáúd.
693	1293	Malik ul-Mansúr Najm-ud-dín Ghází.
712	1312	Albí Malik al-A'ádil I'mád-ud-dín A'li.
712	1312	Malik as-Şalah Shams-ud-dín Şalah.

## ORTOKITES REIGNING AT ÁMÍD AND KHEIFA.

490	1097	Sokmán bin Ortok.
498	1104	Ibráhím bin Sokmán.
522 ?	1128	Rukn ud-dín Dáúd.
544 ?		Fakhr ud-dín Kará Arslán bin Dáúd.
562	1166	Núr ud-dín Muhammad bin Kará Arslán.
581	1185	Kutb-ud-dín Sokman bin Muhammad.
597	1200	Malik as-Şalah Násir ud-dín Mahmúd.
618	1221	Malik al-Masá'úd bin Malik as-Şalah Mahmúd.
629	1231	Malik al-Kámil, nephew of Şalah ud-dín (Saladin), took Ámíd.

TABLE LXVIII.—*The Mogol or Moghul empire of Tartary. Capital Karakurm.*

A.D.	
1206	Jengíz Khán, or Timugin declared emperor, on the Onon river.
1227	Táli Khán, his son, regent during interregnum.
1241	Oktai Khán, fourth son of Jengíz, elected by his father's will. Tourakina Khatun, his wife, regent for four years.
1246	Gaiuk Khán, son of Oktai.

- A.D.  
1248 Ogoulgannish, his wife, regent on his death.  
1251 Mangú Khán, died in 1259.

The empire of the Moghuls was subsequently divided into different branches in China, Persia, in Kapchak, etc.

- 1260 Kublai Khán, succeeded in China, and founded the Yuen dynasty.  
1240 Zagatai Khán, son of Jengiz, founded Zagatai branch in Transoxiana.  
1226 Tushi Khán, another son, founded Kapchak dynasty.

(For these dynasties of the Tartars, and those of the Huns, Chinese, etc., see De Guignes' 'Histoire des Huns.'—J. P.)

TABLE XLIX.—*Moghul-Tartar or Il-Khánian Dynasty of Persia.*

On the death of Mangú Khán, son of Jengiz Khán, the sovereignty of Persia was assumed by his brother,

A.H.	A.D.	
657	1259	Húlákú or Húlákú Il-Khán.
663	1264	Abága, or Abáká Il-Khán, his son.
681	1282	Nikudár Oglan, seventh son of Húlákú, on conversion to Muhammadism, took the name of Ahmad Khán.
683	1284	Arghún Káán, son of Abáká.
690	1291	Kai-Khatú Káán, ditto.
694	1294	Baidú Káán, son of Targhih, fifth son of Húlákú.
694	1294	Gházán Káán Mahmúd, eldest son of Arghún.
703	1303	Ghías-ud-dín Au-gaptú, Khudabandah Muhammad.
716	1316	Abú Sa'id Bahádur Khán, his son, on whose death in
736	1335	The dynasty became dependent.
747	1346	Anúshirván. Invasion of Taimúr, or Tamerlane. (See below, LXX).

TABLE LXX.—*Moghul Sultáns of Khorásán.*

795	1393	Kutb-ud-dín Amír Timúr Gúrgán Šāhibkírán (Tamerlane) conquered Baghdád, invaded India, etc.
807	1404	Khalíl Sultán, son of Mirán Sháh, deposed.
—	—	Sháh Rukh, Behádur Sultán.
850	1447	Ulugh Beg, Malik us Sa'id, of Khiva.
853	1449	A'bdul Latíf Mirzá, his son.
854	1450	Bábar Mirzá, Sultán Abul Kasam.
861	1456	Mirza Sháh Mahmúd deposed.
861	1456	Abú Sa'id, son of Ahmad. (See Moghuls of India.)
—	—	Jiadighiar, grandson of Sháh Rukh.
805	1470	Sultán Hosain Mirzá, grandson of U'mar.
901	1505	Badí' ezzamán, his son, took refuge with the Sufis.

TABLE LXXI.—*Kings of Persia of the Sophi, Sufi, or Safi Race.*

Juneid, a descendant of Safi ud-dín, a Sophi or mystic philosopher, being expelled from Aderbiján by the Turkoman ruler Jehán Sháh, established himself in Shirván. His grandson

905	1499	Isma'il al-Súfi bin Shaikh Haidar, united conquered provinces and assumed sovereignty of Persia and Khorásán, 908-1502.
932	1525	Sháh Talmásp bin Isma'il.
983	1575	Sháh Isma'il II. bin Talmásp.
985	1577	Muhammad Khudabandah bin Talmásp.
994	1585	Hámzah bin Muhammad, or Amír Hams.
994	1585	Sháh Isma'il bin Muhammad.
994	1585	Sháh A'bbás bin Muhammad.
1039	1629	Sháh Safi bin Safi Mirzá bin A'bbás.

A.H.	A.D.	
1052	1642	Sháh A'bbás II. bin Sháh Šafi.
1077	1666	Solaimán bin Sháh A'bbás.
1106	1694	Sháh Husain bin Solaimán, last of the Šafis. Sháh Tahmásp II. bin Sháh Husain, abdicated.
1135	1722	Mahmúd, an Afghán, invaded Persia, and usurped.
1137	1725	Ashraf, an Afghán, defeated by Nádir Kulí.
1242	1730	Sháh Tahmásp, nominally restored, murdered 1737.
1145	1732	A'bbás III. bin Tahmásp.
1148	1736	Nádir Sháh, or Nádir Sultán, proclaimed king.
1160	1747	A'adil Sháh, nephew and murderer of Nádir.
1161	1748	Ibráhím, his brother.
1163	1749	Sháh Rukh, blinded, driven to Khurásán.
1163	1750	Solaimán, or Mirzá Saíd Muhammad.
1163	1750	Ism'aíl bin Saíd Muštafa, under regency of A'li Merdan.
1173	1759	Muhammad Kerím Khán Zendi, held power under title of Wakil.
1193	1779	Zeki Khán, usurped on his death, murdered by
1193	1779	Abū'l Fath Khán, son of Kerím, blinded.
1193	1779	Šadik Khán, brother of ditto. A'li Murád Khán assumed the title of Wakil.
1199	1785	Ja'far Khán, son of Šadik, murdered.
1203	1789	Luťf A'li, his son, defeated by
1209	1794	Aghá Muhammad Khán Kájár, an eunuch.
1211	1797	Fath A'li Sháh Kájár, died 1834.

TABLE LXXII.—*List of the Patán, Afghán, or Ghorí Sultans of Hindústán. Capital, Dihlí.*

(Corrected up from the coins of the 'Pathán Kings of Dihlí,' by the Editor.)

589	1193 <sup>1</sup>	1	Mu'iz-ud-dín Muhammad bin Sám (587 <sup>2</sup> ) (1st Dynasty).
602	1206	2	Kutb-ud-dín Ai-beg.
607	1210	3	A'ram Sháh.
607	1211	4	Shams-ud-dín Altunsh.
633	1236	5	Rukn-ud-dín Fíroz Sháh.
634	1236	6	Sultán Rizásh.
637	1240	7	Mu'iz-ud-dín Bahrám Sháh.
639	1242	8	A'lá-ud-dín Masa'úd Sháh (11).
643	1246	9	Násir-ud-dín Mahmúd (12).
664	1266	10	Ghiás-ud-dín Balban (5).
686		11	Mu'iz-ud-dín Kaikubád.
689	1290	12	Jalál-ud-dín Fíroz Sháh, Khiljí <sup>3</sup> (2nd dynasty).
695	1296	13	Rukn-ud-dín Ibráhím (9).
695	1296	14	A'lá-ud-dín Muhammad Sháh (12).
715	1316	15	Shaháb-ud-dín U'mar (10).
716	1316	16	Kutb-ud-dín Mubárak Sháh (1).
720*		17	Násir-ud-dín Khusrú.
720*		18	Ghiás-ud-dín Tughlak Sháh (3rd dynasty).
725	1325	19	Muhammad bin Tughlak (3).
752	1351	20	Fíroz Sháh bin Salar Rajab (1).
790	1388	21	Tughlak Sháh II.
791	1389	22	Abūbakr Sháh II.
793*		23	Muhammad Sháh bin Fíroz Sháh.

<sup>1</sup> The dates of accession, as converted into the years of the Christian era, are calculated from the months in each Hijra year in which the several monarchs are determined by Sa'id Ahmad to have succeeded to the throne. The small figures in brackets indicate the months of each accession. The dates marked with a star are derived from coins, and do not coincide with our native author's historical deductions.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. i. p. 326.

<sup>3</sup> Zia Barani says 688 A.H.



A.H.	A.D.	
795*	24	Sikandar Sháh.
795*	25	Mahmúd Sháh bin Muhammad Sháh (Timúr, 800).
797	26	Nusrat Sháh Interregnum (coins dated 797, 798, 800, 801 and 807), Mahmúd restored, 802.
816	1413	27 Daulat Khán Lodi (1).
817	1414	28 Khizr Khán Sa'id (4th dynasty) (3).
824	1421	29 Mubarak Sháh II. (5), coins extant with the date of 838 A.H.
837	1434	30 Muhammad Sháh bin Farid Sháh (7).
849	31	A'alam Sháh (?).
855	1451	32 Bahlól Lódi (5th dynasty) (3).
894	33	Sikandar bin Bahlól (?).
923	1517	34 Ibráhm bin Sikandar (Bábar, 932 A.H.) (11).
937	1531	35 Muhammad Humáyún, Mughul (5). See Table LXXX.
946*	36	Farid-ud-dín Shír Sháh, Afghán (?).
952	1545	37 Islám Sháh (3).
960	1553	38 Muhammad A'ádil Sháh (5).
962	1555	39 Ibráhm Súr (5).
962	1555	40 Sikandar Sháh (Humáyún, 962 A.H.)

TABLE LXXIII.—*Patan or Afghán Sultáns and Governors of Bengal.*  
(*Purbí dynasty.*) *Capital Laknauti, or Gaur.* (MARSDEN.<sup>1</sup>)

600	1203	Muhammad Bakhtíar Khilji, governor of Berár under Kutb ud-dín.
602	1205	Muhammad Sherán A'zz ed-dín.
605	1208	A'li Mardán A'lá ed-dín.
609	1212	Hasám ed-dín Ghías ed-dín.
624	1226-27	Násir ed-dín bin Shams ed-dín.
627	1229	Mahmúd bin Shams ed-dín, became Sultán of Hindústán.
634	1237	Toghan Khán, governor under Sultán Riziáh.
641	1243	Tiji, or Taji.
642	1244	Timúr Khán Kerán.
644	1246	Saif ed-dín.
651	1253	Ikhtíar ed-dín Malik Yúzbeg.
656	1257	Jalál ed-dín Kháni.
657	1258	Táj ed-dín Arslán.
659	1260	Muhammad Táatar Khan.
676	1277	Muiz ed-dín Tughral.
681	1282	Nasir ed-dín Baghra (by Dow written Kera), considered first sovereign of Bengal by some.
725	1325	Kadr Khán, viceroy of Muhammad Sháh.
741	1340	Fakhr ed-dín Sekandar assumes independence.
743	1342	A'lá ed-dín Mubárik.
744	1343	Shams ed-dín Muhammad Sháh Iliás Bangarah.
760	1358	Sikandar Sháh bin Shams ed-dín.
769	1367	Ghiás ed-dín Ka'zm Sháh bin Sekandar Sháh.
775	1373	Saif ed-dín Sultán as-Sulátn bin Ghiás ed-dín.
785	1383	Shams ed-dín bin Sulátn as-Sulátn.
787	1385	Kansa or Khansa, a Hindú.
794	1392	Jalál ed-dín Muhammad Sháh (Chitmul bin Khansa).
812	1409	Ahmad Sháh bin Jalál ed-dín. <sup>2</sup>
830	1426-7	Násir Sháh (descendant of Shams ed-dín Iliás Bangarah).
862	1457	Barbak Sháh bin Násir Sháh.
879	1474	Yusaf Sháh bin Barbak Sháh.

<sup>1</sup> [See also *Ayin-i-Akharí*, vol. ii., p. 16.]

<sup>2</sup> Marsden remarks in a note: 'The coins show that the historical dates about this period are erroneous; but the means of correcting the mistakes are not sufficiently ample.' P. 562 'Numismata Orientalia.'

A.H.	A.D.	
887	1482	Sikandár Sháh.
887	1482	Fath Sháh.
896	1490-1	Sháh-zádah, a eunuch.
897	1491	Fíroz Sháh Habshí.
899	1494	Mahmúd Sháh bin Fíroz Sháh.
900	1495	Muzaffar Sháh Habshí.
903	1428	A'lá ed-dín Husain Sháh bin Syed Ashraf.
927	1521	Nusrat Sháh bin A'lá ed-dín Husain.
940	1534	Mahmúd Sháh bin A'lá ed-dín Husain, defeated by
944	1537	Ferid ed-dín Shír Sháh.
945	1538	Humáyún held court at Gaur, or Jenatábád.
946	1539	Shír Sháh again.
952	1545	Muhammad Khán.
962	1555	Khizr-Khán Bahádur Sháh bin Muhammad Khán.
968	1560-1	Jalál ed-dín bin Muhammad Khán.
971	1563-4	Solaiman Karáni, or Karzáni.
981	1573	Báyazíd bin Solaimán.
981	1573	Dáúd Khán bin Solaimán, defeated by Akbar's forces.

TABLE LXXIV.—*Kings of the East, or Sharki Dynasty of Jaunpur.*

(FERISHTAH.)

796	1394	Khwájah Jahán, Subahdár of Kanauj, Audh, Kora, and Jaunpúr, assumed independence.
802	1399	Mubárik Sháh, his adopted son.
804	1401	Shams ud-dín Ibráhím Sháh Sherki.
844	1440	Mahmúd Sháh bin Ibráhím.
862	1457	Muhammad Sháh.
862	1457	Husain Sháh bin Mahmúd bin Ibráhím Sháh.
881	1476	——— took refuge in the Court of 'Alá ud-dín of Bengal, where he died in 905, A.H.

TABLE LXXV.—*Musalmán Kings of Kashmir.* (FERISHTAH.)

727	1326	Shams ud-dín, Sháh Mír, minister of Senadeva.
750	1349	Jamshid, expelled by his youngest brother.
752	1351	A'li Shír, A'lá ud-dín; a severe famine.
765	1363	Shaháb ud-dín; Siamuk invades Sind.
785	1386	Kutb ud-dín; defeats Rája of Lokhot.
799	1396	Sikandar, Butshikan; subverts Hindú religion.
819	1416	Amir Khán, A'li Sháh; civil wars; expelled by
826	1422	Zain ul Ab-ud-dín, Shádi Khán, his brother.
877	1472	Haidar Sháh, Hají Khán.
878	1473	Hasan Sháh.
891	1486	Muhammad, a child; civil wars.
902	1496	Fath Sháh usurps the throne. Chakh tribe converted to Islám.
911	1505	Muhammad regains the throne; Ibráhím usurps.
942	1535	Nazúk Sháh; conquest of Emperor Humáyún, 948 = 1543.
948	1541	Mirzá Haidar Dughlat, governor under him; interregnum, and dissensions.
960	1552	Ibrahim II., set up by Daulat Chakk: earthquake.
963	1555	Ism'ail, set up by Gházi Khán's party.
964	1556	Habib, raised by Daulat Chakk.
971	1563	Hosain Sháh Chakk: embassy from Akbar.
986	1578	Yúsaf Sháh Chakk, expelled by Gohar Chakk.
997	1588	——— annexation of Kashmir to the Moghul Empire by Akbar.

TABLE LXXVI.—*Kings of Sind and Tatta.*

A.H.	A.D.	
87	705	Belochistan invaded by Hijāj, governor of Basrah, and Muhammad Kāsim.

The Ansāries, the Sumeras, and the Sumanas or Jams, successively, gain the ascendancy, then a Dihlī governor.

1203? Nāsir ud-dīn Qubāchah, becomes independent.

## TABLE F.

[I have compiled the following list of the Arab Governors of Sind from Belādiri,<sup>1</sup> collated with and improved from Sir H. M. Elliot's excellent work on the Arabs in Sind.]

A.H.	
93	1 Muhammad bin Kāsim.
	2 Yazīd bin Abū Kabshah (appointed by Sulaimān).
96	3 Ḥabīb bin Muḥalab.
	4 A'mrū bin Muslim.
	5 Junīd bin A'bd al raḥman (under Hishām).
107	6 Tamīn bin Zaid.
	7 Al ḥakam bin A'ḡānah.
	8 A'mrū bin Muḥammad.
	(Sulaimān bin Hishām—Abū Al-Khattāb) <sup>2</sup>
	Under the A'bbāsides.
	9 A'bd al raḥman bin Muslim, Al A'bdi, defeated by Manṣūr bin Jamhūr,
	the local Governor under the Ummayyad Khalifs. (The Toḥfat ul Kirām
	10 Mūsa bin Ka'ab, Altamīmī; overpowers Manṣūr. attributes this victory to Dāūd bin A'li.)
140	11 Hishām bin A'mrū.
	12 A'mar bin Ḥafs, Ḥazārmard. <sup>3</sup>
154	13 Ruḥ bin Ḥātim. <sup>4</sup>
184	14 Dāūd bin Yazīd bin Ḥātim.
	15 Bashīr bin Dāūd (about 200 A.H. Reinaud).
213 <sup>5</sup>	16 Ghassān bin A'bād.
	Mūsa bin Yahya, <i>Al Barmaki</i> (dies in 221 A.H.)
	A'mrām bin Mūsa. <sup>6</sup>
257	Yakūb bin Laīs.

Subsequent division of Sind into the two principalities of Multān and Al-Manṣūrah.

TABLE LXXVII.—*The Jāmī Dynasty of Sumana, originally Rājputs.*

A.H.	A.D.	
737	1336	Jam Afra; tributary to Tughlak Shāh.
740	1339	Jām Choban.
754	1353	Jām Bani; asserted his independence.
782	1380	Timaji, his brother.
782	1380	Jām Sālāh ud-dīn; converted to Muhammadanism.
793	1391	Jām Nizām ud-dīn.
796	1393	Jām A'li Shīr.

<sup>1</sup> ['Abū Ja'afir Ahmad bin Yahya ibn Jābir al Balādiri,' ob. inter 256 and 279 A.H. Ibn Khaldūn, p. 438. Reinaud 'Fragments Arabes et Persans,' inédits relatifs à l'Inde.]

<sup>2</sup> [Appendix to the 'Arabs in Sind:' Cape Town, 1853. Elliot quoting 'Toḥfat ul Kirām.]

<sup>3</sup> [Transferred from Sind to Africa in A.H. 151. Reinaud, p. 213.]

<sup>4</sup> [A.H. 160 to 161. Reinaud.]

<sup>5</sup> [Gildemeister quoting Abūlfeda ii. 150.]

<sup>6</sup> [Killed by عبد العزيز البیاری 'Belādiri.']

A.H.	A.D.	
812	1409	Jám Giran, son of Timaji.
812	1409	Jám Fath Khán.
827	1423	Jám Tughlak; invaded Gujerát.
854	1450	Jám Sikandar.
856	1452	Jám Sangar, elected.
864	1460	Jám Nanda, or Nizám ud-dín; cot. of Hasan Langa.
894	1492	Jám Feroz; the Turkhán family become powerful, 1520.
927	1520	Sháh Beg Argun occupies Sind.
930	1523	Sháh Hosain Arghun.
966	1554	Mahmúd of Bhakar.
982	1572	Akbar annexes Sindh to the Empire.

TABLE LXXVIII.—*Bahmani Dynasty of Kalbarga, or Ahsunábád.*

A.D.	
1347	A'lá ud-dín Hasan Sháh gango Bahmaní, servant of a brahman in Muhammad Tughlak's court, subdued all the Dakhan.
1358	Muhammad Sháh B. I. (Ghází), makes tributary Telingana and Vijyanagar.
1375	Mujáhid Sháh B., killed by his uncle.
1378	Dáúd Sháh B., assassinated by his niece.
1378	Mahmúd Sháh I., youngest son of 'Alá; patron of literature.
1397	Ghiás ud-dín; blinded and dethroned.
1397	Shams ud-dín Sháh; puppet to Lalchin, the Malik Naib or regent.
1397	Firóz Sháh, married daughter of Vijyanagar rája, Deva Ray.
1422	Ahmad Sháh Walí (Khán Khánán); war with rájas.
1435	A'lá ud-dín Sháh II., war with Vijyanagar.
1457	Hunáyún the cruel; general insurrection.
1461	Nizám Sháh; rájas of Telingana and Orissa powerful.
1463	Muhammad Sháh II.; Málwa power increasing.
1482	Mahmúd II.; loses Konkan, Bijápúr, and Berár.
1518	Ahmád Sháh II.; under control of Amír Beríd, minister.
1520	A'lá ud-dín Sháh III.; deposed by ditto.
1522	Wali Ullah; murdered by ditto.
1525	Kallam Ullah, Bahmaní dynasty of Bídár (Ahmadábád) terminates, and is succeeded by that of Amír Beríd at Ahmadábád.

TABLE LXXIX.—*Beríd Sháhí Dynasty of Bídár, or Ahmadábád.*

1492	Kásim Beríd, a Túrki or Georgian slave.
1504	Amír Beríd; held sway over nominal kings.
1549	A'lá Beríd Sháh; first who assumed royalty.
1562	Ibrahím Beríd Sháh.
1569	Kásim Beríd Sháh.
1572	Mírzá A'li Beríd Sháh; deposed by his relative.
1609	Amír Beríd Sháh II.

TABLE LXXX.—*Faruki Dynasty of Kándeish. Capitals Tálnir and Búrhánpúr.*

1370	Malik Rája Faruki, receives the jágir of Tálnir, from Firoz.
1399	Malik Nasír or Nasír Khán Faruki, builds Búrhánpúr.
1437	Mírán A'dil Khán Faruki, expels Dakhanies from Khandeish.
1441	Mírán Mubárik Khán Faruki; peaceful reign.
1457	Mírán Ghani, or A'dil Khán Faruki I.; tributary to Gujerát.
1503	Dáúd Khán Faruki, tributary to Málwa.
1510	A'zim Hunáyún, or A'dil Khán F. II.; grandson of Gujerát king.
1520	Mírán Muhammad Khán Faruki; succeeds to Gujerát throne.
1535	Mírán Mubárik Khán Faruki, brother; war with Moghuls.
1566	Mírán Muhammad Khán Faruki, attack from Dakhan.
1576	Rája A'li Khán Faruki; acknowledges Akbar's supremacy.
1696	Bahádúr Khán Faruki; defies Akbar; is imprisoned at Gwálíor.

TABLE LXXXI.—*Kings of Málwa. Capitals Dhár, Mándó or Shádtábád.*

A.D.	
1387	Sultán Diláwar Ghóri, governor, assumes title of Sháh, 1401.
1405	Sultán Hoshang Ghóri, or Alp Khán, his son, defeats Narsinha Ray.
1432	Ghazni Khán, or Sultán Muhammad Ghóri; poisoned.
1435	Mahmúd Khán, or Sultán Mahmúd Khilji. Rána of Chitor, Kumbho presents tankas coined in his own name, 1450.
1469	Sultán Ghiás ud-dín; peaceful reign.
1500	Sultán Násir ud-dín; his son, Shaháb ud-dín, revolts.
1512	Sultán Mahmúd II., younger son, last of the Khiljis.
1534	Málwa incorporated with Gujerát kingdom.
1568	— annexed as a province of Akbar's Empire.

TABLE LXXXII.—*Kings of Gujerát. Capital Pattan.*

1391	Muzaffar Sháh I.; appointed viceroy by Fíroz Tughlak, A.H. 793, assumes independence in A.H. 799 = A.D. 1396.
1411	Ahmad Sháh I., grandson, builds Ahmadábád and Ahmadnagar.
1443	Muhammad Sháh, surnamed Karím, the merciful.
1451	Kutb Sháh; opposes Málwa king, and Chitor rája Kombha.
1459	Dáúd Sháh, his uncle, deposed in favor of
1459	Mahmúd Sháh I. Begarrá; two expeditions to Dakhan.
1511	Muzaffar Sháh II.; war with Rána Sanga.
1526	Sikandar Sháh, assassinated.
1526	Nasir Khán, or Mahmúd Sháh II., displaced by
1526	Bahádur Shah, invades Málwa; murdered by Portuguese.
1536	Mírán Muhammad Sháh Farúkí, his nephew, of Málwa.
1538	Mahmúd Sháh, son of Latif Khán; released from prison.
1553	Ahmad Sháh II., a spurious heir set up by minister.
1561	Muzaffar Sháh III. Habbá, a supposititious son of Mahmúd.
1572	Muzaffar Sháh submits to Akbar, and in 1583 Gujerát finally becomes a province of Akbar's empire.

TABLE LXXXIII.—*Kings of Multán.*

This province was first conquered by Muhammad Kásim, at the end of the first century, Hijra. It was recovered by the Hindús on the decline of the Ghazni power. After Muhammad Ghorí's subjugation, it remained tributary to Dihli until

A.H.	A.D.	
847	1443	Sheikh Yúsaf established an independent monarchy.
849	1445	Ray Sehra, or Kutb ud-dín Hosain Langa I.; expelled the Sheikh.
908	1502	Mahmúd Khán Langa; his minister, Jám Bayezid.
931	1524	Hosain Langa II.; overcome by Sháh Hosain Arghún. Under Humáyún, becomes a province of the empire (see below).

TABLE LXXXIV.—*Imád Sháhí dynasty of Berar. Capital, Ellichpur.*

A.D.	
1484	Fath Ullah Imád Sháh, Bahmaní, governor of Berár, became independent.
1504	A'la-ud-dín Imád Sháh, fixed his capital at Gával.
1528?	Daria Imád Sháh, married his daughter to Hosain Nizám Sháh.
1560?	Burhán Imád Sháh, deposed by his minister.
1568	Tufal Khán, whose usurpation is opposed from Ahmadnagar, and the family of Imád Sháh and Tufal extinguished.

TABLE LXXXV.—*A'ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bijāpur.*

A.D.	
1489	Yūsaf Khān, son of Amurath II. of Anatolia; purchased for the body guard at Ahmadābād.
1501	— on the defeat of Dustār Dinār assumes independent sovereignty as Yūsaf A'ādil Shāh.
1511	Isma'īl A'ādil Shāh. Goa taken second time by Portuguese.
1534	Mullū A'ādil Shāh, a profligate, deposed and blinded by
1535	Ibrahim A'ādil Shāh I. Minister Rāmraj assumes throne of Vijyanagar.
1557	A'li A'ādil Shāh; war against the Hindū rāja.
1579	Ibrahim A'ādil Shāh II. Chand bibī regent.
1626	Muhammad.
1660	A'li A'ādil II.

TABLE LXXXVI.—*Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar.*

1490	Ahmed Nizām Shāh, Bheirg, son of a brahman of Vijyanagar; throws off Bahmanī yoke.
1508	Burhān Nizām Shāh; petty wars with Berār, etc.
1553	Husain Nizām Shāh I.; confederacy against Vijyanagar.
1565	Murtaza Nizām Shāh, Diwana, conquers Berar; smothered by
1588	Mirān Husain Nizām Shāh, put to death.
1589	Isma'īl Nizām Shāh, raised by Jumāl Khān Mehdevī.
1590	Burhān Nizām Shāh II.; constructs Korla fort.
1594	Ibrahim Nizām Shāh, killed in battle.
1594	Ahmad, son of Shāh Tāhir, raised by chiefs; pensioned.
1595	Bahādūr Nizām Shāh, proclaimed by Chand bibī's party; imprisoned by Akbar.
1598	Murteza Nizām Shāh II.; Nizām Shāhī dominions fall under the control of
1607	Malik Amber.

TABLE LXXXVII.—*Kutb Shāhī Dynasty of Golkonda.*

1512	Sultān Kulī Kutb Shāh, a Tūrkman, assumed title of king.
1543	Jamshīd Kutb Shāh, leagues with the Nizām Shāhīs.
1550	Ibrahim Kutb Shāh, joins league against Rāmraj.
1581	Muhammad Kulī Kutb Shāh, builds Bhagnagar or Haiderābād; died 1586.
1611	Abdallah Kutb Shāh, tributary to Shāh Jahān.
1672	Abū Hasan, imprisoned at Daulatābād.

Under Aurangzib, the southern conquests were formed into six Śūbahs, viz.: 1, Kandeish; 2, Aurangābād; 3, Bīdar; 4, Berār; 5, Haiderābād; and 6, Bijāpur.

TABLE LXXXVIII.—*Moghul Emperors of Hindustān.*

(Fourth descendant from Taimūr or Tamerlane, see Table LXX.)

A.H.	A.D.	
899	1494	Bābar, Zahir ud-din Muhammad (mounted throne 9th June).
937	1531	Humāyūn, Nasir ud-din Muhammad (28th Jan.), in 946 defeated by Shīr Shāh. <sup>1</sup>
962	1554	—, founded the Moghul dynasty of Dihli.
963	1556	Akbar, Abū fath, Jalāl ud-din Muhammad (17th Feb.) consolidated empire.
1014	1605	Jehāngir, Abūl Muzaffar Nūr ud-din Muhammad (7th Oct.)
1037	1623	Shāhjahān, Shahāb ud-din Ghāzi (9th Feb.)
1068	1658	Aurangzib A'laungir, Abūl Muzaffar, Mahi ud-din (24th Feb.)
1118	1707	A'zīm Shāh, Muhammad Shahid (3rd March).
1118	1707	Behādūr Shāh, Shāh A'alam, Abūl Muzaffar Kutb ud-din (23rd Feb.)

<sup>1</sup> [10th Muharremi, A.H. 947. Ferishtah.]

A.H.	A.D.	
1124	1713	Jahándár Sháh, Mú'iz ud-dín (11th Jan.)
1124	1713	Farukhsír, Muhammad Shahid Marhum (11th Jan.)
1131	1719	Rafia' ud-darjat, Shams ud-dín (18th Jan.), (Abú berkát.)
1131	1719	Rafia' ud-daulat, Sháhjahán Šaní (26th April).
1131	1719	(Muhammad Nakosir), (May).
1131	1719	Muhammad Sháh, Abúl fath Násir ud-dín (28th Aug.)
1132	1720	(Sultán Muhammad Ibrahim), (4th Oct.)
1161	1754	Ahmad Sháh, Abúl Nasr (20th April).
1167	1749	Alemgir II., A'ziz ud-dín Muhammad (2nd June).
1173	1759	(Sháhjahán), (29th Nov.)
1173	1759	Sháh A'lám, Jalál ud-dín (Mírzá Abdallah, A'lí Gohar), (Nov.)
1201	1786	(Muhammad Badar bakht).
1221	1806	Akbar II., Abúl Nasir, Moaín ud-dín Muhammad (3rd Dec.)

TABLE LXXXIX.—*Nizáms of Haidarábád.*

A.D.	
1717	Aṣaf Jáh, Nizám-ul-Mulk, usurped power on Aurangzib's death.
1748	Násir Jang, assassinated.
1767	Muzaffar Jang, ditto. Salabat Jang, killed by
1763	Nizám Ali, his brother.
1803	Sikandar Jáh. English interference, 1807.

TABLE XC.—*Nuwábs and Kings of Oude.*

—	Sa'dat A'lí Khán of Khorasán, Nuwáb Vazir, under Muhammad Sháh.
—	Safdar Jang, ditto.
1756	Shuja' ud Daulah, ditto.
1775	Aṣaf ud Daulah.
1797	Spurious son, Vasír A'lí, displaced for
1798	Sa'dat A'lí, brother of Shuja', Vazír of Hindustán.
1814	Ghází ud-dín Haidar A'lí, Sháh Zamán, king.
1827	Nasír ud-dín Haidar.
1837	Nasír ud-Daulah—Amjad A'lí Sháh.
1847	Wajid A'lí Sháh.

THE END.

## ADDENDA TO USEFUL TABLES.

The paper on the Gold and Silver Currencies of India (pp. 69 to 92) was compiled, set up, and privately circulated in type in the month of October, 1856. As the period that has since elapsed has proved so calamitously exceptional both as regards the internal tranquillity and external commerce of the country, it has been deemed unnecessary to recast the memorandum, or to do more than complete the details as far as possible up to the present date, by the subjoined additional returns.

Page 81.—*Value of Gold and Silver coined in the Mints of the three Presidencies for 1855-56.*

CALCUTTA.		MADRAS.		BOMBAY.	
Value in Co.'s Rs.		Value in Co.'s Rs.		Value in Co.'s Rs.	
Gold, 16,78,635	Silver, 3,87,62,323	Silver, 54,52,318		Silver, 2,55,21,952	

Page 82.—*Imports and Exports of Treasure (Gold and Silver) in each of the Presidencies of India, for 1854-55, 1855-56, 1856-57, at 2s. the Rupee (from a Parliamentary Return dated April 16, 1858).*

YEAR.	BENGAL.			MADRAS.			
	Imports.	Exports.	Net Imports.	Imports.	Exports.	Net Imp.	Net Exp.
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1854-55	645,123	391,566	253,557	194,221	521,814	.....	327,593
1855-56	5,479,854	112,536	5,367,318	852,486	70,730	781,756	.....
1856-57	6,428,573	529,425	5,899,048	1,137,488	78,477	1,059,011	.....

YEAR.	BOMBAY.			TOTAL.		
	Imports.	Exports.	Net Imports.	Imports.	Exports.	Net Imp.
	£	£	£	£	£	£
1854-55	1,188,913	353,654	835,259	2,028,258	1,267,034	761,223
1855-56	4,968,947	417,910	4,551,037	11,301,288	601,176	10,700,111
1856-57	6,847,637	645,525	6,202,112	14,413,698	1,253,428	13,160,270

Page 84.—*Value of Imports and Exports of Merchandise, from 1854-55 to 1856-57, from a Parliamentary Return dated April 16, 1858. The Return for 1854-55 is inserted, because that already given at Page 84 is only partially official.*

### MERCHANDISE IMPORTED INTO THE THREE PRESIDENCIES.

	£
1854-55 .....	12,742,670
1855-56 .....	13,947,657
1856-57 .....	14,194,586

### MERCHANDISE EXPORTED FROM THE THREE PRESIDENCIES.

	£
1854-55 .....	18,927,223
1855-56 .....	23,039,268
1856-57 .....	25,338,453



Page 86.—*Table exhibiting the Sums paid into the East India Company's Treasury in London, on account of Railways in India, up to the 31st March, 1858.*

NAMES OF COMPANIES.	Capital sanctioned.	Total paid in.	Re-issued in England.
	£	£	£
East Indian .....	10,731,000	7,757,949	4,543,919
Great Indian Peninsula .....	8,333,300	3,356,257	1,868,727
Madras .....	4,000,000	2,689,800	1,306,983
Scinde, including Indus Flotilla and Punjaub.....	2,750,000	934,151	272,540
Bombay, Baroda, and Central India .....	1,750,000	723,448	337,841
Eastern Bengal.....	1,000,000	35,000	.....
	28,564,300	15,496,605	8,330,010*

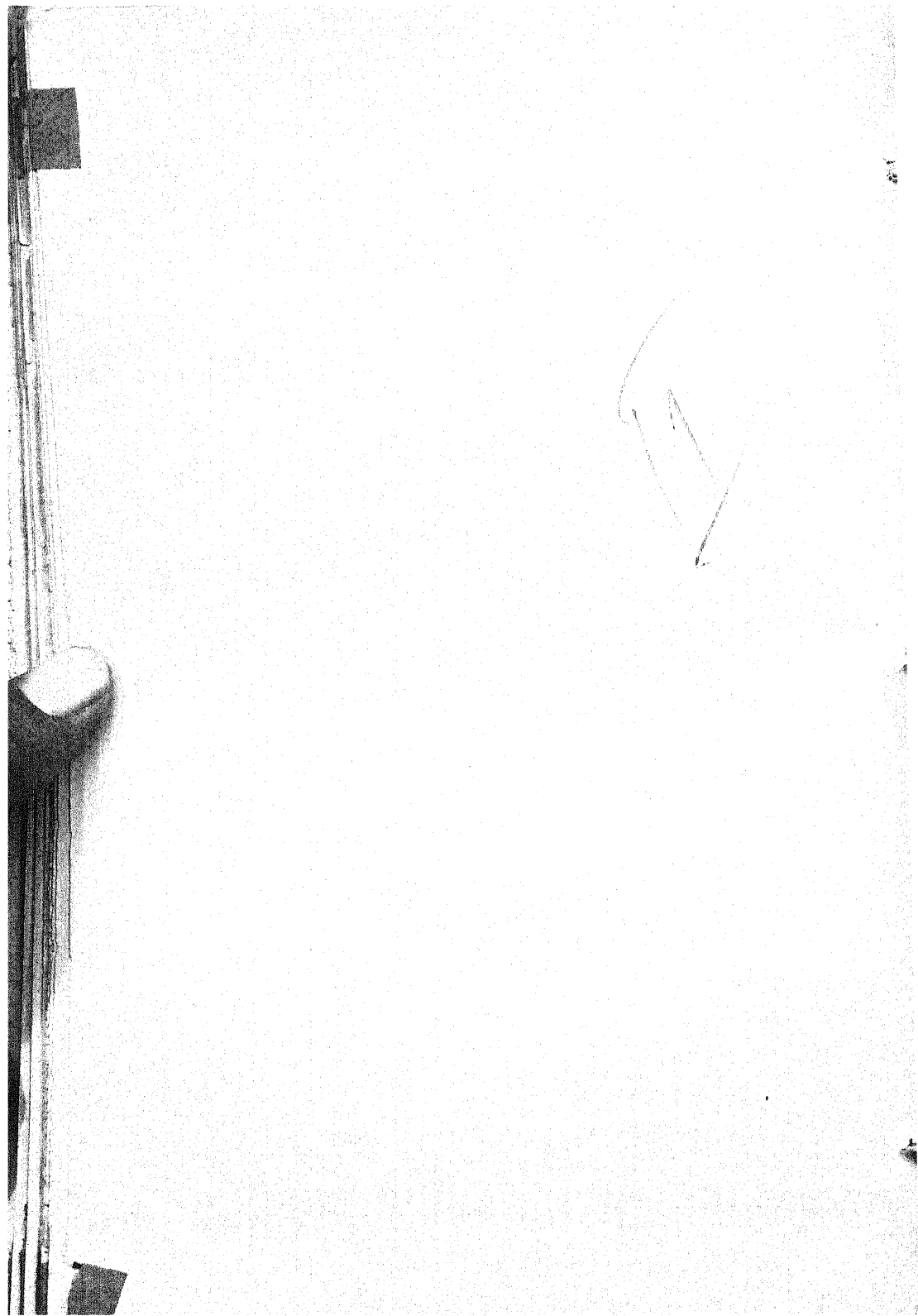
*The following Statement, extracted from a Parliamentary Return, dated 13th April, 1858, shows the amount of Capital which it is estimated will be required for the Indian Railways sanctioned up to this time.*

RAILWAY COMPANY.	Miles.	Estimated Outlay required to complete the several Lines sanctioned.
		£
East Indian .....	1,400	12,731,000
Eastern Bengal .....	130	1,000,000
Madras .....	740	6,000,000
East Indian Peninsula .....	1,208	10,000,000
Sind and Punjab .....	350	2,500,000
Bombay, Baroda, and Central India .....	330	2,000,000
		£34,231,000

Page 88.—*Assay produce of Silver Bullion received into the Mints of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, for 1855-56.*

CALCUTTA.		Rupees.
Assay produce of Silver received from individuals.....	4,53,61,863	
Value of uncurrent coins received from Treasury officers.....	44,98,209	
Silver Coinage .....	3,87,62,323	
MADRAS.		
Assay produce of Silver received from individuals.....	68,01,491	
Value of uncurrent coins received from Treasury officers.....	3,70,938	
Silver Coinage .....	54,52,318	
BOMBAY.		
Assay produce of Silver received from individuals.....	2,92,45,122	
Value of uncurrent coins received from Treasury officers.....	10,60,480	
Silver Coinage .....	2,55,21,952	

\* Of this total the sum of £1,800,748 has been disbursed as interest on capital.



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